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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. III.

JANUARY—JUNE, 1845.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth: even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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ERRATA.

Page 305, line 43, for *be* read *he*.
Page 309, line 24, for *their* read *his*.
Page 321, line 51, for *gladened* read *gladdened*.

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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART I.—नलोदयः ॥ *The Nalodaya or History of King Nala, a Sanskrit Poem by Kálidàsa. Accompanied with a Metrical Translation, an Essay on Alliteration, an Account of other similar Works, and a Grammatical Analysis. By W. Yates, D.D. Calcutta,* 1844.

NOTWITHSTANDING the considerable degree of erudite attention, which has, for the last half century, been given to the language and literature of Brahminism, by some eminent scholars of different nations, both in Europe and resident in the East;—among whom may be named as pre-eminent, the all-accomplished Sir W. Jones, Colebrooke, Wilkins, Halhed, Wilford, H. H. Wilson and Mill, among our countrymen, with the Schlegels, Bopp, Rosen, &c. among our continental neighbours; all of whom have more or less largely contributed to draw aside the veil which has shrouded them, for many successive centuries, from the rest of mankind,—it is still a fact that but comparatively little is yet known, even to many well educated persons in Europe, of either the ancient learning of Hindustan, or of the wonderful medium of its perpetuation to modern times. Hence the surprizing discrepancy of opinion entertained upon a subject so ill understood. Some, according to the true adage—omne ignotum pro magnifico—looking at it from afar and through the haze of fancy, have most unduly enlarged the actual magnitude and relative proportions of an object, with which they have not been able to come at all into personal contact, and of which they can know nothing but through the imperfect relations of persons scarcely, it may be, less unacquainted with it than themselves; whilst others again, going on the opposite principle that what is distant and but little known can be of small value or importance, have in the same measure depreciated that, with whose intrinsic value they have either not had the means of acquainting themselves or else were careless of their employment, because of the certain labour demanded for, as they too easily decided, at best only a problematical advantage. Had these various notions been limited in their results to the individuals entertaining them, they would, however alike exaggerated or erroneous on the one side and on the other, have been of little general moment: but unhappily, it was

not by any means so. Infidelity, which singularly unites the opposite extremes of scepticism and credulity, found in Hindu literature, as it fondly hoped and supposed, fresh reasons for its determined disbelief of Revelation, and drew from the asserted unfathomable depths of Hindu antiquity new arguments in support of its equally determined hostility to Christianity. The Mosaic chronology was assaulted afresh by old combatants arrayed in new armour, and furnished with weapons deemed certainly fatal to the cause of Scripture History. Alas! that high intellectual powers should so often be found in disunion with strong moral feelings; and that some who can grapple successfully with all that is most transcendant and recondite in science and in learning, should be so absolutely deficient in the moral sense, and in power to appreciate the good and evil, the true and false in mental philosophy and religion, as not to discern the conclusiveness or feel the force of arguments that carry, to minds of more heavenly character and habit, all the weight of demonstration and something more yet. For what is demonstrably true in abstract science, whilst it convinces the naked understanding, is wholly powerless to move the conscience, the feelings, or the will; whereas truths, the process of establishing which argumentatively may require both great compass of thought and a long habit of reasoning, will often fall with an irresistible power of conviction on the moral sense of the least literate and even the intellectually *incapable;* or, as the Sacred Scriptures familiarly express it—"some things are hidden from the wise and prudent, which are revealed to babes!" Indeed, the cultivation of the intellect separate from the contemporaneous cultivation of the moral man, is not seldom even more than useless to religious ends. The man so circumstanced may be fitly compared with the automaton chess-player, or the calculating machine of Babbage, or any other wonderful piece of modern mechanism; there is an *apparent* exercise of mind in these, that strikes the uninstructed observer with wondering amazement, whilst yet they are but mechanism after all: they *seem* to think, to calculate, to compare, to reason, to decide—yet are they soulless, insensible machinery, the puppets of a controulling mind and will *without* themselves. Thus, what a vast range have some minds taken in their excursions over the works of God! they have penetrated through the many complicated contrivances, yet missed the end aimed at by the unseen, unheard, unfelt, unknown contriver of them: or they have perceived the design and traced with accuracy the various stages through which it is effectuated, yet when so effectuated they have come to a sudden stop without one

movement of the heart, one impulse of admiring devotion, one burst of grateful and thankful adoration to that great First Cause, by them most truly "least understood," the exertions of whose all-mighty intellect are but the means of bringing to pass those benevolent and gracious purposes towards His intelligent creatures, of which all creation speaks with such constancy, persuasion and emphasis. The sceptical philosophers of Europe hailed, with exultation little short of rapturous, the first intelligence which reached them, in what assumed to be a definite shape and from authentic sources, of the all but infinite chronology of the Hindus and Chinese; and immediately set themselves, with wonderful assiduity and determination, to the task of arranging a variety of arguments drawn from the newly discovered astronomy of the East, in proof, once and for ever, of the utter falsity of the Mosaic writings. The chronology of Moses placed the first creation not above a few thousand years from our own days; the Hindus carried it back into almost the abysses of eternity, through an endless series of astronomical cycles; supporting the truth of their pretensions to so profound an antiquity by facts and calculations, the vouchers for which were really extant and within the reach of every man to read and judge for himself. Away then with the Hebrew cosmogonist, the historian of yesterday! what was he to those venerable sages, who had measured the stars and fixed their endless revolutions, many ages before him! And men having the character of rigid Baconians, who reasoned only from facts not from theories, a posteriori not a priori, were actually able to persuade themselves, and would fain too have persuaded others, on the alleged authority of a Hindu antiquity, as yet but guessed at, that Revelation was no longer tenable; that all the united force of irrefragable argument, of moral intuition, and of accumulated experience were to give way before the giant literature of Hindustan! That day has passed; and, as all candid reasoners then predicted, successsive inquiries, far from justifying the triumphant exultations of sceptical philosophers, have so utterly refuted their baseless reasonings as to leave them not a wreck behind. These men well exemplified the saying of Cæsar —"Facile id quod volunt credunt homines;"—They believed Hinduism and discredited Christianity, because they *wished* the latter to prove false at any rate. But, although a more extended acquaintance with "the wise men of the east" has availed to lower the credit of scepticism and to put to perpetual silence all its former vauntings, still the language and literature of Hinduism are known, in any detail, only to a few; and still the most incredible notions prevail in regard to them. "Minute philosophers" are

yet to be found, too, in places, who either ignorantly or dishonestly aver Hindu Astronomy and Chronology to be utterly subversive of the Mosaic History of the creation, and by consequence of the whole structure of the alleged revelation founded thereupon. But independently of any reference to religion, it is always desirable, in a high degree, to elucidate and establish *truth* in every department. All error is more or less injurious, inasmuch as it is opposed to the facts of things; and in proportion as these are unknown, reason and action alike, with reference to them, must be at fault and entail results more or less inconvenient or hurtful.

We have never yet met with a succinct and formal reply to the enquiry—what is the amount and character of Hindu Literature? what *does* the Sanskrit contain, and what does it not? We shall attempt to answer these questions in as short a compass as may be practicable.

Now, though we do not ourselves pretend to have gone over the whole range of Hindu literature, or to have read *seriatim* a hundredth part of the accessible portions of the huge stores which it includes, we do not think it either presumptuous, or out of place, to state that we have, by the circumstances of our position and the nature of our calling, been led to make a somewhat extended enquiry in this wide field. To master the Sanskrit language was one of the very earliest of our efforts, not indeed with a direct view to Sanskrit literature itself, but in order to be enabled more effectively to pursue our more immediate object, the acquisition of its most elegant and valuable derivative the Bengáli; the mastery of which, so as to be able to read, speak and write it with as much ease as attainable by a foreigner from the West, was essential to our object in coming to the country. We have all along regarded the Sanskrit only as auxiliary to our first purpose; and have therefore forborne, from a sense of duty, to enter more deeply into its dense mass than was necessary to this; but we have learned and read enough of it to be able, we think, aided too by the light of other minds, to form a tolerably correct judgment, and to venture upon putting it forth to the public.

And, *first*, of the Language itself. Its designation *Sanskrit*, —from *sang*, 'with' and *krita* 'wrought, finished'—denotes the language of the learned, a language highly wrought, of finished excellence and polish, as it were, in contrast with *Prakrit* 'the *rude*,' inelegant, uncultivated spoken tongue or dialect current among the illiterate vulgar. To western apprehension this explanation of the term is wholly inadequate to convey the faintest notion of the nature and extent of this culture or refine-

ment and polish. That the Sanskrit *is* a highly elegant and polished tongue is unquestionable: and that it is capable of expressing with precision, force, and beauty every movement of the human will, every exercise of human thought, it were needless to assure the reader. And yet, withal, we do not scruple to assert that it is *over*-wrought, polished and refined even to extravagance and absurdity, beyond example in any other form of speech or writing ever known among men. The natives deem it the language of the gods, and among men in former ages, of philosophers and poets, priests and kings alone: too sacred to be polluted, too refined to be debased by profane and common usage. Women and the vulgar were therefore forbidden to approach its *tabooed* enclosure; '*este procul profani,*' was the voice heard from legislative and priestly lips. To learn or pronounce a letter of the divine alphabet was a sin of deepest die in all but the privileged classes. If by chance one of a lower caste should approach where a brahmin, for instance, was reciting, he was instantly bound, on heavy and cruel penalties, to stop both ears with his little fingers, and hastily to retire till out of reach of the holy sounds! All philosophy, religion and science, too, were locked up in this sacred language from desecrating contact with vulgar minds. "The key of knowledge" was in the hands of the *divine brahmins,* of those "gods of earth" as they haughtily and impiously designated themselves, and it was not permitted to obtain access to the minutest portion of the treasures of intellect, but as doled out in infinitesimal portions, *vivâ voce,* by them. If knowledge, then, is power, *all* power with all knowledge was in the brahminical caste alone; who, if they consigned the executive to kings and soldiers, yet retained the legislative and administrative in their own hands; giving sanction to their paramount authority, aweing and swaying rulers and the ruled alike, by the dogmas and rituals of religion; the former impalpable and extravagant, the latter tedious yet imposing, but all alike contrived and formed, with wonderful astuteness and efficiency, to subdue and overawe the minds, while they gratified the tastes and indulged the humours and the passions, of the multitude. There was an esoteric mysticism, for the thoughtful wise (so deemed,) an exoteric of grossness, pastime and licentiousness for the ignorant, sensual and thoughtless.

Now, putting these facts in connexion, is the inference far-fetched or improbable, that the Sanskrit was, from the first, designed by its original refiners to be the hieroglyphic system of the Hindu priesthood? and wrought to such high polish and difficulty of construction, the more effectually to keep it from the

vulgar? We must agree with those orientalists, who consider that Sanskrit is *not* a language wholly formed, ab origine, by the brahmins; but was certainly, at some distant period in its history, a *spoken* language. All reasoning and analogy, as well as internal evidence and occasional historical hints, combine in leading to this conclusion. It is, however, equally unquestionable that it never could have been spoken in its present written construction, which is the most artificial, concise and difficult imaginable. The conclusion is, that the original substructure was subjected to a double process of refinement and corruption, issuing in the polished, highly wrought *Sanskrit* of books on the one side, and in the barbarous, anomalous, uncouth and clumsy *Prákrit* on the other; the greater the divergence, the greater the security for the exclusive possession by the wily priests, of the "treasures of wisdom and knowledge." The progress of arbitrary rule and superstition in subduing the minds and bodies of the multitude, would be accelerated by this double process of alteration in the *language*, of which we have now spoken; as this, again, by hastening the advance of barbarism and degeneracy in the mass, would aid in rivetting the heavy chains of king-craft and priest-craft, and both these of devil-craft. We think it, then, almost conclusively evident, or at least in the highest degree probable, that the natural facilities afforded by the original language itself, whatever it was, were astutely seized upon by the dominant class as most favorable to their steady designs; and that of set purpose they proceeded gradually to widen the difference between the speech of the vulgar and the language of religion and learning, working up the primitive tongue to that state of finish and polish in which we now find it, so remote from *all the spoken dialects* as to be utterly unintelligible to any but the privileged class, and that only after a long course of close and painful study, extending usually to ten years! In the Bengáli, for instance, nine tenths of the substratum of the language, i. e. of the radical forms or *roots* of verbs and nouns, &c. are pure Sanskrit, the terminations of words and structure of sentences only being diverse; yet such is the effect of these diversities as to render Bengáli as distinct from Sanskrit, as Italian is from Latin; and just as a good Latin scholar will be unable to read or understand the modern Italian, without previous study of its grammatical forms and phraseology; or as an Italian, whether peer or peasant, will be incapable of understanding a single sentence of Virgil, if he has not learned Latin, so it is in reference to Sanskrit and Bengáli.

To facilitate to themselves the classification and formation of

words, the improvers upon the Hindu hieroglyphics have, as the Greeks were wont to do, but to a much smaller extent, assigned all the words of the language to a small number of *roots* or etymons, whether really such or not, (which is often very doubtful at least, if not plainly absurd)—these roots are verbal stems termed *Dhátus*, or primordial principles, and are mostly monosyllables, partly dissyllables, and of one or two letters only. Now to these *roots* is given a latitude of significance so utterly unnatural, as plainly to shew either, 1st, that the root is used only as a convenient heading under which to gather words having their *fixed* portion alike or nearly so, however remote in signification; or that the varying branches have been *forced* from one stem into a variety of meaning *intended* to create difficulty to the uninitiated. Probably both aims were often combined, as whim or convenience might suggest. To give an instance: the root *náth* has assigned to it these *four* primitive meanings, —*anxiety, blessing, grandeur, prayer.* By no conceivable process of thought can these wholly unconnected meanings be drawn or forced from a common stem or *significant* radical; they are evidently either arbitrarily attached to one and the same fixed sound, or originally distinct words and as arbitrarily classed under the same radix *náth.* So, we have the three heterogeneous meanings of "grinding, motion, and embracing," referred to the root *phen;* those of "hearing or seeing, playing or music, motion, knowledge and anxiety," all said to be derived from *ben*; of "binding, smearing, disrespect and honour (the two last of even *opposite* signification,) referred to *pust;* of "giving, seeing, injury and motion" to *ish;* "contact, painting, variety, ability, thought, mercy, mixture," given as the significations of *krip*, and so on. All is plainly a mixture of refined artifice and convenience, subserving facility of reference and obscuring at once. Again, the *same* meaning is assigned as one of the primitive notions of *many* roots: thus 'injury,' is one meaning (among others quite unconnected either with it or among themselves) of at least *forty* roots! "*Killing*" of twice that number; "*motion*" of more than a hundred; and so on; whilst not fewer than *eighteen* radical notions are attached to the sound *ab*, viz. "preservation, motion, love, gratification, splendour, hearing, getting, embracing, asking, entering, increasing, killing, existing, taking, strength, production of knowledge, desire, action!!" Now, if it be considered besides, that the whole number of roots is only 1754, (many of that number, too, including mere slight varieties of the same radical sound, as a long or a short vowel, *s* or *sh*, &c.) and the radical notions, whilst *very few* in total amount, both arbitrarily and endlessly

repeated, as above shewn, it must be evident to all common sense that the whole is what we have stated it to be, a tissue of convenient artifice, having but little support in the original ground-work of the language. The only other alternative is that of supposing the very substratum of the language, the roots themselves in fact, to have been imagined *ex expresso*, in order to coin a language of hieroglyphics, as it were, adapted to the special purposes of a body of clever and interested *exclusionists*. But as this is, perhaps, going further than we have certain grounds for inferring, we take the middle course as above stated, and supposing an originally current tongue to have existed, imagine it to have been corrupted into the rude *Prákrit* on the one hand, and refined into the polished *Sanskrit* on the other; the former through sheer neglect, being left wholly to the vulgar; the latter through an astute policy, which aimed at rendering it so difficult to all but the exclusive caste, that it might become a secure depository of all the learning, philosophy and mysticism of the Brahminical system. That this *is*, in fact, the character of the Sanskrit language will appear from many considerations.

1*st*.—Its radicals are applied, as observed before, so arbitrarily and fantastically to enunciate so great a variety of mutually unconnected notions, and there are *so many* several radicals applied to express the *same* notion, as at once to create an almost "boundless ocean of words" (as the Grammarians phrase it,) and to render the same written terms susceptible of meanings all but endlessly diversified. By this artifice the same word or sound is capable of being applied to denote nearly any idea you please, however remote from that which would present itself first to the mind of the reader. Hence Sanskrit composition is oftentimes a series of mere *conundrums*, requiring for their interpretation a profound and extensive acquaintance not only with the whole range of the vocabulary; but with the mystic philosophy, the legendary lore, and all the peculiar notions of the writer's tribe or school, as well.

2*nd*.—The numerous terminations, nominal, verbal and others; the varieties of *regular* declension and conjugation; the very great number of *anomalies* of inflection, notwithstanding; the many curious disguises of the primitive by insertion, rejection or substitution of one vowel or consonant for another; the excessive attention paid to euphony (which is often rather cacophony); and, above all, the *junction* of words, the rules for the effecting of which are immensely numerous; the vast amount of synonymous terms or epithets, for the same thing; the almost entire abandonment of a natural, inartificial and easy style for one highly

complicate and involved, occasioning endless obscurity and almost inextricable difficulty; the neglect of prose for metrical composition; the use of a poetical system more singular, and of a variety of metre more extensive, than any other existing or conceivable; the employment of figures of rhetoric extravagant, absurd and unnatural beyond all idea—these and many other peculiarities of Sanskrit render it the most difficult of tongues; its grammar, indeed, is a vast labyrinth, through which to penetrate is the work only of patience nearly inexhaustible, and of mental labour truly inconceivable.

3*rdly.*—The system of *rejected letters*, as it has been called, is alone sufficient to mark this study as the most arduous of the kind to which it is possible to subject the human mind. Ingenious it may be called; but the ingenuity is a most perverted one, whilst the absurdity of it is unparalleled in the grammar of any other language known.

4*thly.*—The metres are of so many varieties as to require regular division, like some branch of natural objects or of physical science, into classes, orders, genera, and species; many of them, too, are preposterously long: "Here," says Dr. Yates, "the poet is allowed an almost boundless range, and may proceed to any length he pleases within the limits of a thousand syllables to the half line!!" And after you, have with immense labour and sad endangerment of patience, waded through stanzas, *each long line of which is but a single* word, in which the problem is this—'Given a certain number of words (all whose syllables are, by sundry changes in the end of one and the beginning of another respectively, *united*, so that no clue of *termination* exists, to the discovery of what and how many words there are thus found together!) to find out what was the author's meaning'—among, perhaps, many of which the syllables variously arranged are, by a strained ingenuity, capable; and when you have pitched upon some one, it may not, after all, be the one intended; so that you may be as far as ever from understanding your author, and have all your labour to begin again! And when you have it, we ask, what is it worth? often it is but some stupid string of absurd epithets applied to some ridiculous demon or deity—thus—'Mukundawithhisearingsreachingtohisshouldersthebellsroundhis waisttinklingbyhisbriskmotionandaswingingpeacock'stailinhishair dancedontheheadoftheblackserpent.' Yet this neglect of spacing and punctuation is the very least part of the difficulty *in the original.* It is impossible in *our* less hieroglyphic tongue to imitate it, however remotely.

5*thly.*—Another singular peculiarity of the Sanskrit is the multitude of uni-literal words which it contains, every vowel

and consonant having more or less numerous applications as regularly declined nouns or conjugated verbal roots! In reality these are, of course,not in the nature of significant words, properly so understood; but pure arbitrary signs capable of being employed for any enigmatical purpose whatever. Thus the first consonant, *k*, has no fewer than 27 such applications; among which are enumerated at least *four* deities—Brahmá, Vishnu, Kámadeva and Yama; *three* elements, fire, air, and water; the opposites *body and soul;* the *sun, time,* a prince, light, pleasure, the head, a joint, hair, and the ear! The vowel *i*, besides as a noun denoting Kandarpa, god of love, and Lakshmi, goddess of wealth; as an interjectory particle expressing pain, anger, compassion, consideration, perception, and consciousness; has, as a verbal root, no fewer than six distinct applications wholly unconnected, viz. to go, pervade, conceive, desire, throw, and eat! What is this but a recondite system of hieroglyphics?

In further corroboration of these remarks, be it known, that whole poems exist in Sanskrit "composed with such studied ambiguity," that they may be understood as relating to two entirely different and even *opposite* subjects. Thus the Rághava Pándavíya may, at the option of the reader, be interpreted as the history of Ráma and other descendants of Dasharatha, or as that of Yudhishthira and the other sons of Pándu: it is, in short, "two distinct stories told in the *same words.*" Thus, again, the Nalodaya is one entire "series of puns on a pathetic subject." That is surely a most singularly constructed language which is capable of being made to exhibit regular and lengthy compositions of such a character: no Egyptian Hieroglyphics, are, in reality, more difficult; in both alike a previous clue to the meaning, a key to unlock the mysteries, is equally necessary; and without it no human ingenuity could decipher the intention. This will appear still more manifestly when we come to examine the work, whose title stands at the head of this article.

The style of Sanskrit composition exhibits the opposite extremes of turgid profuseness and bombastic expansion on the one hand, and of a studied laconism on the other, which baffles the student at every turn. In the former, epithet is heaped upon epithet, metaphor upon metaphor till one is bewildered to recollect the point from which the sentence set out; in the latter terminations are omitted, and words combined in so syncopated a form that ambiguity beyond all notion is the result.

An absurd pretence of minute precision, of the same tantalising and obscuring nature, is also a characteristic of Sanskrit style. Here is an instance—"From what and by what

and how and when and what and how much and when any good or bad action exists; from that and by that and so and then and that and so much and there it springs from the influence of a superior power."

But not further to enlarge, enough has surely been said, to justify the hypothesis that the Sanskrit has been wrought to its present state, as the language of Brahminical theology and science, with the *express purpose* of rendering it inaccessible to all but the privileged classes, and to them only after a long course of discipline and painful study, that should have the effect, as in all such cases, of *creating* the spirit of the society.

The native course of study usually requires a period of ten years to put the student into possession of the grammar and vocabulary alone. The vocabulary is itself a poem, *i. e.* it is a metrical composition, and the grammar a high mountain of difficulty enough to paralyse exertion. Memory is the faculty chiefly or only called into exercise; judgement not at all. Thus there are seldom any compendious *natural* classifications of grammatical subjects, or groups of *analogies* mutually elucidatory and helpful to the memory. All is pure drudgery; which doubtless is one cause, among many, of the apathetic indifference and immovability, which characterise the singular race whose idiom is the subject of discourse.

Still the language is unquestionably a highly polished and expressive one, and under the direction of better taste would take rank among the finest, as it is, perhaps, the richest of human tongues. In the facility of forming compound terms; in the endless diversity and easy and natural formation of derivatives; in flexibility, expressiveness, sententiousness and other valuable characteristics, it is unrivalled even by the classical Greek of our Western world; and were it ever to become a medium for the exercise of European, and above all of Christian, thought—its style freed from puerilities and bombast, from turgid and extravagant metaphor, laconic ambiguity and disgusting licentiousness—were it once adapted to the utterance of notions of liberty, of manly vigour of conception, of straightforward reasoning and holy sentiment—were it to become the vehicle of true science, of real philosophy, and of a pure religion, no speech of man would exceed it in nervousness, vigour, elegance and music. It is to be feared, however, that it will share in some measure the fate of Egyptian Hieroglyphics; that, having been kept from the knowledge of the vulgar till these, in the progress of enlightenment and elevation, have purified, refined, strengthened and enriched their own once meagre and rude vernaculars, and tranferred into them the learning and religion of the West, it will reap the reward

of ultimate oblivion; or at least become, like the classic speech of Rome, a *dead* language, only to a still greater degree; because it has failed to *stereotype*, for future ages, either accurate knowledge, pure sentiment, or genuine and natural poetry.

Here then the question comes in to be answered with which we set out, what *does* the Sanskrit language contain, and what does it not?

First, then, it contains *nothing* of *genuine history*, no national annals, no biography of eminent patriots, statesmen, warriors, philosophers, poets or others, who have figured on the theatre of Indian life, public or private. Not a single page of pure historical matter, unmixed with monstrous and absurd fable, is extant, or probably was ever written in it! It supplies us with no assistance whatever in rescuing from eternal oblivion the worthies or the curses of past ages; it affords us no certain clue to the discovery of even the origin of the races who first spoke or adopted it! Fabulous and extravagant legends are all that, in this class, it furnishes. European ingenuity, penetration, and perseverance may, indeed, by dint of hard and long continued labour, elicit a few isolated facts here and there, and by comparison of dates and circumstances, rejecting the crudities and absurdities that have gathered round them, bring them to bear upon some point of ancient story yet in the depths of obscurity. But nothing is certain; all is only a happy guess or probable inference at best. The very principle of historic narration appears either never to have entered into the minds of the early writers in this language, or else a base and selfish policy led them to falsify and obscure and mysticise all events in order to conceal their own usurpations, violence, and injustice.

2*nd*.—Sanskrit Literature presents us with nothing of Geographical or Statistical Science. The true theory of the earth is not to be traced in it. Seas of milk and curds, and butter and spirit, and sugar-cane juice, with mountains 200 thousand miles high, bearing trees 8 or 9,000 miles tall; seas and continents ranged in succession round a central nucleus or navel, like the peels of an onion, and other similar extravagancies and fooleries, form the staple of Sanskrit lore on these heads.

3*rd*.—Cosmogony and Geological Science are precisely in the same condition of drivelling and hopeless allegory, out of which nothing can be drawn, useful to any purpose under heaven.

4*th*.—Of Natural History, the Philosophy of Nature, and Mechanical Science, (Astronomy and Geometry partially

excepted, of which hereafter) the Sanskrit exhibits nothing whatever; all is either impossible fable, or, when natural and true, trivial, unscientific, and unarranged.

5*th*.—Hindu Medical Science is at zero; Empyricism rules the day. Anatomy is unknown. Pharmacy little more than a knowledge of simples, united with some absurd quackery.

6*th*.—The Music of the Hindus is in an extremely backward state: a fantastic association with an ideal superstition has served, with other causes, to hinder its advancement as a science; as an art, too, Hindu music is singularly rude: it knows nothing of harmony or counterpoint. The Sanskrit musical Shástras are numerous, but of small value.

7*th*.—The same is the case with the other Fine Arts, Painting, Architecture, Statuary. Books upon them are few and unimportant in character.

8*th*.—On the mechanical arts, or handicrafts, there are no express treatises; on some of them, a few precepts of ordinary practice occur, as also on agriculture &c., in general writings. Nothing, in short, can well be conceived poorer than Sanskrit literature, in all the most important scientific or practical departments of knowledge. There is positively nothing to serve any other purpose of the European student, but the gratification of a not unnatural curiosity.

9*th*.—In every branch of Experimental Science, or Natural Philosophy, Sanskrit is wholly wanting. The Hindu Philosophers were rather poets than strict investigators of the system of things. They thought much and deeply, but were ever fonder of chasing the phantoms of a speculative fancy than of following the indications of nature. They loved more to indulge in abstractions, and ingenious theories, than to pursue experimental inquiries by a course of rigid induction. Their Philosophy, therefore, is the Philosophy of fancy, not of reality; it may be brilliant, captivating and acute, ingenious and imposing; but it is, after all, empty, impracticable and useless; nay, more, it is bewildering, and injurious; it misleads, and effeminates; it lowers the tone of the mind, it destroys the moral sense, it lays open to a thousand deceptions and aberrations; and it creates a taste which is incapaple of relishing reality or moral truth.

10*th*.—In regard to Mental and Physical Science, Sanskrit is nearly in the same predicament. Plenty of mental *theory* indeed there is, but nothing of sound and vigorous reasoning; nothing of rigid analysis or accurate classification of mental phenomena. All is dreamy and visionary; fanciful, and empirical assertion. The relation between cause and effect is utterly overlooked. The impossible and the absurd are treated with the gravity

of serious philosophy, and a positiveness only becoming those who deal in matters of fact.

10*th*.—The same, too, may with truth be said of Pneumatology and the Science of God. The psychology of man was never investigated by those who wrote in Sanskrit. The true principle of reasoning a posteriori, or from ascertained facts and observed phenomena alone, was never understood or adopted by them. They are ever afloat on a wide expanse of theory without chart compass or rudder; nay, without even a pole-star to aid the navigation. Of matter and spirit, mind and body, substance and form, nature and accident, indeed, much, very much, has been written, but to vastly little purpose notwithstanding. Six philosophical schools have put forth as many systems of things, more or less symbolizing with the ancient systems of Greece and Rome, only with far less of either accuracy of investigation or vigour of conception. The Hindu mind has ever delighted in day-dreams and reveries; nonrealities have had far more attractions for it than actualities; it has pleased and lost itself in a luxurious indulgence of an all-excursive fancy, that has soared far above all the coarse materialities of the actual world. In the history of no people has the Scriptural allegation been more exactly verified than in that of the Hindus, that "Man by wisdom knew not God:" not only are they, in truth, wholly ignorant of God to any really useful and practical purpose of philosophy, religion, or morals; but their so called wisdom and boastful science has itself been the cause of the density and perpetuation of that ignorance. They have reasoned, or rather theorized, dreamt and disputed, talked and written of God aud nature, matter and spirit, fate and will, action and passion, good and evil, till in the multitude of words they have wholly lost sight of the real objects of inquiry. A blind fatality, a visionary system of unrealities, a thoughtless, objectless, passionless, soulless Deity, without qualification, without active intelligence or creative energy; an *atheistical* theology that identifies matter and spirit, God and nature, the human soul and the divine; a *suicidal* philosophy that devours itself; a denial of the essential differences of things; an assertion of the intrinsic indifference of all acts and feelings, which makes the character of an action to depend on the *motive* of its performance, and an absolute dependance of every agent on a superior power—these and similar have been the conclusions arrived at by Hindu speculation. The Veds themselves, which are asserted to have proceeded immediately from the mouth of God, are a strange and heterogenous assemblage of absurd physics and dreamy

metaphysics, of fanciful philosophy and drivelling superstition —of high sounding invocations, and petty prayers; of incantations for the injury or destruction of enemies, or the averting of personal evils; of recipes for sacrifices, and the like. In it the elements are deified at the same time that the doctrine of the universal soul is asserted! These boasted Shástras are stuffed, in fact, with all manner of puerilities and inconsistencies, and are evidently a very crude digest, as it were, of the odds and ends of mutually opposing theories, of airy visions, and gross idolatries, containing neither true science, true ethics, nor elevated notions of God or of his works and ways. Meanwhile, as to practical religion, the bad passions and depraved tastes of effeminate and demoralized society have found their indulged and characteristic exercise and gratification in an idolatry more multiform and grotesque, more absurd and baseless, more licentious and cruel, more corrupting and stupifying, brutalising and demoralising, more injurious to social liberty, to domestic purity, to private virtue, to universal happiness than any other that has ever existed. "Professing themselves to be wise they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man and to birds and to four-footed beasts and creeping things. Wherefore, God also gave them up"—since they *would* not acknowledge, worship or obey him, he necessarily and judicially *abandoned* them to their own ways—"gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts, and to vile affections; yea, as they did not *like* to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a *reprobate mind*; they became filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, deceit, debate, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, *haters of God*, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affections, implacable, unmerciful; who while knowing (in their secret thoughts and natural consciences) the judgement of God, that they who commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same but have pleasure in them that do them!" So accurately does this picture, drawn by the pencil of inspiration, delineate the *Hindu* character, that a learned man, a Pundit, before whom it was once laid by a Missionary, and who had never previously seen it, after finishing the perusal, with a new feeling of inexpressible emotion, said,—"Sir, who wrote that of us? It must have been one of ourselves: a Bengáli only could have so faithfully described his countrymen—for the portrait is true to the life." Yes, it

is true to the life; alas, alas, that it should be so! but such is the melancholy fact; all Sanskrit Literature is in proof, as well as all Hindu Society.

Among the multifarious and very numerous works extant in Sanskrit Literature, there are very few on Ethics; indeed, only one solitary *original* Treatise, the Pancha Tantra, the primitive source, probably, (if not itself of common origin with them,) of the fables of Pilpai, Æsop and the rest, exists. Scattered up and down, in satires and poems, &c., axioms of Ethical wisdom are met with, applicable to most departments of life; and many of them excellent, but wanting in *sanction*, and not seldom disfigured and weakened by the adjuncts of falsehood, indecency and cunning. The Hitopodesha, which is an epitome of the Pancha Tantra, is a very fair specimen of the purest and most useful of all the Hindu writings.

But not to extend these remarks unnecessarily, suffice it to say, that in the whole range of Sanskrit Literature there is, with the sole exceptions to be made presently, nothing of true philosophy, of accurate divine or human science; nothing to add to our stores of useful knowledge or practical wisdom. Having thus shewn what Sanskrit does not, let us now reply to the question as to what it *does* contain?

And *first*, it contains a tolerable amount of correct, primitive, *astronomical* science; we say primitive, to exclude all the more modern discoveries in that early investigated and most important department. The doctrine and calculation of eclipses, the relative size and positions of the greater planets, their motions and orbits, their mutual influences and dependencies, were more or less accurately known to ancient Hindu Astronomers; and the tables they have left are yet used in the preparation of almanacs, &c. by their modern descendants; who, however, use them according to rule without understanding the principle of their construction. Bentley has sufficiently proved from the Súrjya Siddhánta itself, and by a variety of rigid induction, the utter baselessness of the Hindu *chronology*. Their eternal revolutions, their days and nights of Brahmá, their endless successions of the four ages, their absorptions and re-creations, &c., are but fanciful and arbitrary multiplications of original cycles of duration correctly derived from astronomical phenomena; a mixed attempt to give grandeur to their science, to extol their gods, and to *hide* the recent origin of their nation and civilization. But, interesting and useful, as affording data for comparison of the history and advancement, the connexions and discrepancies of ancient nations, and of the march and direction of ancient science, as is the Hindu Astronomy, it is now well ascertained

to be far too meagre and inaccurate to be of any practical value to our Western astronomers.

2nd.—In Algebra, Arithmetic, and the simpler Mathematics, Geometry, Mensuration, Trigonometry, &c., the ancient Hindus had made some tolerable progress, but have never advanced to any considerable acquaintance with the higher and abstruser branches of mathematical science. Still it is evident that the early Hindus were capable of the deepest reflexion and closest application of mind, and had made very considerable progress in the exact sciences.

37. In Logic and the art of disputation their speculative tone of mind has found large exercise; but, as in every other department, the original defect of rigid analysis and accurate observation of the phenomena of man and nature, has marred their proportions, and stunted the growth of their philosophy. They are, therefore, rather subtle logomachists than just reasoners; far more clever in sophism and objection than in resolution and the process of proof. Nor have they ever yet applied their skill in ratiocination to any purpose beyond the gratification of the exercise itself, the defeating of an opponent, or, by forced and far-fetched analogies, assumption and a profuse employment of illusive metaphor, the support of arbitrary theories or visionary systems of extravagant philosophy.

"The Nyáya Darshana or Logic," says Ward, "appears to have promoted a system of wrangling and contention about names and terms very similar to what is related of the stoics;" and, quoting from Enfield, he adds, as accurately descriptive of Hindu logicians—'The idle quibbles, jejune reasonings, and imposing sophisms which so justly exposed the Schools of the dialectic philosophers to ridicule, found their way into the porch,' (and similarly into the Math of the Brahmins) 'where much time was wasted and much ingenuity thrown away upon questions of no importance. The Stoics (and so also the Hindus) largely contributed towards the confusion instead of the improvement of science, by substituting vague and ill-defined terms in the room of accurate conceptions.'"

So much for Hindu Science. We now come to the department of Social Law. The Sanskrit abounds in treatises upon law; the principal are the institutes of Manu, the Sentences of Yágyavalkya, the Mitákshara, &c. They have, however, no codes of civil and criminal law *separately* treated, but only mixed up, as in the various *Smritis*, with the duties of religion and ritual observances. Works on the duties of kings, on inheritance, ritual or canon law, on offerings, atonements, purifications, vows, oaths, &c. analogous to the Leviticus of the Mosaic rule; on

punishments, marriage, gifts, &c. abound. In these is embodied, no doubt, much sound practical wisdom, but ever associated with enormous injustice, exclusiveness, partiality and varied inconsistencies. A bare inspection of Manu, the best of their writings, will amply satisfy the curious enquirer that the Hindu law sages were not exempt from many and serious errors, and were far too little acquainted with the true principles of social right and practical jurisprudence; nor were ever able to free themselves from a blinding superstition or the selfish pride of an oppressive exclusiveness. Neither the rights of subjects nor the higher responsibilities of rulers and magistrates are duly appreciated or accurately defined. The merit, or demerit of actions is not regulated by a fixed and just standard, but by arbitrary distinctions, as of caste and rank. The law invades the territory of the mind, the province of God and conscience alone. Religious freedom is unrecognized. Punishments are cruel also, in the extreme, or ludicrously inadequate: virtues, too, are made crimes and crimes virtues: and the progress of society stopped for ever by stereotyping social distinctions of caste, office and profession.

5th.—But the real domain of Sanskrit Literature is in the departments of Grammar, Rhetoric and Poetry. Their Grammars are numerous and discover much ingenuity with but little simplicity, and less regard to the economy of time or labour to the student. Sanskrit grammar is the business of half a life. The Mugdhabodha, which is the shortest grammar extant, contains not fewer than *eleven hundred* rules, *in verse*, condensed into the smallest compass, exquisitely sententious, and of course as exquisitely difficult; each rule, therefore, requiring a comment or explanation, which follows it. The grammar of Páníní is a huge monument of diligent and patient toil exercised upon an illimitable material. He who should master it would deserve to be crowned among his fellows, and hailed a prince of perseverance and of patience.

The Rhetorical works in Sanskrit are many, but are little studied by the present race of Brahmin Pundits, who "seldom aspiring to authorship, are content to learn a little Grammar, and to read a few of the poets, and of the works on the measures of verse called *chanda*." The Rhetoric of the Hindus, as might be expected from the style of composition which is most esteemed amongst them, is far from exhibiting the correctness of taste produced by an addiction to the study of better models. Turgid, bombastic, and extravagant metaphor, verbal quibbles and *concettos*, excessive and sustained alliteration, quaint and capricious comparisons—such are the usual ornaments of Sanskrit verse. Still is there a large amount of something

better; just feeling and perception of the simple, and the natural, are not wholly wanting, though so much marred and obscured by meretricious ornament.

The domain of Sanskrit poetry is a most extensive one. The Mahábhárata and Rámáyana, the two great Mytho-heroic Poems of the Hindus, are truly gigantic works, exceeding in bulk any other productions in the same class of any period or nation. The sacred writings (and they are all, or nearly all in verse, or at least in measured prose, as already noticed,) are altogether so numerous and so voluminous that it might almost, without an hyperbole, be said of them that, as to practical use and authority, "the world itself cannot contain them." There is not a single Brahmin, the most erudite and laborious, who has studied the hundredth part of them.

But as to the intrinsic merits of nearly the whole range, there is little that really deserves attention; we mean, of course, little that can add to our stock of valuable knowledge of men or things, of God or nature.

There is, however, an inexhaustible fund of profound metaphysical inquiry, and a whole ocean of the fanciful and *sensual.* On the former point, General Vans Kenedy, a sober writer, and very competent judge, thus delivers himself—"It must be admitted that the sacred Books of the Hindus contain neither geographical, chronological, nor historical information; that in them the use of numbers, with respect both to time and place, is extravagantly absurd; and that in their style and want of arrangement, they are not only deficient in the beauties by which the immortal works of Greece and Rome are distinguished, but even err against all principles of refined taste and classical composition."

On the second head Mr. Ward says—speaking of Hindu poetry—"that it abounds in the most extravagant metaphor and the most licentious images. Some allowance may be made for Eastern manners; but granting every possible latitude, innumerable ideas are found in almost every poem, which could have become familiar to the imagination only amidst a people whose very country was a brothel." This is strong language but not too strong. It is impossible for a pure mind not to be perpetually shocked and revolted by the undisguised licentiousness, as it is for correct taste not to be offended and disgusted by the outrageous and childish extravagance of metaphoric adornment, with which all Hindu poetry is replete. Still, there are innumerable displays of genuine poetic power, of vigorous conception, fine imagination, natural feeling and glowing sentiment; and he who has sufficiently mastered the

first difficulties of the language, will revel in the enjoyment of endless riches. Amidst much, very much that is grotesque, monstrous and absurd; much that is offensive to taste and moral feeling alike; much that will cause him to wonder at the blindness and to sigh over the debasement of fellow man—he will still find abundant proof of talent the most diversified, of poetical fancy the most striking and captivating; and occasionally, too, will meet with evidence that "God has not left himself without witness even in the Hindu mind," much and wide and long as it has wandered from the Source of light and goodness and purity.

Having taken this rapid glance at the subject of Hindu Literature generally, we proceed at once to the special illustration afforded to us in the work, the title of which stands at the head of this article.

The Nalodaya, *lit.* the rise of Nala,—his emergence from a state of fallen obscurity and sorrow, as of the sun in the horizon, after the darkness of night, or from behind a bank of clouds that had thrown a shade over his brightness—is the story of a king of *Nishadha* of that name, who having married, under very romantic circumstances, the beautiful and accomplished *Damayanti*, is led, under demoniacal influence, into the vice of gaming; by which he is so far infatuated as to stake not only his wealth but his very kingdom on the turn of a die. The stake is lost and he resigns his dominion to the winner. Accompanied by his afflicted but faithful Queen alone, he retires to a distance After much suffering to both, who come even to want not a shelter merely, but a garment and a morsel of food, Nala is induced, under the same evil influence, (which is skilfully made to unite with the force of strong marital affection in his heart in determining his actions,) to abandon his already sufficiently miserable wife. After various subsequent adventures, trials and sorrows, a happy and wholly novel-like concurrence of circumstances brings about the catastrophe, the happy meeting and reunion of the monarch and his queen; the restoration of Nala to his kingdom, recovered from his envious enemy, and, after a long and prosperous reign, beloved and honoured by his subjects, his death in a good old age, filled with days and glory. The moral of the tale therefore, is good; and, making due allowance for the difference between Asiatic notions and our own, the management of events both ingenious and pleasing. The author was the celebrated Kálidása, a poet of the age and court of the famous Vikramáditya, or the Sun of valour, probably just before the commencement of the Christian era. The story itself is laid at a much earlier period. There are several works on the same subject,

which is a favourite one with Hindu Poets; the object of Kálidása, however, was not simply to exercise a poetical imagination in varying the incidents and ornamenting the details of a 'popular theme;' but to extend his own fame among the learned of his day and country, by a display of a faculty which was at that time held in the highest estimation. This was none other than a talent for *alliteration*; by which, in Sanskrit literature, is not simply meant, as for the most part with Europeans, an ingenious combination of similar sounds merely, but a style of metrical composition in which the same recurrent sounds convey, at each return, a various meaning; so forming what we have already termed a series of *conundrums*, or enigmas, literally such to the uninitiated. Our readers will have some notion in the sequel, of the wondrous extent to which this preposterous misapplication of ingenuity, rather than genius, was carried, by men of power that would have qualified them for very far higher emprizes.

The Poem is divided into four Books, containing together 217 *shlokas*, or stanzas of two lines each; *couplets*, we might fitly term them. The verse is mostly that measured by time, but is occasionally interspersed with stanzas measured by syllables. The division of the verse is into *Pádas*, or half lines of 16 instants, an instant being reckoned one short syllable. Passing by other metrical characteristics not directly to our purpose, though the more strictly poetical ones, we proceed to notice the contrivances for *alliteration*, the one paramount object aimed at by the Poet. What will our readers think, then, of 868 metrical enigmas in one short Poem?" Yet such is actually the number of alliterations in the Nalodaya, every *shloka* containing *four*, each line *two* and each *Páda* or half foot *one!* The position of the reduplicated syllables (usually four, five or six) is variable; but most commonly, in the *first* aud *third* Pádas, immediately after the *first* foot; in the *second* and *fourth*, at the close; or, in the beginning of each line *after* the first foot and at the end. Thus—

1.— { Hridayasa*dáyádavatah*pápátavyádurása*dáyádavatah*!
Arisamu*dáyádavatah*trijaganmágáhsmarena*dáyádavatah!!*

2.— { Babhau*sasárasá*garashchaka*sasárasá*rdradhí!
Madhu*sasárasá*ravastada*sasárasá*rttavah!!

3.— { Sánge*nanalasamáná-nanalasamána*namutrakatichitpurushán!
Praikshata*nanalasamánán-analasamána*nabhúnnateshámbhedah!!

4.— { *Pikopikopikopiko*viyoginírabhartsayat!
Vachánsibhangamálapan*nitánitánitá!!*

5.— { *Nasamánasamánasamánasamá*gamamápasamíkshavasantanabhah!
*Bhramadabhramadabhramadabhramada*bramarachchhalatahkhaluká mijanah!!

The above exemplify the usual varieties; in all, *the line beneath* marks the reduplicated syllables forming the several alliterations, and their various positions at the option of the composer. No such guide to the reader, be it understood, is found in the *original*; through all the complicated difficulties of which he must wade, without the smallest help to the sense, but such as his own stores of legendary lore alone can supply, aided by a richly furnished and ready memory, a fondness and aptitude for the solution of such Conundrums (a special talent), and the expertness which only length of application can give. To assist our uninitiated readers, we observe—

That in Example 1, for instance, the syllables *dáyádavatah*, precisely the same in sound in all the four *pádas* of the *Shloka*, have as many various meanings as the times of their recurrence; which meanings arise from either a *different division* of them alone, or from the *words* which that division forms, if the same in form, being different in the notion conveyed. Thus, in connection with the syllable or syllables preceding, they divide, in the *first* half foot, into sa*dá yádavatah*, 'always from Yádava,' (the god Krishna;) in the second, into durása*dáyá davatah*, 'from the intolerable fire;' in the third, into samu*dáyád avatah*, 'from him who preserves from all' (enemies;) and in the last, into *dáyá davatah* (a participial)—'from him who has a son,' i. e. is the father of: the meaning of the entire verse, as given by Dr. Yates is—'O my heart! never depart from Yádava, the father of Love, who is the fire that burns the intolerable wood (wilderness) of sin, and who preserves the three worlds from all enemies.'

So again, in the *fourth* example, the *fourfold* reduplication of the syllables *piko*, by simply a different division of the syllables, forms these four several phrases—*piko'pi kopi kopiko*, meaning 'as though some angry cuckoo;' while the parallel one of the dissyllable *nitá* makes, in the same way, n-*nitáni tánitáni tá*-h, meaning—'addressing) to them these (words), having a broken (utterance.')

Once more, in the 3*rd* example, the reduplication *nanalasamáná*-n, reads 1*st*,-na *nala samáná*-n "like Nala;" 2*d*-n*anala samánán*, "like fire;" 3*d nanala samáná*-n "not not i.e. yes," shining." 4*th*-na *naalasamáná*-n, "not idle" *i. e.* energetic: the whole runs—"she saw there some men bright as fire, glorious and energetic, and so like Nala that there was no difference between them."

The entire poem is constructed on the same principle; its 217 couplets containing each *four* reduplications, 868 in all, and each reduplication a mere *verbal pun*, a play upon words,

or rather syllables; an enigma whose whole merit consists in ringing four fanciful, often far-fetched and absurd, changes, upon as many collections of the same sounds! To this ingenious, it may be, but certainly grotesque and petty artifice are necessarily sacrificed, to a very great extent, both play of imagination and the indulgence of those natural emotions which would arise out of the incidents of the story, were it not made to yield place to the exercise of a strained ingenuity in hunting after mere puns! The case of the reader is quite the same as that of the author; his attention is kept so much on the stretch to discover the division and meanings of the alliterated syllables, that he is neither sufficiently at liberty to observe and dwell upon the beauties of the composition, nor properly prepared to receive the impression which the story is otherwise calculated to make upon him.

That even one like Kálidása, a poet by nature of the first order, as his various productions sufficiently attest, should have failed to throw much of poetic beauty into so narrow a space as 217 stanzas, seeingthe singular impediments offered to the flow of fancy and of feeling by the preposterous form to which he had restricted himself, is surely not a matter of surprize. The wonder is rather that such a man should have allowed himself to wear such fetters. The only excuse that can be offered for him is, the bad taste of his age, that demanded or could tolerate such peurile affectation, such senseless monstrosities. Yet men of real genius like Kálidása, as they are *capable* of guiding and correcting the general mind, so are they *bound* to assume the first prerogative of learning and ability, and to *lead* not *follow*, whenever the direction is wrong which is taken by public taste or sentiment.

Dr. Yates says, in his preface, that "Kálidása has,in this work, ornamented his subject with pearls drawn from the very deepest recesses of the sea of oriental learning." For our own parts we are free to confess that we have not been able to discover many that were worthy the labour of fishing them up; they seem to us, for the most part, rather imitation *paste* than genuine *pearls*; or if real, sadly bruised and broken in the stringing!

The mere English reader who should peruse Dr. Yates's translation of the Nalodaya, might not at once come to the same conclusion; because, be it observed, *he* arrives at the meaning of the author at once and without any other labour than the easy and pleasurable one of simple perusal; whilst he who reads the *original* is obliged, with infinite pains, to hunt it out through a dense underwood jungle of puzzling and monotonous alliteration.

Now this difference must be duly estimated before the opinion we have ventured to express be judged either precipitate, harsh, or unjust. We are not insensible to the occasional beauties that sparkle amid the rows of poetic pearls, which the Poet has strung together; but we say, nevertheless, that they are not either always real or always tastefully arranged: that many of them are *mock* pearls, and that mostly the arrangement is inelegant, preposterous and hideous. This cannot, however, be duly felt, save by him who reads the original poem; the translation, though neither exhibiting much of poetical feeling or fire, nor sufficiently accurate to be properly characteristic of the author of the Sanskrit work, is yet so tolerably smooth and correct as to be very *readable*, and moderately pleasing.

As to the merits of the original author, what we mean is that, over and above the weariness and dissatisfaction arising from such monotonous and long-continued alliterations, these were necessarily so difficult even in Sanskrit, (that language of all on earth most susceptible of such *protean* shapes, most capable of being moulded into such artificial forms,) that the poet, in order to get over his task as soon as possible, was compelled to confine himself within limits far too narrow for his subject, and for the many fine incidents it included; as any one will perceive who just glances at Dr. Yates's, "arguments" to the four Books into which the work is divided. The whole is little more, in short, than a metrical table or index; a sort of syllabus, it might be, of a projected poem; a matured *arrangement* put down, as a help to memory, of the conception of the poet's mind, rather than itself a finished composition. Each incident, therefore, is little more than just touched, for the most part; a few only being drawn out into any thing like poetical expansion. Still there are, as we have said, flashes of light and beauty that could have issued only from a truly poetical imagination.

Dr. Yates's version he himself deems to be "not very far from a literal one." The reader shall judge. The original Sanskrit contains, as observed, 217 stanzas or 434 lines. Dr. Yates's version has 1394 lines, or *three times and nearly a quarter* for each *one* of Kálidása. True, the excessive compression and laconism of the Sanskrit it was not possible to *equal* in our more diffusive tongue; still, due allowance made for the difference of the idioms, it will yet be seen that the version is often very unnecessarily expanded. Thus—the 30th *Shloka*, or couplet, of Bk. I. has grown to 19 lines in the latter; the 32d to 14: and many others to 6, 8 and 10! Nor do we think the expansion generally has added beauty or clearness, any more than point or force, to the original thought. The

increment is usually in the way of *epithet*; but not merely so: thus the 30th *Shloka* of Bk. I. above mentioned, which in Sanskrit is simply—

"The king, famed for beauty, whose frame was not touched with the ills arising from decrepitude, who was well descended from no contemptible race, published according to rule a *Swayamvaram*,"—(*i. e.* a free public election, by a maiden, of the husband of her own choice, from a number of assembled suitors;) which Dr. Yates thus enlarges—we print the additions in *italics*:—

"The king, *with great anxiety*, observed,
The sad effects of some concealed distress,
Which preyed in secret on his daughter's mind;
And having ascertained its real cause,
He wisely used the fittest remedy.
His beauty free from decrepitude,
Together with his ancestorial fame,
Gave him great influence: that influence
He used to save the life of one he loved,
And crown her future days with nuptial bliss.
Unnumbered are the means which Love suggests
To teach the youthful mind his pleasing art;
But heirs apparent are confined to rule.
In days of yore there was a custom which
Allowed a princess to select her spouse;
To this the king *in council had recourse,*
And sent ambassadors *to neighbouring courts*
To ask the princes to a sumptuous feast."

Now this is surely not a *version*, but a *paraphrase*, and a very diffuse paraphrase too; one which cannot possibly convey to the reader any just notion whatever of the style of thought and expression of the original. Nor does any reason of necessity, or compensatory advantage, palliate this wide departure from all just rules of poetic translation. It was peculiarly ill chosen, too, in rendering a work admitted *to be condensed and laconic* in the very highest degree. Such, then, is the character of Dr. Yates's version generally; it is, like his other translations of far more important works, *singularly paraphrastic*, and therefore by no means fitly represents his original. All verisimilitude is lost; and the impression, therefore, both weakened and erroneous.

Dr. Yates has chosen blank verse for his translation: we think perhaps, he has done well; though we must confess it is sometimes *too blank*, and often bald, unmusical and prosaic. The learned and excellent Doctor is clearly no poet; and for our parts we are free to confess, that to us a plain prose version, keeping closely to the original and preserving its order, turn of thought and simplicity, would have been far more acceptable; and we think also to all such as are likely to read

the Nalodaya. To students of Sanskrit especially, the expansion and frequent *inversion* of the original, occasion confusion and obscurity—confusion and obscurity which even the analysis at the end does not altogether remove.

The translator has not only been too diffusive, and failed to exhibit, as far as our idiom allowed, the charateristic *laconism* of Kálidása, but has further denaturalized the Hindu poet by foisting in phrases altogether in Western taste. Thus, the simple original of stanza 35 B. I. reads—" the deities beholding the moon-faced Nala maintaining his own fame, destroying the glory of his foes' renown, and subduing all his enemies, became astounded." This, in the English version, runs thus :—

> " When they beheld the man *so dignified*
> *In form and strength*, they felt themselves abashed,
> *And were constrained, with mortals, to confess*
> *They never had his equal seen before ;*
> *Who made his rival's excellence a foil.*
> *Not willing to contend with such a man,*
> Who *like a fire* consumed his enemies ;
> *Who, supereminent among the kings,*
> *Shone like the moon among the smaller stars*"—

These lines, which exhibit a very fair specimen of Dr. Yates's work, are *trebly* faulty; first by excess, as the lines italicised evince; 2ndly by deficiency, as a comparison with the literal prose translation will show at a glance; and 3rdly, which is our present object to remark, by engrafting upon Oriental simplicity our Western phraseology ; as in the line (which by the way is not original either)

> ' Who made his rival's excellence a foil."

And, in the interpolated stanza immediately preceeding the above, the metaphor—

> " As twinkling stars hide their diminished heads
> When sol (!) the glorious king of day appears."

So, also, such borrowed anglicisms as ' blushing honours'—' trembling seized his frame'—' joys gone by'—and the like. Having thus freely, but candidly, animadverted on the Doctor's version, as we felt called to do, we shall now give our readers a few selected specimens of the work, exemplifying both the thought and fancy of the Hindu poet, and the taste and skill of his European translator.

Here is a very characteristic metaphor.

> " His army was a ship, his foes a sea,
> And arrows were the waves—while he on board,
> In triumph sailing through those dashing waves,
> The port of safety reached."
>
> ——— *Book I. V.* 6.

" He, like a sea immense, received from every side
The tributary streams of wealth and power."—*Verse* 7.

" Adorned with such a foe-subduing king,
Joined with his brother and his friend, the earth
In nothing differed from the heavens, in which
The sun and moon and stars propitious shine."—*Verse* 8.

" How much the bees add glory to the spring!
See them in swarms proceed from tree to tree
And sip the nectar with avidity,
Like merry drunkards humming as they go."—*Verse* 16.

——— Destitute of all, he laid aside
His pride and arrogance, *and in the boat*
Of patient fortitude the ocean crossed
Of self reproach.—*Book III. V.* 10.

The following we think as beautiful and expressive as it is characteristic: Damayanti, bewailing her lost husband, exclaims—

" Long as my soul within this body dwells,
So long in it will Nala not reside
As glowing fire within the heated iron?"

The Poet, estimating the loftiness of his theme and his own incompetence, says—

———" In this *sea of sin*
I labour with anxiety to find
A vessel fit to reach the haven fair."

Of moral sentiment there are some very pleasing instances, of which we quote the following—

———" None
Were more disposed to save a prostrate foe:
He never wreaked his vengeance on the man
Who sought his mercy."

———" Hurt not the innocent,
And thou shalt soon receive a meet reward."

" My dearest friend, your form is beautiful;
Then let your face be so."

———" Be well assured,
That such as are renowned for generous deeds,
Will, in due time, their recompence receive.
——— Generous men are always blessed with friends."

The utter selfishness produced by a passion for gaming is well expressed—

" His *brother* won the game: he was undone!
A brother's pity still he hoped to find,
But none he found—no pity gamesters know."

The following passages afford pleasing proof of the great scriptural truth that "those who have not (a written) law, *are a law unto themselves*, which shew the work of the law written *on their hearts*, their consciences, the meanwhile, accusing or excusing them." Epist. of Paul to the Rom. ii. 15.

"And now by Káli* conquered and expelled
From home, a fugitive and vagabond
He wandered, *seeking rest but finding none.*
The sad effects of sin none can avert;
For as the seed we sow must be the fruit."

The force of a temptation adapted to time, place and circumstances, is well remarked upon:—

"How hard it is temptation to resist,
When time and place and inclination urge!"

The poet thus notices the fatuity produced by a previous success in evil courses—

——"He resolved——again to try:
So mortals are deceived, and think the means
Successful once, will always be the same:
A moment's thought had shewn the opposite."

The following passage is every way a happy specimen of Hindu poetry; the metaphor or *concetto*, the description of nature, and the moral reflection, are all in its best style. (This is not, however, accurately exhibited in the version.)—

"And now the sun had set with crimson tinge;
The lotus red had lost its glowing hue,
From which it was apparent to the eye
The sun had been a most notorious thief:
The colour of his beams the fact disclosed.
But soon he lost his most unlawful gain,
And suffered for the sly nefarious deed:
For, in proportion to his former light
The darkness thickened round his path—to shew
That loss of glory is the fruit of sin."

There are several very natural expressions of feminine modesty, affection and fidelity put into the mouth of the heroine of the Poem, Damayanti or Bhaimi. We regret, however, to observe that, as in all Hindu works, so here, *Love* is too much of a passion, and too little of a sentiment and principle of the heart. There is timidity, grace, loyalty, devotion on the one side; sacrifice, generosity and faithful attachment on the other; but on both it is clear the affection is far too animal and much too little

* Or moral and natural evil personified.

spiritual, elevated and disinterested. Female lips utter expressions which quite destroy the illusions of poetical imagination and moralized sentiment in the European reader. The sportive scene in B. II, is strongly in proof, to which, however, we can here only make the reference.

Among the truly Hindu notions asserted and illustrated in the Nalodaya, is prominent that of an all-controlling *fatality*, an influence, external to the mind of man, which exerts itself *irresistibly* upon him. Not only in all the depths of his affliction, and his worst reverses, does Nala express his belief of this all-controulling impulse, but even when actually meditating an act of cruel desertion of his suffering and faithful wife, whilst heavy with sorrow, hunger and travel, she lay in uneasy sleep by his side on the cold ground;—a desertion in which we should certainly have reproached the poet with a contrivance to separate the hapless pair, equally clumsy and unnatural, were it not certain that he drew his pictures from real life around him—Thus it is said, that while—

> " His heart reproached him for the cruel deed,
> *His only consolation was in fate,*
> *That so it happens in an evil hour.*
> The strongest foes he had subdued before,
> But now by Káli (moral evil) conquered, &c."

Damayanti, too, amid her lamentations on awaking, uniting a very natural and pleasing expression of affection and forgiveness with her undoubting belief in an absurd and monstrous dogma exclaims,—apostrophising the departed traitor, her selfish husband—

> " Shall I impute it to the want of love ?
> Ah ! No ! be far from thee all treachery !
> I *know that some malignant power unseen*
> Has led thee to commit this foolish act,
> And therefore from my heart forgive thee all !"

Here is a doctrine which, reduced to practice,—as it *is* over all India to the present day—destroys all sense of moral responsibility and freedom of will and action; relaxes all manly energy and virtuous force alike; and, in effect, justifies every manner of base and unworthy deed. The Hindu never dreams of "resisting the devil, that he may flee from him," and, "having done all" that conscience, piety and goodness suggest and enjoin, "standing in the evil day." He rather basely and treacherously yields him at the first onset, and pleads *his fate* to excuse his cowardice, apathy and wickedness!

Again; the transitoriness of human life and its satisfactions, is made an argument, in true epicurean style, for sensual indul-

gence. The *Carpe diem* system is well understood in India. Thus sings Kálidása, addresing the fair sex too!—

> ——————" Remember
> That youth is like the season of the spring
> When freshness gives a grace to every flower;
> *But long it will not last. Improve it now,*
> And taste the sweets of *friendship* while you may."

The term 'friendship' is not a correct version of the original; '*love*' would have been as chaste and more to the point—but than the verse would have halted.

Again, men and women in seasons of calamity talk with *impassioned coolness*, if we may be allowed the expression, of having recourse to a voluntary death. This is a sin and mischief awfully prevalent in India; the natural growth from the universal belief in fate and transmigration, as well as in the irresistible influence of evil. Thus Damayanti, after the beautiful utterance quoted above, in which she compares Nala, the object of her fond devotion, to the warming fire that pervades and consumes the glowing iron—thus passionately exclaims:—

> " But why should we, consuming and consumed,
> Remain? *Depart my soul, and end the pain.*
> ——————' *Tis best to die!*
> O wolf, from yonder awful cavern, come!
> And in thy fury quickly life destroy.
> —— How can I endure to live, when he
> On whom my hopes of earthly bliss depend,
> Unkind and absent, leads a wretched life?
> O hungry Rákshasa* come and devour!
> Thy sides are lank with long continued want;
> Then come and fill them with this flesh of mine!
> In thee compassion cannot plead excuse,
> For thou hast none. O lend thy grinding teeth,
> And in return to thee my heart I give."

Yet, immediately upon this, she addresses herself in prayer to the deities Brahmá and Vishnu! asking them to pour vengeance on the foes of her Lord and herself, and cries—

> " Exert thy power, and pour on them thy wrath
> Which torrent-like shall sweep them all away!"

It is surely needless to remark upon a faith which inculcates such delusions, destructive alike of virtue and happiness, of piety and fortitude; which robs affliction both of its consolation and its softening, correcting power; nay, which overthrows the very foundation of all religion and morals.

Dr. Yates's volume contains *first* the original Sanskrit in the Devanágarí character, together with a prose commentary—

* A class of Goblins, or rapacious fiends that feed on human flesh.

without which no Pandit, even the most learned, ever pretends to read this singular work; another strong argument, by the way, in proof of our theory of the Sanskrit language! The *alliterations*, on which the whole sense turns, are marked by a line beneath, since the Indian alphabets afford no such assistance as is obtained from the use of our *italic types*. This part of the work occupies 165 pages. Next follows the metrical English version, extending to page 222. Then comes "an Essay on Alliteration, with specimens of Artificial Verses," reaching to page 264. These are followed by "An account of other oriental works on the same subject as the Nalodaya," also with specimens, terminating on page 306. Last of all is given "An analysis of the Nalodaya," i. e. a grammatical resolution of the original, verse by verse, which extends to a hundred pages more, and concludes the work. This portion of it will, no doubt, prove very acceptable to the student; but with a very little additional *particularity*, without any further enlargement, might have been rendered far more serviceable than it now is. Having examined it closely, through the whole of the first book, we are competent to speak confidently upon this point. It is true the sense in many places is difficult; and the commentators differ in their solutions. Yet, fixing upon that which seems the preferable, by more accurately *resolving its composition*, not only the learner but even the more advanced would have been saved a world of difficulty; and, what is of far more consequence, the expenditure of time,—which is too precious to be wasted on the solution of conundrums as which when they *are* solved, are often like rotten nuts, not worth the cracking,—been greatly economized. It is often difficult to reconcile the version with the *analysis*, and both with the Commentary. We must take the work as it is, however; and such as it is, we offer our best thanks to the labourious compiler for the gift. He has rendered many services to Indian literature; and though neither a profound scholar, nor exhibiting always a very correct taste, he is yet always respectable; and has, by dint of diligence perseverance, and unsparing toil, effected much that deserves the gratitude of those who may profit by his labour.

The essay on Alliteration has been published before; it now appears in an enlarged and improved condition. It supplies ample information on the subject, with numerous well selected specimens of the different forms noted in it. Our readers would have reason to complain if we did not afford them a few samples. After quoting specimens,—1st of verses from which some particular class of lette is excluded

as labials, palatines, compound letters, &c. the compiler gives, 2dly instances of *proper* alliteration, or iterated reduplication of the *same* letter or letters. Here is one in which the stanza is constructed with only a *single consonant*, which differs in each half foot. Thus--

Jajaujojájijijjáji tantatotitatátitut |
Bhábhobhíbhábhibhúbhábhúrárárirarirírarah ||

Again

Sasásihsásusúhsáso yeyáyeyáyayáyayah |
Lalau lílán lalo lolah shashíshashishushíhshashan ||

If the reader can manage to utter these monuments of a depraved, barbarous and ridiculous taste, he will perhaps ask if *any sense* can by possibility be elicited from them? We answer, in *Sanskrit*, yes; but of no other human tongue certainly could the same affirmation be predicated. These precious fooleries are made to mean as follows—

1. "The warring foe, overpowering all the sons of courage, distressing the most brave, glorious, exceeding in terror, a fearless elephant, and advancing in his chariot, then attacked him."

2. "He with his sword, his arrow and bow, and with a genius fit for all warlike operations, firm and active, starting up against the son of Shiva, displayed his prowess."

In another variety a *single letter*, *i. e.* one *consonant* only, is introduced through the entire stanza. Thus,

Dádadoduddaduddádídádádodúdadídadoh |
Duddádahdadadeduddedadádadadadodadah ||

Which ridiculous *chattering* is thus resolved—

"Krishna the benevolent, the troubler of the injurious, the purifier, whose arm is destructive to the impious, who gives both to the liberal and the miser, and is the destroyer of destroyers, discharged a weapon at the enemy."

Other specimens of perverted ingenuity will be found in Dr. Yates's curious essay, exhibiting ample illustration of the truly wonderful construction and flexibility of this singular language, and equally of the correctness of the hypothesis we have put forth. Thus, sometimes it is not mere *literal* reduplication that effects the object, but *verbal*, or a play upon words; either the same precise term bearing different acceptations, or, as differently divided, forming various words, with of course various meanings; as,

Navánaraih parikrántán mahadbhirbhímavikramaih |
Navánaraih parikrántán dadáha nagarín kapih ||

"The *monkey* burnt the city which was not accessible to other

great and powerful *monkeys* or to be overcome by *men.*" Here read, in the first line—na vánaraih, &c. 'not by monkeys;' in the second, na vá naraih, &c. 'nor yet by men, &c.'

Still, the powers of the ever malleable Sanskrit are not exhausted. Verses are composed in it, in which the *same word*, as to appearance, may be reiterated through a whole stanza and yet make good sense! i. e.

Samánayá samánayá samánayá samánayá |
Samánayá samánayá samánayá samánayá ||

Yet this is not *battology* or 'endless repetition' of the same *word* in the same *sense*; no, gentle reader, it in good sooth gives out this meaning—"O thou! who participatest in my feelings, effect the union of me with this maiden, alike unparalleled by any; in whom loveliness and accomplishments are combined; but who is filled with haughtiness (disdain) and indifferent to my sufferings." Can any waste of time, talent and labour, more profitless and vain, be conceived? Yet such were the senseless exercises to which a mind and powers like those of Kálidása, and many others, permitted themselves to be chained by the love of a worthless fame and the depraved taste of semi-barbarous ages and people!

The last of these strange crudities is the class of *figurative alliteration*, or verses constructed in the ordinary way, but arrranged in certain *forms* or *figures;* as of a running stream, a square, a drum, a wheel, or a lotus-flower; a star, a cross, a sword, a bow and arrow, a tree, a flag, a boat, a serpent, and so on. Several of these were first published, by the present Reviewer, in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, some years ago, with other similar curiosities; from whence they have been borrowed by Dr. Yates and given with others in his own collection.

On a review of these singular compositions and of the whole work, we come to the same conclusion with Dr. Yates, that "the very ingenious specimens of alliteration which have been brought forward must convince every unprejudiced mind that the natives of this country are by no means deficient in intellect. It must, at the same time, be regretted that their attention to those parts of learning which required great ingenuity, has diverted their minds from that correct and dignified style of *prose* composition in which the Greek and Latin writers (and *we* add, those of all other western nations) so much excel them; and which, to a nation, is of far greater importance than all the embellishments of poetry."

On the whole our readers will gather that we,—after a number

of years and great labour expended on the Sanskrit language and literature, and those of some of its derivatives, especially the less refined, perhaps, but certainly far more simple, beautiful and practicable Bengáli—have come to the settled conviction that while the Sanskrit is, and will continue to be, an astonishing monument of human ingenuity and skill, it is certainly not less so of human selfishness and folly. "The wise have been taken in their own craftiness." The *sacred* language of the Gods and Priests has not only ceased to be the spoken dialect of any nation upon earth, though once the most extensively used of all the languages of man,—as witness its various cognates among all the Cushite nations, the Teutonic, Sclavonian, Greek, Latin, Saxon, Zand, old Persian and others—but, having been made the instrument of excluding the mass of men from knowledge, and of subjecting them to the blinding and tyrannic sway of a cunning and despotic priesthood, has in the end given place, with the progress of home civilization and foreign conquest, to *vernaculars* infinitely more fitted to be the medium of general intercourse and general illumination. The Sanskrit is already a dead language, and by its very difficulty and refinement hastening to oblivion; nor does it possess, after all fair admissions, a literature of sufficient intrinsic merit, to render it worth the great amount of mental toil and expenditure of time required for its acquisition. This, of course, we mean *generally*. To *the few* it will always be an object of interest; nor will they spare, and rightly, any amount of toil necessary to compass its attainment. To Christian Missionaries it is our settled conviction, that Sanskrit *is an indispensable* acquisition, if either they would attain a correct and *self-effected* acquaintance with the original sources of Hindu philosophy and Hindu faith, or deal intelligently and to any good purpose with the present race of sophists who draw, from its hidden recesses, all their armoury of thought, argument and objection. We do not say that *every* Missionary should learn Sanskrit—though a very little labour would suffice to give him a sufficient skill in it, for *some* of the purposes contemplated—nor that *any* should expend upon the language and literature of the Brahmins an undue portion of time or attention; but we say that such of them as wish either to conciliate or to command the respect of the Brahminical body—and *their* respect is a sure passport to general acceptance and esteem;—such as would draw their information from the fountain-head, without either fear of mistake themselves or danger of being worsted, as Christian evangelists, by the sophistry or bad faith or ignorance of their opponents, must set themselves vigorously and *at first* to

this arduous but necessary study. It will amply repay them in the end. They must not, err nor allow others to err, either by absurdly overrating or vainly underrating the value and importance of Hindu literature. If in history, geography, the exact sciences, the useful arts, the belles lettres, in morals, and above all in theology and mental science, the Sanskrit is eminently defective; yet in law, astronomy, some branches of mathematics, logic and rhetoric it is very respectable; while, from its most legendary literature, its Veds, Puráns and mythological poems, diligence and ingenuity may yet elicit some *facts*, however disguised, that may be of importance hereafter, when brought together, in settling some still obscure problems in human history: and in the regions of poetry and grammar it has incalculable stores of hidden treasures, which only the key of learned patience can unlock and expose to the knowledge and admiration of mankind.

It may be relied on as incontrovertible, that Revelation and Christianity, so far from having any thing to apprehend from the discoveries that have been made, or may yet, as we hope, be made, in Hindu Archæology, Science and Philosophy, have greatly profited, and must progressively profit, by their more extended study. *Magna est veritas et prævalebit*—Truth has nothing to fear from enquiry: on the contrary it is ignorance alone that supports error. Let Hindus be compelled to examine their own literature; let their Vedas and other authorities be dragged forth to light; let them find no refuge in appealing to unknown Shástras and misquoting partially known works of uncertain authority; and they themselves will arrive at a conviction of their errors and absurdities. In this way, and in this alone, can true philosophy and religion gain a continually accrescive reputation and acceptance with learned Hindus, and with the vulgar through them; till, at length, Hinduism fall from its foundation and the everlasting Gospel rise upon its ruins. The Sanskrit language, religion, and philosophy, too, have *moulded* all the thought and phraseology of the Hindus every where; and their several vernaculars are more or less filled, the Bengáli in particular *saturated*, with them. It is morally impossible to recast them and make them take a European character. No, the European teacher must cast himself rather into the Sanskrit mould, and take its full impression, before he can either be at home in dealing with Hinduism and Hindus, or be acceptable and fully intelligible to those whom he instructs. To the neglect of Sanskrit we attribute much of the failure of which complaint is daily made, as experienced in Indian evangelization. *The foreign teachers have not spoken the*

language of the people they taught; they have *not thought in the native mode,* nor spoken in the native *manner, idiom and phraseology:* nor have they been able either fully to comprehend or effectually to answer the objections of their antagonists, for want of a better acquaintance with Hindu Literature; and that is *not* to be obtained *but through the Sanskrit.* If ever they hope to do more extensive service in the holy and merciful cause they advocate, they *must* buckle on their armour afresh, and enter into the very thickest of the battle: they must hunt out the foe in every skulking place and covert, and fairly *wear him out,* till he yields, and the Christian warrior shall be permitted to raise a triumphant shout over fallen Hinduism,—"Victory, Hallelujah, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!"

ART. II.—*India and India Missions; including Sketches of the Gigantic system of Hinduism both in theory and practice; also notices of some of the principal agencies employed in conducting the process of Indian evangelization, &c. &c. By the Rev. Alexander Duff, D. D. Church of Scotland Mission, Calcutta.—Edinburgh,* 1839. *Second Edition,* 1840.

A FULL quarter of a millennium has passed away, since the sagacious Bacon expressed his belief that the period had arrived for the fulfilment of the prophecy of Daniel regarding "the times of the end," when it is predicted that "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be encreased." What would the sage say now, could he bring his conceptions, magnificent as they were for the age in which he lived, into juxta-position with the scenes that are now daily exhibited before our eyes? If *many* went to and fro in his days, how many more in ours! If the many travellers in his day could with any propriety be said to run, what term can be found to describe the rapidity with which land and sea are traversed in these our days? If knowledge were encreased in his days, as compared with the ages that preceded, how immeasurably greater has been its encrease up till the present time! Great as were undoubtedly his conceptions, and bold as was the flight of his anticipative inagination, he would be constrained, if it were given him once more to return to the abodes of living men, to acknowledge that it had not entered into his heart to conceive a tithe of the reality that would burst upon his vision. And yet, after all, the age in which we live is at least as much an age of anticipation, as any of those that preceded it. We feel and know that the course of research

and enlightenment in regard to a vast variety of most important subjects is even now but beginning: while we cannot but believe that there are subjects regarding which our children will wonder, and their children will speculate and theorise, and their descendants of the third and fourth generations will attain to the certainty of knowledge, whose very existence has not yet been "dreamt of in our philosophy."—Or to adopt a comparison of which the great man we have named has more than once made use—many mines have been dug which have just been shewn to contain most precious ore, but which have as yet hardly begun to be wrought, whilst every where beneath our feet there are doubtless veins and beds of richest treasure, that are destined to reward the industry of generations yet unborn. The true Baconian is still cheered with the same expectation of bright days yet undawned, that cheered his great leader in the days of other years.

Nor is this expectation a mere wild imagining resting upon vague analogies. It is a solid and substantial *hope*, with a far firmer and broader basis to support it than had the expectation of Bacon, which has so well stood the test of time. Our hope is, if we may so express it, still more Baconian than was Bacon's. We trust our subject is sufficiently serious and important to justify our drawing an illustration from the sacred writings, as to the difference between the expectations entertained by the gifted few in former days, and the hopes that may be reasonably cherished now, in regard to the onward progress of our race in knowledge and civilization. In the Epistle to the Romans, Chap. v. we read thus:—"By whom we have access by faith into that grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in *hope* of the glory of God: and not only so, but we glory in tribulation also, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience *hope*." The inspired Apostle in this glowing passage distinguishes between two kinds, or at least two degrees of *hope*—the hope that rests on the simple basis of *faith*, and that which stands on the additional foundation of *experience*. It is as if a creditor should receive a promise of the payment, in two instalments, of the sum due to him. As soon as his debtor's word is pledged, he exercises, on the simple *faith* of his debtor's probity and punctuality, a *hope* of the due fulfilment of the promise. But when, notwithstanding that evil times, and days of commercial tribulation intervene, the debtor arrives punctually at the appointed period, and discharges the first part of his obligation, the creditor's *hope* is abundantly strengthened that the second instalment shall also be forthcoming at the stipulated period. He retains all

his original faith in his debtor's honesty, and all the hope that originally sprang from this source: but to this is now superadded another hope which could have no existence before,—the hope derived from experience. Or—to illustrate still further a point that appears to us of high importance,—who is there who does not remember the days of those years, when a holiday excursion was to him the consummation of felicity? When the promise of such an excursion had passed the lips of one that had never deceived us, hope sprung forthwith exultingly into being. It was the hope of simple faith, but with what fears and anxieties had it to struggle during the intervening days. Every cloud that passed over the sun was a cause of alarm: and the very intensity of the expectation made it too difficult for our young faculties to realize its fulfilment. But the morning comes, prolific of sunshine and joy. The nursery resounds with the bustle of preparation. The holiday attire is donned. The early meal is devoured rather than eaten. The ponies are at the door. The girths are tightened. We are mounted, we are away. The hope of experience is in calm exercise now: for the process is visibly begun, which is to end in the accomplishment of our fond desires. This last illustration may appear to some too trifling, as the former may appear too grave; but if the solemnity and importance of the matter to be illustrated will justify the use of the one, the joyousness of it will equally warrant the use of the other. And after all, though the illustration be somewhat trifling, we care but little, provided it be appropriate;—

> Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus hœdos,
> Noram. Sic parvis componere magna solebam.

The hope of faith had its full sway in the mind of Bacon in regard to the future progress of mankind in the career of improvement. We can exercise a hope derived from experience in regard to the continuance and ultimate consummation of that career. His faith was fixed on the right foundation, and the hope that was reared on it was goodly in its proportions. "The beginning of all our hope (says he) is in God. The work in which we are engaged is so good in its nature, that it must certainly have originated with him who is the Author of all good and the Father of lights. But in the Divine works even the smallest beginnings most certainly produce their consequences; and what is said with respect to spiritual things that 'the kingdom of God cometh not with observation', is true also in regard to all the great works of Providence, so that all things progress without

noise and bustle, and the effect is accomplished before men observe or suppose that it is in the course of accomplishment."

Precisely what is true of the acquisition of knowledge, is true also of its diffusion. We have outlived the day when it could be gravely questioned amongst Englishmen whether the masses of the people ought to be educated or not. Men of all parties and all views now agree that no limit can be assigned to the amount of knowledge that ought to be diffused through every grade of society. And although there may be still some, who keep up the cant phraseology of other days, as to the incompatibility of a wide diffusion of knowledge with its depth, yet we doubt not it will soon be universally acknowledged, that, so far from the existence of any such incompatibility, the very reverse is the fact. If it be true that philosophy is extended by a few who shoot ahead of their fellows, and make discoveries which must necessarily for a time be confined to themselves, it stands to reason that the further the many have advanced, the further will the few advance who must still be ahead of the many. As in civil society the Utopian notion of perfect equality of rank and possession is evinced to be a dream and a delusion, so it is in the kingdom of science. The pyramid must verge towards a point: but the broader the base, the higher may we expect the structure to tower. The history of science, in the ages that are past, is a continued illustration of this truth. The philosophers of Egypt and of India, of Greece and of Rome were doubtless possessed of much knowledge, as compared with their degraded countrymen. But the pillar had no base, and it fell from mere top-heaviness. Perhaps the strongest instance of this evil is presented by the history of science in this country of India. In the last number of this journal, in attempting to present a concise view of the attainments of the ancient Hindu Sages in one department of science,* we made it appear that there were great mathematicians in India, a thousand years ago. But where are the mathematics of the Hindus now? Had the knowledge attained by the few been communicated to the many;—had there been a regular supply by means of a comprehensive system of education of those who might at once have treasured up and extended the discoveries of the Sages, India might at this day have held no contemptible place among the nations of the earth. But these philosophers never dreamt of communicating their acquisitions to the "profane vulgar;" and the natural consequence has been the utter extirpation of Hindu science, and the utter blight and prostra-

* Algebra of the Hindus.—*Calcutta Review*, No. IV.

tion of the Hindu mind. To the production of this spirit of exclusiveness the degrading religion of India contributed, along with that natural selfishness of heart and contraction of mind, which alone has produced, in other countries, the same results in a smaller degree. Now, as in the productions of human art, one of the greatest achievements of skill is to make an evil produce its own remedy (as when the undue rapidity of a machine's motion is made, by an ingenious application of the laws of matter and motion, to produce its retardation, and its undue retardation is made to effectuate the necessary acceleration,) so is the infinite wisdom of the supreme Ruler of the world displayed in the eduction, by apparently natural sequences, of the cure of evils out of the evils themselves. The natural consequence of the Brahmanical superstition on the minds of its votaries was universal ignorance and universal depravity, a thorough paralysis of the intellectual and moral energies of the people. This as naturally produced national weakness, and laid India open to all who had greediness enough to covet its riches, and skill enough to overpower their enfeebled guardians. And thus a counteracting element has been introduced into the system. After various changes, the vast continent of India has been subjected to the sway of those who, more than any other nation in the world, have at once the will and the power to diffuse that enlightenment among the people, which will enable them to resume their proper place among the nations of the earth. By the establishment of righteous laws, by the strict and impartial administration of justice, by the encouragement of arts and commerce, and by the intercourse of the people with those who are more enlightened than themselves, much good has been, and is being, effected among the population of India. But among the means by which this elevation of the Indian mind and the rectification of the Indian heart are to be achieved, one of the chief is unquestionably the diffusion of sound knowledge, and the promulgation of the gospel among the people of the land. Without this, all the efforts of governors and jurists, commercialists and economists will be comparatively valueless. It was late in the history of the connection between Europe and India, ere any rational interest was felt by the European people in the mental and moral and spiritual improvement of their brethren in the east. It was not till what the author of the work at the head of this article expressively calls the "eras of romantic imaginative interest," and of "romantic literary interest" had closed, that the era of "vivid religious interest" was ushered in—

"As the era of romantic literary interest began to wane, the era of vivid

religious interest began to emerge, in splendour from the shadowy twilight, of a long protracted dawn. And was it not for the manifestation of this brighter era, and the realization of its promised blessings, that all else which preceded it was overruled by Divine Providence as subservient and preparatory? Can it be that a power so tremendous, over an empire so vast and a people so countless, has been placed in the hands of a few Britons for no higher end than that of enabling them to gratify their ambition, their avarice, their vain-glorious tastes, and lawless appetites? No. Reason, philosophy, sound theism, Revelation;—all must unite in repelling the insinuation, as not less dishonourable than false. Whatever man may think, He who guides the course of providence, with whom one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day, has respect to the everlasting covenant,—the mercies of which are sure; and the privileges of which shall one day be extended to all the kindreds of the nations. The march of His dispensations may appear slow, and their developement obscure, to a creature like man, whose term of being is so swiftly run out, and whose power of vision is so feeble and so faint;—nevertheless there is a progress that is stedfast, a developement that is clearly defined;—and there shall be a glorious consummation. The decree hath gone forth—and who can stay its execution?—that India shall be the Lord's;—that Asia shall be the Lord's;—yea, that all the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ.

And can it be, that Britain, the most central kingdom of the habitable world—inasmuch as of all existing capitals, its metropolis is that which would form the centre of the largest hemisphere tenanted by man,—Britain, the most highly favoured with the light and life of Revelation,—Britain, the most signally privileged with the ability, and the will, and the varied facilities for dispensing blessings among the nations:—can it be without a reference to the grand designs of Providence and of grace, that Britain, so circumstanced and endowed, has, in a way so unparalleled, been led to assume the sovereignty of India?—India that occupies the same commanding position in relation to the densely peopled regions of southern and eastern Asia that Palestine does to the Old World; and Britain, to both Old and New?—India, which—itself containing *a fifth* of the world's inhabitants,—when once thrown open, may thus become a door of access to *two-fifths* more?—India, which, when once lighted up by the lamp of salvation, may become a spiritual Pharos, to illumine more than half the population of the globe? No: it cannot be.

Mark the singular concatenation of events. The treasures of India, by awakening the cupidity, had, for ages, summoned forth the energies, of successive nations of the West. As the emporium of commerce was gradually transferred to countries more remote, the difficulties of direct communication —from the trackless deserts and unknown oceans that intervened,—became increasingly multiplied. Then it was that the tide of enthusiasm, which had so long found its proper outlet in crusades and chivalry, was turned into the channels of maritime discovery with a special view to India. Hence the extraordinary series of voyages which terminated in doubling the Cape. Once landed on the longed-for shores, the Europeans soon perceived that in order to secure uninterruptedly the advantage of Indian commerce, they must become masters of the Indian soil. Hence the unprecedented series of conquests, which terminated in the unrivalled supremacy of the British. Possessed of the Indian territory, the British soon found that, in order to retain it, they must conciliate the natives by a due attention to their customs, manners, and laws. Hence the remarkable series of investigations which terminated in unlocking the mysteries of Sanskrit lore.

All things being now ready, there began to spring up in the bosom of the British churches a wide and simultaneous sense of the solemn responsibility

under which they had been laid by the events of Providence, to avail themselves of so favourable an opening for the diffusion of the Gospel throughout the Eastern World. Men qualified to undertake the high commission, must be sent across the ocean;—and have not the toils, and perils, and successes of Vasco De Gama and other navigators opened up a safe and easy passage? That their labours might pervade the country, and strike a deep and permanent root into the soil, they must be delivered from the caprices of savage tyranny and the ebullitions of heathen rage;—and have not our Clives and our Wellingtons wrested the rod of power from every wilful despot; and our Hastings and Wellesleys thrown the broad shield of British justice and British protection alike over all? In order that they might the more effectually adapt their communications to the peculiarities of the people, they must become acquainted with the learned language of the country, and through it with the real and original sources of all prevailing opinions and observances, sacred and civil;—and have not our Joneses and our Colebrookes unfolded the whole, to prove subservient to the cause of the Christian philanthropist? In this way, have not our *navigators*, our *warriors*, our *statesmen*, and our *literati*, been unconsciously employed, under an overruling Providence, as so many *pioneers* to prepare the way for our Swartzes, our Buchanans, our Martyns, and our Careys?"

Now by a wonderful but natural process, and not the less wonderful because it is natural, this vivid religious interest has excited a more lively and rational *imaginative* interest, and a more rational *literary* interest in the country, and people, and literature, and science of India, than was ever excited by the romantic dreams, and literary researches of those who sought after nought else than romance and literature. It is a bountiful and gracious provision of the Author of our mental and spiritual constitution, that it is impossible for us to engage disinterestedly in any good work for the benefit of others, without experiencing a reflex benefit accruing to ourselves. When we wish peace to a household, even if the peace come not to its members, it returns to ourselves. Thus mercy,

> Is twice blessed—
> It blesseth him who gives and him who takes.

This is, in a singular manner, true in regard to the efforts that have been made to diffuse the blessings of sound knowledge, and especially the best of all knowledge, among the people of India. Those who have "run to and fro" over the land with the view of "encreasing knowledge" among its people, have not returned empty-handed, but have greatly encreased their own knowledge, and that of those who have sent them forth. We might naturally expect *a priori* to find this result accruing from well directed efforts to spread sound knowledge among a people. "There is that giveth and yet encreaseth, and there is that withholdeth more than is meet and it tendeth to poverty." So we have actually found it, and so it will be found still more, as the channels are more freely

opened between the British and Indian minds, between the Christian and Hindu hearts. There is in Physics a process, discovered, if we remember aright, by M. Dutrochet, called *entosmosis* and *exosmosis*, in virtue of which certain liquids or gases separated from certain other liquids or gases by a thin membrane not otherwise penetrable by either, will change places, the one that was above the membrane finding its way to the lower side, and its place being supplied by that which was originally below. So it has been to a certain extent, and so it will yet be still more, in regard to European and Oriental knowledge. The vessel that comes to the shores of India freighted with the rich treasure of instruction for its people, needs not return in ballast. India has store enough at least of *raw material* to furnish a return cargo. Some of her stores she has already yielded up at the demand of those who brought to her the invaluable treasure of knowledge. If we speak of scientific matters, we have the Jesuit Missionaries making the European world acquainted with the Astronomy of the Hindus.* Or if we speak of the romance of Indian scenery and of Indian life, to whose pages shall we rather turn than to those of that "mitred minstrel" who tuned his sweetly sounding harp by Gunga's holy stream? But the first Englishmen that ever came to the shores of Bengal with the single purpose of communicating to the *natives* of India, the pure gospel of salvation through the life and death of the incarnate Son of the Eternal and Invisible God, were the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore. They were singular and extraordinary men, and the effect they produced upon the views and interest of the people of England in regard to India were of no ordinary kind. With no advantages of academic training, graduates of no college, doctors of no science, with their habits formed in the usages of ordinary artizanship, they came out to India to tell the people of the decease accomplished by Jesus of Nazareth at Jerusalem; and without their seeking it, they were led into various courses of research that issued in their being the agents in diffusing a greater amount of accurate knowledge regarding India and its people, their languages, habits and religion, than had ever been accessible to European students before. A few years before they came to India, Carey and Marshman, (and we suppose Ward also, though we do not remember to have heard aught of his early history) were men of whom it might be said that "They knew, and knew no more, their bible true," and a few years after their arrival, we find them grappling successfully

* See "Astronomy of the Hindus." *Cal. Rev.* No. II.

with some of the most difficult subjects of philological and ethnographical research; and until this hour their works are among the most important sources from which the student must gain his knowledge of India and Indian things. He who would enquire into the natural products of the country will find that he must proceed a long way before he reach the point to which Carey led the way. He who would study the Philosophy of Indian life, and the laws and usages of the people, will find much information in the periodical writings of Dr. Marshman; while the student of men and manners might live long in the land, and observe very closely the daily customs of the people, and enquire very earnestly and very carefully into the popular mythology, without getting any information that he might not have got from the classical work of Mr. Ward. Strange it assuredly seems, that the men who were reviled as base-born demagogues, who would, if let alone, unsettle all our institutions, and stir up our Indian subjects to rebellion and revolt, the men who were long denied access into our territories, should have been the very leaders of the way towards that accurate knowledge of the country, its products and resources, the languages, customs and superstitions of the people, which must now be universally acknowledged to be the stable basis of British rule in this country;—according to the trite apoplethegm of the sage father of our philosophy, that *knowledge is power*.

This process of the interchange of knowledge,—giving that which is infinitely valuable, and receiving that in exchange which, however valueless in itself, receives value from the purpose to which it can be rendered subservient—this process has still gone on. We might name many missionaries, both past and present, whose works have contributed much towards the exciting of a rational and intelligent interest in India, and its people. But without mentioning names, we may just allude to the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, a periodical conducted, and almost exclusively contributed to, by missionaries, whose pages contain an immense fund of interesting and important information in regard to the languages and religions and customs of India.*

But independently of the *amount* of information that has been diffused throughout Britain by means of missionaries and missionary societies, the *forms* in which it has been disseminated must have rendered it in the highest degree operative and efficacious. Sir William Jones, and Mr. Colebrooke, and Mr.

* As complete sets of this publication are now scarcely procurable, we would venture to recommend to its proprietors, the reprint, in one or two volumes, of some of the most important of its papers.

Davies, and Mr. Bentley, and Mr. Wilkins, and a host of others, might have written for a hundred years twice told without the great body of the people of England becoming a whit the wiser. For them the Asiatic Researches might as well have been written in Sanskrit. But the letter of the missionary went home, giving a graphic delineation of what he saw with his eyes and heard with his ears. He described towns and villages, not with the dull tabular accuracy of the statist, but with the *feeling* of one who was walking from day to day in their streets, preaching in their bazars, and eating his meals under their trees. He described the people, not with the minute accuracy of the physiologist, but with the *feeling* of the man who was daily and hourly conversing with them, laboring for them and praying for them. He spoke of their language, not with the skill perhaps and philosophical minuteness of the philologer, but with the *feeling* of one who was striving from hour to hour to employ it as a vehicle for the communication of the truths of salvation to his fellow-men. He wrote what he *felt*, and thus he produced *feeling* in the hearts of those whom he addressed: and under the influence of this feeling, names of most uncouth sound became familiar as household words; and Serampore, the home of Carey, and Dinapore, the temporary residence of Henry Martyn, became familiar to the people of England, who might have read their names a thousand times in a book of geography, and seen their population numbered according to the most accurate census in a statistical table, without attaching a single idea either to the names or to the numbers.

In this view, apart altogether from its direct result in the evangelization of the people of India, which is unquestionably by far the greatest blessing that could be conferred upon them, we attach very great importance to the *vivid religious interest* which is characteristic of the present era of the relation between Great Britain and her Indian territory, and we look with great regard upon the "Missionary literature" that has lately begun to exist in England. A most favorable specimen of this description of literature is the work of Dr. Duff, a work in which are finely manifested a comprehensive and enlarged understanding, a sound judgment, a most fervid imagination, all enlisted in one great service, and directed to one great end, by that singleness of purpose which is essential to success in every great undertaking. This concentration of purpose, the *hoc age* spirit of the Roman Poet, the *do it with thy might* principle of the inspired Hebrew moralist is finely exhibited in the work before us. No matter what be the subject that the author is led to

treat, be it historical, literary, philosophical or poetical, all is bent to one common centre, the work of the "Indian evangelization." It is this singleness and well-definedness of purpose and of aim that gives such a practically useful tendency to the class of works of which this is a specimen. The information that they convey takes a lodgement in the mind, because it passes through the mere "chambers of imagery" and finds its way right to the heart, and mingles itself with the springs of action in the soul. There is as much difference between the knowledge thus communicated with a direct view to practical purposes, and that which is communicated without any such view, as there is between the skill of the merely theoretical mechanician and that of the operative engineer; while on the other hand there is as much difference between the operations of the man who is merely impelled to action by unintelligent feeling, and that of him who is urged by rational interest in the work to be accomplished, as between the operations of the scientific engineer and those of the empirical artizan. Bishop Butler in his "analogy" has admirably stated a principle by which the superiority of knowledge acquired with a view to practical results over that acquired without any such view is finely illustrated:—

"The constitution of human creatures, and indeed of all creatures which come under our notice, is such, as that they are capable of naturally becoming qualified for states of life, for which they were once wholly unqualified. In imagination we may indeed conceive of creatures, as incapable of having any of their faculties naturally enlarged, or as being unable naturally to acquire any new qualifications; but the faculties of every species known to us are made for enlargement, for acquirements of experience and habits. We find ourselves, in particular, endued with capacities, not only of perceiving ideas, and of knowledge or perceiving truth, but also of storing up our ideas and knowledge by memory. We are capable, not only of acting and of having different momentary impressions made upon us, but of getting a new facility in any kind of action, and of settled alterations in our temper or character. The power of the two last is the power of habits. But neither the perception of ideas, nor knowledge of any sort, are habits, though absolutely necessary to the forming of them. However, apprehension, reason, memory, which are the capacities of acquiring knowledge, are greatly improved by exercise. Whether the word *habit* is applicable to all these improvements, and, in particular, how far the powers of memory and of habits may be powers of the same nature, I shall not inquire. But that perceptions come into our minds readily and of course, by means of their having been there before, seems a thing of the same sort, as readiness in any particular kind of action, proceeding from being accustomed to it. And aptness to recollect practical observations of service in our conduct, is plainly habit in many cases. There are habits of perception, and habits of action. An instance of the former, is our constant and even involuntary readiness in correcting the impressions of our sight concerning magnitudes and distances, so as to substitute judgment in the room of sensation, imper-

ceptibly to ourselves. And it seems as if all other associations of ideas, not naturally connected, might be called passive habits, as properly as our readiness in understanding languages upon sight, or hearing of words. And our readiness in speaking and writing them is an instance of the latter, of active habits. For distinctness, we may consider habits as belonging to the body, or the mind, and the latter will be explained by the former. Under the former are comprehended all bodily activities or motions, whether graceful or unbecoming, which are owing to use; under the latter, general habits of life and conduct, such as those of obedience and submission to authority, or to any particular person; those of veracity, justice, and charity; those of attention, industry, self-government, envy, revenge. And habits of this latter kind seem produced by repeated acts, as well as the former. And in like manner, as habits belonging to the body are produced by external acts, so habits of the mind are produced by the exertion of inward practical principles; *i. e.* by carrying them into act, or acting upon them, the principles of obedience, of veracity, justice, and charity. Nor can those habits be formed by any external course of action, otherwise than as it proceeds from these principles; because it is only these inward principles exerted, which are strictly acts of obedience, of veracity, of justice, and of charity. So, likewise, habits of attention, industry, self-government, are in the same manner, acquired by exercise; and habits of envy and revenge by indulgence, whether in outward act or in thought and intention *i. e.* inward act; for such intention is an act. Resolutions also to do well are properly acts: And endeavouring to enforce upon our own minds a practical sense of virtue or to beget in others that practical sense of it which a man really has himself, is a virtuous act. All these, therefore, may and will contribute towards forming good habits. But, going over the theory of virtue in one's thoughts, talking well, and drawing fine pictures of it, this is so far from necessarily or certainly conducing to form an habit of it in him who thus employs himself, that it may harden the mind in a contrary course, and render it gradually more insensible, *i. e.* form an habit of insensibility to all moral considerations. For, from our very faculty of habits, passive impressions, by being repeated, grow weaker. Thoughts, by often passing through the mind, are felt less sensibly; being accustomed to danger, begets intrepidity, *i. e.* lessens fear; to distress, lessens the passion of pity; to instances of others' mortality lessens the sensible apprehension of our own. And from these two observations together, that practical habits are formed and strengthened by repeated acts, and that passive impressions grow weaker by being repeated upon us, it must follow that active habits may be gradually forming and strengthening, by a course of acting upon such and such motives and excitements whilst these motives and excitements themselves are, by proportionable degrees, growing less sensible; *i. e.* are continually less and less sensibly felt, even as the active habits strengthen. And experience confirms this; for active principles, at the very time that they are less lively in perception than they were, are found to be somehow wrought more thoroughly into the temper and character, and become more effectual in influencing our practice."

It is evidently from a clear perception of the superiority of that rational interest which is founded on full and distinct knowledge, over that which is based merely on excitement or impulse, that the author of the work before us has introduced his lucid "sketch of the gigantic system of Hinduism." This

portion of the work is worthy to take its place with any work that we know on the history of philosophy. It presents a view as clear as the subject admits of, and far clearer than we should have supposed that it does admit, of one of the strangest systems of metaphysical philosophy that has ever been excogitated by the unregulated powers of erring man. The metaphysico-theological system of the Hindus was before almost unknown to the learned, and now it is treated in such a manner as to render a clear apprehension of it accessible even to the unlearned. In regard to this system, the work of Ward, to which we have already alluded, is singularly deficient. While his work is full of most accurate information in regard to the popular mythology, the Vedic or philosophical system of Hinduism was evidently beyond his grasp. The consequence is that misconceptions of the notion and character of Hinduism are exceedingly prevalent; and these misconceptions, we apprehend, are of two kinds, totally distinct from, and about opposite to one another. While multitudes conceive of Hinduism as nothing more than a mass of meaningless services rendered to ill-shapen images of clay, and are altogether ignorant of the existence of any more refined system than the popular idolatry, others on the contrary have lauded beyond all measure the philosophical system of Hinduism, and have represented its cultivators as the most accomplished of sages. As is usual in such cases, truth lies between these extremes. There is unquestionably among the Hindus a system, be it called theological or metaphysical, superior in some respects, though by no means in all, to the disgusting and debasing system of mythology inculcated upon, and believed in by, the mass of the people; but this system, so far from meriting the overstrained commendations that have been again and again bestowed upon it, is at the best only not quite so absurd, or quite so debasing as the popular system.

The fundamental doctrine of this system, whether viewed as one of theological metaphysics or metaphysical theology, is the doctrine of the divine unity. But they very grievously mistake, who, carried away by the prominence given to this doctrine, as many have been, conceive of the system as one of pure theism. It is the doctrine of theism as taught in the Bible that "there is one God," and it is the doctrine of philosophical Hinduism also as taught in the Vedas, and more especially in the Vedantas, that "there is one God." But yet no two doctrines can be more distinct from each other than these two as thus taught although they may be enunciated in the same words. The doctrine of the Bible is that there is one God to the exclusion of

all other Gods, but the doctrine of the Hindus is that there is one God, to the exclusion of all other existences whatsoever. In the whole universe nothing exists but God. God is every thing, and every thing is God. The pen with which we now write, the ink that flows from it, the paper on which the characters are traced, and the characters that are traced upon it, the hand that writes, the mind that conceives, all are God. Thus it appears that the Hindu system is not one of Theism, but of what has been called Pantheism; and this pantheism is perfectly compatible with every form of idolatry, and is indeed the foundation of those arguments by which idolatry is constantly defended by the Hindus. For if every thing be God, and God be every thing, then an idol is God, and God is an idol. This system moreover strikes at the root of all morality. Whatever man does, God does, for every man is God, but God is not responsible to any, therefore man, who is God, cannot be responsible to any. In fact there is but one being or existence in the universe, consequently it is impossible that this being should either at all injure any other or benefit any other. There is therefore neither right nor wrong in human actions.

All the Hindu philosophers seem to agree in regard to this essential unity of the Godhead; but, as might be expected, they vary greatly from each other in their attempts to explain the existence of the universe as a particular manifestation of God, and to reconcile the qualities of matter and spirit which adhere in that universe, which they hold to be God, with the attributes they ascribe to the Deity. Strange to say, the chief of these attributes is that he is wholly without attributes; he is *nirgun*—destitute of all qualities; in fact he exists not: for the terms they make use of in describing him are the very terms that would be employed in describing *nothing*, or a negation of existence. Thus the boasted *theism* of the Hindus approaches indefinitely near to *atheism*.

In regard to the origin or manifestation of the universe, our author distinguishes four theories or systems as held by different Hindu philosophers, all professing to derive their systems from the Vedas. These systems he describes, as *first*, a system of spiritual pantheism properly so called; *second*, a combination of spiritualism and idealism, which he designates the psycho-ideal system; *third*, a combination of spiritualism with a peculiar modification of spirit, which approaches, at least more than any other manifestation of spirit, to materialism; he therefore calls this system the psycho-material; and *fourth*, a combination of this last with the popular mythology. We wish our limits would permit us to extract at length the author's account of these four

systems, but this would extend our article beyond its due bounds; we must therefore try to give the best abstract of his account of them that we can.

According to all the systems, Brahm, the great incomprehensible spirit, existed from all eternity in a state of the most profound repose, utterly unconscious even of his own existence. Even this consciousness would be an invasion of his unity, which, according to the Hindus, is so absolute, that it excludes the existence even of an idea or a notion. He is *aditya* (without a second) to such an extent, that there does not exist even consciousness, or any idea or notion besides himself. Equally incapable of enjoyment or suffering, of action or of passion, of will or desire, he existed in a state, which, as we have said already, it is altogether impossible to distinguish from non-existence.

"Yet this simple, unextended, indivisible—this formless, motionless, qualityless being does not always continue to exist amid the rayless gloom in a state of dreamless imperturbable repose. No: After the lapse of unnumbered ages, he somehow or other suddenly awakes. Becoming for a moment apprehensive or conscious of his own existence, he breaks the death-like universal silence, by uttering the words, "Brahm is," or, "I am." No longer quiescent—motion being now excited in him—he assumes and exhibits active qualities and attributes. "Dissatisfied," says the sacred oracle, "with his own solitariness, a wish or desire for quality arises in his mind. In a moment, though himself devoid of form, he in sport imagines a form." It is the universal form; or the ideal form, model, or exemplar of the subsequently manifested universe. "The question," as an eminent Orientalist has remarked "the question, how does desire or volition arise in this simple being?—forms the subject of many disputes; but I believe that even the subtilty of Hindu metaphysics has not yet furnished a satisfactory reply."

Now according to the *first* system distinguished by our author, or the purely spiritual system, the wish conceived by Brahm to "become many" was immediately efficacious in causing him to "assume the apparent reality of all those multitudinous existences and forms, which constitute at once the souls of men and the objects of materialism." According to this system, therefore, every thing that exists, or rather seems to exist, is but an illusory manifestation of the Deity. I think that my hand, my pen, my ink and my paper have a substantive existence, but this is a mere delusion. All these things are but illusory manifestations of the divine essence. Yea, I myself, who *think* that I *think*, do not think at all, for I do not exist at all. I do not *think*, I do not *think* that I *think*, I do not *think* that I *think* that I *think*; my thoughts are mere illusions, neither they nor myself have any substantive existence at all. Thus the pure spirituality of the system is maintained

by utterly denying the existence of matter; the unity of God is vindicated by denying the existence of spirit apart from himself. This system,—which of coure it is vain to attempt to refute, since no argument adduced by a non-existent can be of any avail for the conviction of a non-existent—is supported by vague analogies and illustrations, which always pass with every class of Hindus in place of arguments. Thus it is said that the qualities which we think we see in material things are only manifestations of God, who nevertheless is *nirgun*, or wholly without any qualities whatever, "as the clear crystal seemingly colored by the red blossom of a hibiscus (seen through it) is not the less colorless in reality;" or just as the sun, when reflected from a thousand mirrors, may appear to be a thousand suns, while nevertheless he is but one.

By the *second*, or psycho-ideal system, the manifestation of the universe (for it were altogether an abuse of terms to call it a creation) was not the immediate effect of the volition of the awakened Brahm. Intermediate between the conception of the volition and the accomplishment of it was the production of the *shakti*, "the active volition, excited will, or omnipotent energy." Here then, it will be said, is the admission of a *second* existence separated from Brahm. But no! It is separated from Brahm, but it is not an existence. It is personified and it is active, but it is not an existence! It is, says our author, quoting the words of Sir G. Haughton, "something *actual*, but not any thing *essential*, a something certainly that never before entered the head of any other than a Hindu philosopher; and which, for want of a better term, we must call an actuality; that is, something possessing *potentiality*, but destitute of *essentiality!*" This *shakti*, thus called into being, begins to operate upon certain portions of the essence of Brahm. From these, without dividing or separating them from the main body (if we may be permitted to use the expression) he takes away the consciousness of union with it, very much as the cutting of the nerve of sensation will isolate a limb from the body of which it still forms a part. Thus isolated portions of the essence of Brahm, are in some such way, by the operation of the *shakti*, made to conceive of themselves as separate and distinct from Brahm. They suppose themselves to be human souls, or souls of other creatures, as the case may be. Upon those portions of Brahm, thus deluded into the conviction that they exist as separate entities from him, the Shakti next operates to excite all the instincts and emotions, all the sensations and perceptions, that they suppose to be excited by the phenomena of an external world. No such world however, and no such phe-

nomena, really exist. Brahm, and he alone, exists. All else is *Maya*, illusion, deception. This theory is like the former, in holding that nothing but Brahm really exists, but it differs from it in this, that whereas the former holds the material and spiritual universe to be a real immediate manifestation of the *whole deity* (if so we may be permitted to express it,) the latter maintains that the spiritual universe consists of isolated (though physically unseparated) *portions* of the deity, while what is supposed to be the material universe has no existence at all. This theory, like the former, is of course supported abundantly by analogies. In sound reasoning, as every one knows, an analogy can prove nothing, but in the estimation of all Hindus whatsoever, an illustration or analogy always passes current as an irrefragable demonstration. With them the argument passes as faultless,—'We see many instances of deception of the senses, and know that man is liable to error, *therefore* all his sensations and perceptions, all his consciousness and memory, are a grand deception and illusion.'

"Look," may the expounders of Hindu theology say, 'look at the glittering stream: what do you behold therein?' I behold, you reply, the sun pouring his rays of effulgent glory on a gladdened world. 'Turn your eyes to that desert of sand: what do you discern?' A shining expanse of living water. 'When shut up in a dark cave which admits light only through one narrow cleft or crevice: what do you witness on the opposite wall?' Shapes and forms of various creatures animate and inanimate. 'But is it really a luminary of material fire that you behold in the stream; or a reservoir of the aqueous element in the desert; or solid substantial figures in the cave?' No; they are all of them illusive appearances. They are all, and all alike, *mere images* or *shadows!* 'Well then,' say the Hindus, 'such and none other are all the phenomena of the supposed external universe. They are all illusive appearances—all unsubstantial images or shadows. To suppose them to be realities is the grossest possible mistake."

The *third*, or psycho-material system, (so called by our author, as has been already explained, not because it really admits the existence of any thing actually material, but because it holds that what we call the material universe is a real existence, being in effect a peculiar modification of spirit.) This system teaches that all beings were evolved from the substance of Brahm, by successive evolutions or developments, much in the same way in which the tubes of a telescope are drawn out from within each other. From him indeed directly nothing but pure spirit did or could emanate; but from the direct emanations others were evolved successively less and less pure in their spirituality, until things which we call and regard as material were last of all evolved. Let us suppose for example Brahm to give out a portion of his own substance, as the

fire gives out a spark. It is the *intellectual principle* of a man. From this is again evolved the *conscious principle*, and from this directly but successively proceed the *five elementary particles* or *atoms* in the order of their tenuity, first the atom of ether, then from it that of *air*, from air that of *fire*, from fire that of *water*, and from water that of *earth*. After these elements have thus been evolved from the conscious principle, there proceed from it also the *eleven organs of sense and action*. From these principles of intellect and consciousness, and these eleven organs of sense and action, and these five elementary atoms, are formed, by various combinations, the various substances of the existing universe, all derived originally from the substance of Brahm, and still forming a constituent part of that substance. And here again analogical arguments are resorted to for the vindication and proof of this theory—

"But can it really be, that gross matter is held to be an *educt* from spirit; and of the very essence and substance of God? Is there no mistake arising from the figures and metaphors of oriental fancy? None whatever. In every variety and mode of speech is it asserted, that Brahm is at once the efficient and the material cause—that he is the being by whose efficient energy all things are evolved; and that it is from his own spiritual substance they are evolved;—that the nature of cause and effect is the same—that as a piece of cloth does not essentially differ from the yarn of which it is made, so the visible universe does not differ in essence from Brahm, whence it emanated. The Shastras assure us, that "effect exists antecedently to the operation of cause,"—that what "exists not, can by no operation of a cause be brought into existence;"—and hence, that, as "rice is in the husk before it is peeled;" as "milk is in the udder before it is drawn;" as "oil is in sesamum before it is pressed;" so all qualities and principles remain hidden and undisclosed in Brahm, till, by his own spontaneous energy, they are educed. Again, they tell us, that as "the lotus expands itself from pond to pond;" as "plants spring from the earth;" as "hair of the head grows from the body, so does the universe come from the unalterable." Once more, say they, look at the spider and his web. Of what does the latter consist? Is it not an expanded portion of the very substance of the spider's own body? And is it not by an exertion of the little insect's energy that it has been drawn or spun out? So is the universe drawn, or spun out, or expanded, by the energy of Brahm, from his own substance."

The *fourth* system distinguished by our author is that which he designates the Psycho-material-mythologic, from its grafting the popular mythology upon the psycho-material system. This psycho-material system represents the several emanations as variously combined into the actual visible and sensible existences of the universe by the plastic power of the great Brahm himself; but as this notion contravenes a principle that pervades the whole Hindu philosophy, (and not the Hindu philosophy only, but much of the occidental philosophy also, both ancient and modern) that spirit cannot act upon matter, the difficulty

is surmounted by calling into being the celebrated Hindu triad, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, who issued in some ineffable manner, from the substance of Brahm, and to whom were delegated severally the works of creating, preserving, and destroying the universe. It was in the execution of the portion of the work assigned to him that Brahma drew out or caused to emanate from the substance of Brahm the various principles, atoms and germs, which, according to the third system, are supposed to have emanated spontaneously, so to speak, from his substance. These elements Brahma seems to have collected in the celebrated Mundane egg, from which in due time, and by various tedious and most difficult processes, the universe was hatched. This universe was committed to the protecting care of Vishnu, to be for a time kept in being, until Shiva should destroy it, and so reduce its substance into a state requiring once more the plastic energy of Brahma for their reconstruction into another universe. The all but infinite number of Gods and Goddesses are the sons and daughters, grand-sons and grand-daughters of the various members of this triad; and the human race proceeded directly from Brahma, according to the four great divisions or castes, the Brahmins having proceeded from his mouth, the Kshettryas from his arm, the Vaishyas from his chest, and the Shudras from his foot.

Such is a very brief and imperfect sketch of Dr. Duff's view of one portion of the Hindu philosophico-religious system,—that portion of it which may be most strictly denominated theological. The subject is one of deep interest to all who feel that concern which men ought to feel in the sentiments that regulate the actions, and the principles that influence the destinies, of their fellow-men. To all who thus deem *nil humanum a se alienum*, we can confidently recommend a careful study of this portion of Dr. Duff's work as a most interesting chapter in the history of the human mind; while to those who remember that this system of endless genealogies, this system of absurdity and lies, is exercising its degrading influence at this hour over the souls of millions of our fellow subjects, the work of Dr. Duff comes with stronger and higher claims upon their attention and careful study. It is practical throughout. The mysteries of Hindu metaphysics never for a moment withdraw his thoughts from the great end and object of the introduction of that blessed light which is to dispel the darkness that covers the land, and the gross darkness that broods over the people. While he writes on INDIA, he never permits himself to forget that his main subject is INDIA MISSIONS.

In strict accordance with this practical design of the work is

the rigidity with which he abstains from theory in regard to the system or systems. He deals with the *facts* of them, *describes* them as they are taught in the Shastras, and as they are believed and maintained by the people. But he never theorises in regard to their origin or development. In this we think, considering the end he had in view, he has done wisely. His "Sketch of the gigantic system of Hinduism" is consequently constructed the synthetic plan, in opposition to the analytic, if we may be permitted to use these terms with a very slight modification of their usual signification. Still it were very interesting and not a little important to enquire into the origin of these systems, and to trace so far as possible the process of their developement.

It is a question that has been often asked, whether the popular mythology of the Hindus is a corruption of the philosophic system, or whether, on the other hand, the philosophical system is a refinement of the popular mythology. For ourselves, with all deference to some who would maintain the former opinion, we incline strongly to the latter. It is true that we find the tendency of the human mind is ever to deterioration; it proceeds from good to bad, and from bad to worse; and therefore if we were left to mere supposition and theory, we might probably fall in with the former notion. But the question is a historical one, and we are not wholly without historical data for its decision. It is a historical fact that at the period of the universal deluge, the men who survived were worshippers of the true and living God, but that they soon fell away from the simplicity of his worship, because "they did not like to retain God in their knowledge." Now independently of the belief that in such a state of society as then existed, it is not at all likely that any such system as the philosophical system of the Hindus could have originated, and of the other belief that either deceased men, who had been distinguished in their day by great and wondrous deeds, or else the heavenly bodies, which seem of all visible objects the most signal reflectors of the power and glory of God, were most likely to be the first objects of worship,—we think we are not without a species of historical evidence that such was actually the fact. We find such a remarkable resemblance between all the systems of mythology that have ever existed throughout the world, whether in the north or in the south, in the east or in the west, that we are driven to the conclusion that they originated from a common source: that in fact they are all modifications of the system of popular mythology which was introduced among men, while, before their dispersion, they lived as one family

under the patriarchal government of the immediate descendants of Noah. But we do not find any thing like the same amount of resemblance between the philosophical systems of theology that have obtained among those nations by whom philosophy has been cultivated; and we conclude from this, that these systems did not originate, at all events, till after the dispersion of the human race. It is true that we find very considerable resemblance between the philosophical system of the Hindus and those of some of the Greek philosophers, especially Pythagoras and Plato; but then we have tolerably good authority for believing that the former of these Greek sages derived some parts of his system directly from India, while we know that the latter of them either excogitated his own system, or collected it from materials that were never before his time digested into a system. So that we are still led to the conclusion, that while the mythological system had its origin before the dispersion of mankind, the philosophical system did not originate till after that great event.

As to the specific origin of the Hindu mythology, and indeed the mythology of all nations, we confess we are disposed to agree in the main with the ingenious theory of Mr. Faber, as set forth in his work on the "Three dispensations," and more fully in his "Origin of Pagan Idolatry,"—a work which, whether we agree with his peculiar views or not, we must regard as one of the most learned and philosophical productions of our age, a work however, we may state, which, more than almost any other, demands abridgement on account of the prolixity of its style, and curtailment on account of the doubtfulness of some of its statements, and the questionableness of some of its authorities. Mr. Faber maintains that the first objects of worship, after mankind, as yet undispersed, had forsaken the worship of the true and living God, were Adam and his three eldest sons, whose names alone of all his children are handed down to us, Cain, Abel and Seth, considered as re-appearing in the persons of Noah and his three sons, Ham, Shem and Japheth. This is his view of the origin of the monad and triad that prevail in all mythological systems. Sometimes the triad are regarded as the sons of the monad, as Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto were the sons of Saturn, and sometimes the triad are regarded as emanations from or manifestations of the monad, as Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva are emanations from, or manifestations of Brahm. Certainly there is nothing more probable, than that Adam, the father of the ante-diluvian, and Noah, the father of the post-diluvian race, should have been regarded as the creators of the world, when men "not liking to retain God in their knowledge, were

by Him given over to a reprobate mind." Supposing this to be the true account of the mythologic triad, we can easily conceive how the system became gradually more and more corrupt, the catalogue of the Gods being swelled by the addition to it at will of every man who was distinguished by good or bad qualities, of every abstract virtue and vice, of the heavenly bodies, and even of the brute creation. Such systems of religion, however they might tend to gratify the lawless appetites of the licentious and the depraved, could not fail to disgust the more virtuous and refined. Hence in almost every country where civilization made any progress, we find that the philosophers strove to grope their way back to a purer system of faith; and while in almost every instance we find that in practice they conformed with the idolatrous worship of their several countries, they gratified the pride of their hearts by despising that worship as unworthy of such sages as themselves. Among the Hindus this process, we doubt not, was carried on; though as to the precise time and manner of it we are not prepared to offer a decided opinion. Whether the earliest philosophers proceeded at once from the gross delusions of the popular mythology, to the ultra-refined, but equally delusive, absurdities of purely spiritual pantheism, or whether the latter system were educed from the former by a gradual process and successive steps, it were perhaps presumption at this time of day to speak with dogmatical confidence. If however we may be allowed to state an opinion, which seems to be neither unsupported by historical evidence nor unconfirmed by an examination of the systems themselves, we would say that the philosophers did *not* proceed at once from the popular mythology to the purely spiritual pantheism, and leave to their successors to correct the doctrine by bringing it into closer approximation with the ordinary feelings and perceptions of men, by engrafting upon it some of the ordinary notions of materialism; but rather that the progress from gross idolatry to pure and sole spiritualism was gradual, and probably just in the reverse order of our author's arrangement of the four systems of philosophical Hinduism.

We believe the most ancient of these systems, or that taught in the most ancient books, is the last, the Psycho-material-mythological. It might be indeed that the original author or authors of this system, did not themselves entertain any very profound regard or reverence towards the mythologic personages who play so important a part in their system; but they evidently found it convenient to introduce as many personages as possible as agents in the eduction of the universe, in order that by a multitude of steps they

might conceal the great defect of their process of cosmogony just as the sophist conceals his *petitio principii* by lengthening out the process of argumentation, or the juggler masks his trick by diverting the attention of the spectator by means of a long series of meaningless forms and words. It is a universally admitted truth, that, except by creative power, any existence spiritual or corporeal, cannot be produced out of nothing. The Hindu philosophers however, as many others have done, extended this axiomatic or universally admitted truth, and held that by no power or agency whatever, can any thing be made from nothing. In other words they denied the possibility of creation. All things therefore must have emanated from the only eternal existent, that is Brahm. No substance, material or immaterial, could be introduced into the universe; all that is in it now must have been in it from eternity, and must therefore have been, and must still be, the substance of Brahm. But then to have taught all at once that the universe emanated from Brahm would have exposed them to the absurdity of holding that matter emanated from spirit. This it was absolutely necessary for them to teach, unless they would at once fall back upon the repudiated doctrine of a creation by almighty power, able to call previously unexistent substances into being. Thus were they placed on the horns of a dilemma. Being determined to reject the latter alternative, they were obliged to disguise as best they might the fact of their being reduced to the former: and this they strove to do by the introduction of a long series of successive eductions or emanations, each successive emanation being only a little less spiritual than that from which it emanated, until at length they produced a world, one part of which did not differ much from that material world whose existence we learn from the indications of our senses.

But it was impossible that such a system as this could stand the test of examination. No number of steps in the process could conceal the fact, that it set out with the existence of nothing but pure spirit, and that it ended with the existence of many things which, if not actually material, were certainly not purely spiritual. In fact this system clearly taught, however its advocates might deny that it did teach, the emanation, without the intervention of creative energy, of matter from spirit. There were then clearly only two ways in which the difficulty could be got over,—either by the admission of such energy, or by still further denying the materiality of any portion of the universe. By several steps this denial was achieved, until at last the purely spiritual system was arrived at, and it was boldly announced that Brahm alone exists, as he has existed from all eternity, and

that there is no such thing as matter at all, and no such thing as spirit apart from Brahm. According to this view it will appear that our author's synthetical statement as to *what* philosophical Hinduism *is*, just reverses our analytical view as to *how* philosophical Hinduism *was formed*. But this is clearly what ought to be; for the chief merit of synthesis and analysis consists in their being exact reversals of one another.

We are afraid we may have done injustice to our author by dwelling so long on a subject that occupies but a very small portion of his work, and which, to the generality of readers, must necessarily be one of the least interesting portions of it. Assuredly we should be doing great injustice to the work before us, were we to leave on any mind the impression that it is filled with dry metaphysical discussions. The very reverse is the case. The work is pregnant throughout with most fervent and animated appeals to the heart and conscience, and breathes throughout, as we have stated already, the sentiments and the aspirations of the most devoted philanthrophy.

We think it will not be difficult for our readers to derive a practical conclusion even from this view which has been laid before them of the Hindu mind. Does it not appear clear that before any thing truly great or good can be expected from the people of India, this system of philosophy must be extirpated? Take it in any one whatsoever of its various forms, and see whether it do not interpose an effectual barrier to the improvement of the race, the developement of their mental and moral character, and their elevation in the scale of human society. But how is its extirpation to be accomplished? Clearly not by reasoning or debate. This it easily sets at defiance, for no legitimate argumentation can ever prove to a man that he or any thing else exists. If a man chooses to assert that things which are equal to the same thing are unequal to one another, we cannot refute his assertion by argument or reasoning. So if he chooses to deny his own existence, or his separate existence from any other being, we cannot by any legitimate argument refute his assertion. The appeal is to his consciousness alone, and no reasoning can possibly affect its decision. If he choose to say that his consciousness decides against us, we cannot help him. Or if, while he admits that his consciousness decides in our favor, he refuses to acknowledge its authority, and declares that it is under the influence of *Maya* or illusion, his case is equally helpless; such a system as this therefore is not to be extirpated by argumentation, but by *changing the man*. Every process of reasoning applies itself to certain *first truths* or principles, or rudimental axioms of belief, which it assumes to exist in every rational being.

Its work is done when it reduces the matter to be proved to such a relation or dependence on one of these truths or axioms, that if the latter be true the former must be true also. But if these axioms be not admitted, reasoning can have no place. If it be not admitted that things equal to the same thing are equal to one another, we cannot construct a system of geometry. If it be not admitted that the indications of consciousness are real and genuine, aud in ordinary circumstances true, there can be no rational dealing between man and man. If it be not admitted that there is a difference between good and evil, there can be no system of morals or morality. If then we find a man disbelieving these axiomatic truths, or—which amounts practically to the same thing,—professing to disbelieve them, we cannot argue or reason with him until he be utterly changed,—changed in the very root, so to speak, of his mental and moral constitution. The great father of our philosophy clearly apprehended this, when in his *Novum Organon* he wrote, *Redargutio vero earum—(philosophiarum et doctrinarum quæ receptæ sunt)—talis fuit, qualis esse potuit; videlicet per signa et evidentiam causarum; cum confutatio alia nulla a nobis, qui et de principiis et de demonstrationibus ab aliis dissentimus, adhiberi potuerit.* As if he had said, if they refuse these arguments and proofs, we have nothing on which we can fall back, for before we can argue conclusively, we must have some common principle to which we can appeal. We repeat then that there can be no legitimate argumentation with a Vedic philosopher. Before we can argue with him he must be thoroughly *changed*. How then, we ask once more, is this change to be effected? The evil is made up of two parts, a moral and an intellectual part; and must be cured by the application of a corresponding two-fold remedy. The *gospel* is the only moral remedy of sufficient potency to accomplish the eradication of the one portion of the evil, a thorough education is the only enginery that can fully eradicate the other. Now the two evils are so closely bound up with each other, that sound reason would lead us to the conclusion that the remedies ought ever to be applied in combination. There have been those who have advocated each to the exclusion of the other, and the results in either case have been but such as to confirm the conviction that they ought ever to be applied simultaneously, in strict and indissoluble union. The gospel without education is far better than education without the gospel; but an evangelical education, an education conducted on the principles of the gospel, is far better than either. Let us not be misunderstood by either the educationists or the evangelists. We undervalue not the importance of education; but we prefer a complete

education to an imperfect one. All departments of education have their important uses, but an education which excludes the gospel must be, at the very least, imperfect. Neither do we undervalue the importance of the gospel; God forbid! But we prefer the gospel well comprehended, to the gospel vaguely comprehended; we prefer the gospel inculcated into the habits of thinking, infused into all the plastic powers and faculties of the soul, to the gospel received as an extraneous thing, a something superadded to, and in a great measure apart from, the other motives of action and habits of thought. We would have the gospel amalgamated with the whole man, as the leaven which is put among the unhardened flour insinuates itself into and transforms the whole mass. It will be observed that we speak now of the extinction of the Vedic system as a system; its extirpation from the minds, not of isolated individuals only, but of the nation, and we fearlessly declare that for effecting this great object, a Christian education is the engine which God Almighty has put into our hands.

Now here we might address ourselves to the objections of the two classes of those who, aiming at India's regeneration, advocate the exclusive use of one or other of those two agencies which we would employ in combination; but discussions as to the best mode of promulgating the gospel, or carrying on missionary operations, would be rather out of place in these pages. To the exclusive secular educationist we would point out the fact which scarcely admits of question, that such intellectual perversity as that involved in the maintenance of the Hindu system has never been found to exist in man apart from very extraordinary moral perversity. We speak not of individuals who may profess or may have professed the system, but we hold that, as a general rule, moral perversity must characterize the authors and holders of a system which denies all distinctions between good and evil, and makes men utterly irresponsible for their actions. Now it is a fact that there is not resident in merely secular education any natural or necessary tendency to eradicate moral evil. We are quite willing to grant all that can be claimed for education as a means of enlarging the faculties and improving the tastes; but all history bears us out in the assertion that mere secular education never has renovated the corrupt heart of man, while sound reason and philosophy will shew us that it has no tendency to do so. It is true that the moral perversity residing in an educated man's heart may manifest itself in different ways from those in which it manifests itself when it resides in the heart of an uneducated and ignorant man. But then unfortunately this

system is one very well fitted to attract by its subtilty the educated mind which is not under the guidance and control of sound principle. There is a semblance of philosophy about it which has great attractions for a mind puffed up with that self-conceit which very generally attends mental enlightenment apart from moral principle. Let the advocates of mere worldly learning look to France, and see what science apart from moral culture produced there. Or if they will not learn from the records of history and experience, let them look with the eye of common sense at the matter to be accomplished, and the means they propose for its accomplishment. Is there a conscience in man or not? This is a point beyond question. Yea more, it is unquestionable that this conscience is almost wholly independent of mental enlightenment or intellectual culture, inasmuch as in persons at the very opposite extremes of *this* scale we find it equally strong or equally weak, while in persons who are equally educated and enlightened, we find the greatest possible diversities of conscientious principle. We have to do then at present with a body in whom conscience is virtually overborne, since the very first and most fundamental of its announcements, that there is a distinct and real difference between good and evil, between right and wrong, is systematically denied. It being a fact then that conscience is altogether independent of mental culture, but that it is not independent of religious culture, it clearly and indisputably follows, that, in order to restore conscience to its rightful place, we must apply that agency which alone is found to be, and alone in the nature of things can be, efficacious for that end ; but that agency is religious culture.

The system of education without religion has now been long tested in its actual application to the Hindu mind. And what has been the result? The Newspapers told as much a few months ago of what they chose to term the " Chuckrabutty faction ;" and now we read of the doings of the same body under the new name of " Young Bengal." These youths talk much of social blessings and political rights, but who does not know that their proceedings will all end in idle words? And why? Because they are utterly void of any fixed principle, which alone could make them capable either of much good or much evil, save as they may produce evil effects, by their declamation, upon those who are as destitute of fixed principles as themselves. This " Young Bengal" is is not merely of yesterday. Although the name may be new, yet the class represented has existed for many years. When Dr. Duff came to India fifteen years ago he found it spring-

ing into being, and a more harrowing picture of the state of mind of any portion of a community than he gives of it, we have seldom been called to contemplate. A few extracts from his book will suffice to shew that we do not exaggerate :—

"About the time already referred to, the Government Anglo-Indian College of Calcutta had begun to put forth some of its ripest fruits. That Institution, as has already been repeatedly remarked, is the very *beau-ideal* of a system of *education without religion.* It communicates largely European literature and science; but, as far as its regulations extend, neither within nor without its walls will it tolerate the impartation of *religious* truth. Now, the citadel of Hinduism being, from the base to its highest pinnacle, a citadel of error, it can never resist a vigorous onset of *true* knowledge however secular. Accordingly, their ancestorial faith was completely subverted in the minds of the more advanced alumni of the Government College, but nothing better was attempted or allowed to be substituted in its room. Many had become, or were rapidly becoming, sceptics ; and others direct atheists.

It this state of things, the question was seriously agitated by the friends of religion and social order, what can be done towards checking this growing licentiousness of opinion, and giving a wholesome direction to the newly awakened mind? Happily, the greater part made it their profession and their boast, that they were *free inquirers after truth.* The sincerity of this profession was speedily put to the test. Addressing them separately and collectively, the simple downright appeal was pressd home on their understandings and their heart :—" Hinduism you now *know* sufficiently, to despise it ; but do you really *know* Christianity ? If not, is it fair, honest, or reasonable, to condemn it as a noxious superstition, unknown and unheard ? We believe it to be not only true, but TRUTH itself ; and we profess to be able to give a *reason* for the belief that is in us. Are ye not then bound in consistency, as avowed inquirers after truth, to give at least a candid hearing to its claims, before ye finally reject it ?"

These and similar appeals were not made and reiterated in vain ; though many were the difficulties that had to be surmounted before verbal admissions were turned into practices. And not the least of these lay in the extreme aversion which was felt to *seem* even to receive any instruction from missionaries;—whom it was the fashion to regard either as ignorant fanatics, or designing impostors,—the Arch-Brahmans of Christianity, which, from its extensive sway both in the Old World and New, only appeared as the most gigantic of the superstitions of the earth ! At length, however, all obstacles were removed ; and a goodly number agreed to attend—some to save their credit for consistency ; others out of sheer curiosity ;—some, as they afterwards confessed, to display their own superior learning and talent, and befool the missionaries ; and others from a really conscientious desire to investigate the claims of the Christian faith. Hence *first* originated the idea of instituting a systematic course of Theological Lectures in the English language, designed expressly for the Educated Natives :"—

After detailing the obstacles that were thrown in the way of the delivery of these lectures by the managers of the Hindu College, who foolishly forbade the students of that Institution to attend them, and after reasoning, more fully than we should have thought necessary, on the absurdity and wrongfulness of

such a prohibition, our author proceeds to state that the feeling that had been excited, found vent in debating societies and through the press :—

"Now what was the instrumental case of this mighty transformation? It was none other than what is termed a "liberal English education." If it had not been for such an education, these free and rampant spirits,—instead of being able to denounce the most revered sentiments of their fathers as worse than antiquated prejudices,—would have been utterly paralysed by a noxious priestcraft, and prostrate before a block of wood or stone. The legitimate result of English instruction could be no matter for abstract theory there. It glared upon one's very senses. The stoutest denier of it would soon be compelled to confess, that in the English language, with its true literature and science, we have an engine by which, if rightly wielded, the most towering superstitions and idolatries of the East might be levelled as effectually as the walled cities of the nations by the concussion of the Roman catapult.

Nevertheless, from the entire absence of instruction, it was very melancholy to observe the dreary wanderings of the educated natives, on the subject of religion; whose ways alone are pleasantness and peace. Their great authorities, as already noticed, were Hume's Essays and Paine's Age of Reason. With copies of the latter, in particular, they were abundantly supplied,—supplied from a land which has taught more than one valuable lesson to mankind, if mankind were only wise to learn. It was some wretched bookseller in the United States of America, who,—basely taking advantage of the reported infidel leanings of a new race of men in the East, and apparently regarding no God but his silver dollars,—despatched to Calcutta a cargo of that most malignant and pestiferous of all anti-Christian publications. From one ship a thousand copies were landed, and at first sold at the cheap rate of one rupee per copy; but such was the demand, that the price soon rose, and after a few months, it was actually quintupled. Besides the separate copies of the Age of Reason, there was also a cheap American edition, in one thick vol. 8vo., of all Paine's works, including the Rights of Man, and other minor pieces, political and theological. Strange, the migrations and transmission of error as well as of truth! How little can an apostle of error or of truth foresee through what unknown realms and ages the good or evil seed which has been sown may be diffused; as if scattered by the winds of heaven, to regerminate and grow and expand into Eden-trees of life, or Upas-trees of death! How little could it have entered the imagination of Paine himself, that from the banks of the Ganges there would hereafter spring a race whose ruined spirits might one day upbraid him as the author of their curse!

At the new societies, opportunities were constantly presented for the advancement of counteractive statements and opinions on almost all subjects. When a topic for debate was selected, individuals were not appointed to open the discussion on either side, as is customary in this country. Their theory was, that, as professing inquirers after truth, they ought not to do violence to any one's conscience, by constraining him to argue against his own settled convictions. All were therefore left alike free in their choice;—hence it not unfrequently happened, that more than half a dozen followed in succession on the same side. After all the members who were disposed had concluded, the strangers or visitors present were invited to deliver their sentiments on the leading subject of the evening's discussion; or on any of the sentiments expressed by the different speakers in the course of it. It is scarcely necessary to add, that to this invitation it was ever felt to be a privilege to respond. And thus, after the proper

debate had terminated, there often arose a new discussion in many respects more important than that which had preceded it. In this way, by being voluntarily put entirely on a level, and freely entering the lists with those enthusiastic disputants, I was led to serve a regular apprenticeship in obtaining, unknowingly, some of the necessary qualifications for more effectively conducting certain labours that were afterwards to be devolved upon me, in the leadings of an overruling Providence."

Thus much in regard to the debating societies; one specimen in regard to the press.

"The first established of these was the REFORMER; published exclusively in the English language. It excited, on its first appearance, an unbounded curiosity, chiefly from the circumstance of its being the *first English* newspaper ever conducted by natives. It represented the sentiments of a party not large in number, but potent in rank and wealth,—the party of the celebrated Rajah Rammohun Roy. Except the Rajah himself, not one of this party could be said to have acquired a *thorough* English education. As regarded mental culture, they were not half Anglicised; and as regarded Hinduism, they were scarcely half liberalized. What knowledge of English and liberality of sentiment they possessed, had been contracted chiefly in their constant habits of business and intercourse with enlightened Europeans. In politics the Reformer at first assumed a tone of rancorous and undiscriminating violence towards the British Government;—outdoing the wildest flights to which ultra radicalism has ever soared in these lands. A nondescript species of native oligarchy and republicanism combined, was the panacea proposed for remedying all the ills of India. It was thus unskilful and injudicious enough to attempt the erection of towers and palaces out of the surrounding rubbish, by beginning at the top of the intended edifice—forcing a poor, blinded, ignorant, priest-ridden race, to listen to weekly orations on their abstract rights and privileges, as members of a great social polity, before they were capacitated to comprehend one jot or tittle of their individual rights as men. In religion, it professed itself inimical to the popular idolatry. But instead of proposing an entirely new substitute, it simply pleaded the necessity of a *reform* in the *prevailing system*—the necessity of sweeping away the mass of corruptions which, it alleged, had been accumulating in dead letter and living practices through a long succession of ages; and the consequent propriety of reverting to the supposed purer and less abhorrent system of the Vedas. It thus became the advocate of the monothiesm, or rather pantheism, of these ancient writings—treating it however, more as the highest product of mere human philosophy, than as a doctrine of Divine Revelation. In its advocation of the Vedant system, it advanced the most baseless and extravagant assertions instead of sober evidence: while it unsparingly loaded with reproaches and abuse, the purest, the holiest, and the sublimest truths that ever shone in the spiritual firmament of a benighted world. A long series of articles, in particular, on "the Sermon on the Mount," were distinguished by a subtile and perverse ingenuity, in extracting evil out of good, that greatly exceeded any thing exhibited in the pages even of Paine; and to the shame of our countrymen it must be added, that in the preparation of these, material assistance was known to be obtained from men born and brought up in the bosom of the British Churches, and still retaining the dishonored name of Christians! But, how could all this motley, inefficacious, metaphysico-religionism—how could all this blind and tenacious cleaving to error,—all this contemptuous rejection of the only faith that is throughout adapted to the necessities of

universal man,—ever prove helpful in really *reforming* a nation corrupt to the very core ?—was the natural exclamation of every true friend of India.

The other two journals were the *Enquirer* and the *Gyananeshun*—the former in English and the latter in Bengali ; both conducted by native editors.

These became the established organs of that small party of educated Hindus, who had made the highest attainments in English literature, and the highest advances in liberality of sentiment ; who alive to the inefficacy of half-measures, and scorning the hypocrisy of double dealing, had at once denounced, both in theory and practice, the whole system of Hinduism, pure and impure, ancient and modern, Vedantic and Puranic ;—and who being thus left in a region of vacancy as regards religion, announced themselves to the world as free inquirers after truth.

The speeches and writings of this party were at first marked by a degree of wild vehemence, which appeared to those who could not *realize* their *peculiar experience*, as worse than ridiculous. To one, however, who freely mingled in their society in so many ways, it appeared extremely natural."

From these extracts, and still more from a perusal, or rather study (for it well deserves study) of the whole of that portion of the work which refers to this subject, it will appear that the effect of Education without religion was to leave the hearts of its recipients, altogether unamended. It would indeed have been a miracle if they had been amended by such appliances. It is true the author states that the effect of their education was to cast them adrift from Hinduism; but this was merely because Hinduism happened to be the system in which they had been born. It is evident from the whole detail that it was merely a reckess desire of change that was their animating motive. It so happened that change in this case was from a bad and pernicious system, but it would have been the very same had it been the purest and the best ever devised by man or revealed by God.

We cannot but believe that there is a great deal of misconception afloat regarding the actual result of intellectual cultivation upon character. It is unquestionably true that throughout the world we generally find the greatest amount of moral principle co-existent with the greatest amount of mental illumination ; but it does not necessarily follow, because they co-exist, that the one is the cause of the other. We believe it to be much nearer the truth that they are the joint effects of a common cause : and that cause is pure and true religion. This is at once the parent of sound morality, and of the desire of obtaining, and of the means of diffusing, intellectual enlightenment. Now if this be the case, it will unquestionably follow that to introduce into India the intellectual enlightenment of England, apart from the pure religion from which it has derived its origin, and to expect that from it alone will flow any great measure of those effects which, *along with it*, have proceeded in England from that religion, is

to be guilty of the fallacy which we believe the logicians call *non causa pro causâ*, and moreover to be guilty of the fallacy, not theoretically, but in such a practical form that not merely disappointment, but disaster must be the result.

But then we are told that we must not interfere with the religious opinions and prejudices of our Indian fellow-subjects. Give them a sound and liberal education, enlarge their minds and cultivate their faculties, say the advocates for non-religious education, but hold sacred their religious prejudices and opinions; however absurd they may appear to you, they are equally dear to them as your religion is to you. Those who talk thus betray either great perverseness or great ignorance. Give a liberal education, but meddle not with the religious belief of the natives! Why, we defy any man to state a single historical truth or enunciate a single proposition relating to mathematics, physics, metaphysics or morals, that does not infringe upon Hinduism. If we state that the Duke of Wellington gained the battle of Waterloo, we contradict Hinduism in many ways. According to Hinduism there is no such place as Waterloo, no such place as Europe. Their Geography, *which is a part of their religion*, does not acknowledge it, on the contrary it contradicts it. But moreover, according to Hinduism, there never was any Duke of Wellington or any Napoleon. The iron-duke is but a phantom, the emperor of the French never existed. There is but *one*, Brahm is; and he is *aditya*. The hero of a hundred victories is an unsubstantial illusion: his battles and his victories are all *maya;* far more unreal than the images in the phantasmagoria were those troops that men vainly suppose he led on to battle, and those foes that men fancied that he routed and subdued. If there be a pledge on the part of the Government, as we have sometimes heard it asserted that there is, that in the educational system which they patronize, a perfect neutrality shall be maintained with regard to Hinduism, then we venture to say that a more rash and irredeemable pledge was never entered into. The poor wight who prayed that all he touched might become gold, and who consequently found himself compelled to breathe an air of gold, to eat and drink nought but gold, was not more to be pitied than the man who should promise not to contradict Hinduism. He cannot open his mouth without contradicting it; he cannot speak without contradicting it; he cannot be silent without contradicting it; he cannot live without contradicting it, he cannot die without contradicting it. In fact there is no truth or reality in the universe of which Hinduism is not a direct contradiction. It is therefore impossible to enunciate

a single truth without contradicting and controverting Hinduism. But enough of this. We have stated the extreme of the case, in order to shew the absurdity of any pledge not to oppose Hinduism. Of course we do not mean to say that all Hindus actually hold these notions; probably none at all actually believe them in their hearts to the full extent; but this is only on account of their imperfect attainment of that which they profess to be above all things desirous of attaining. All who are intimately acquainted with the people will bear testimony to the great extent to which these pantheistic vagaries influence the modes of thought and feeling even of the unlearned and most ignorant of the people.

It is, we firmly believe, by means of Christian education that Hinduism is to be uprooted and destroyed. No other agency is adapted to the work to be accomplished. We have all seen a child intent on "blowing open" the case of his father's watch. What energy has he expended, what eagerness has he displayed. But the means were not appropriate to the end. When however the spring was touched, and the case flew open, he knew not but that it was his force of breath that at last effected the movement. Even so it will be with all the political and judicial and financial and *merely* secular-educational schemes that have been vaunted as of sovereign efficacy for the renovation of India. Whatever may be their power, it is neither of the right kind, nor is it applied to the proper point. And when at last the mighty fabric of Hinduism shall totter to its fall, the projectors and advocates of these schemes will probably congratulate themselves on the accomplishment of their object, as if they by themselves had accomplished it. Yet we venture to predict that that great event is to be brought about, through the blessing of God accompanying a thorough and general Christian education.

We hold it to be of the last moment that those who wish well to India should have a clear apprehension of the importance of Christian education as the grand instrument by which the good of the people of the land is to be promoted. And in this light we regard Dr. Duff's work as invaluable. Its author is not a mere speculatist. He has not only shewn what should be done, but he has begun and is still carrying on the actual accomplishment of it. Nearly fifteen years ago, he founded, as the first Missionary of the Church of Scotland, an Institution for the Christian instruction of Natives. From a small and humble beginning, this Institution has risen to be one of the most important establishments in all India. In it a thousand youths

are daily receiving instruction in all branches of education, from the lowest to the highest, according to ther several ages and capacities. Its superintendents (five in number) having felt it to be their duty, on occasion of the recent disruption of the Scotch Establishment, to adhere to that body that now constitutes the Free Church of Scotland, the patronage and support of the Institution has of course been transferred to that body; and the Institution, of the Free Church of Scotland is, as the General Assembly's Institution was before, one of the noblest of all the Institutions that have originated in British philanthropy. While the instruction communicated ranges from the lowest that is given in the humblest village school in Britain, to the highest that is imparted in the halls and class-rooms of her universities, it is all based upon, and cemented with, pure and scriptural Christianity. Hinduism is ever represented in its true colors, as a system of absurdity and deceit; no profession is ever made of a compromise with it; and yet this is by far the most largely attended educational establishment in India. Upwards of twelve hundred youths of all castes and classes are enrolled as its pupils, and within a very few of a thousand daily convene in its halls. Surely the men must either be of very obtuse perception or of a very cold heart, who can regard this phenomenon without emotions of no ordinary kind.

And now we must take leave of this interesting subject, by again expressing our conviction that the *vivid religious interest* wnich was first diffused throughout England by the simple and unpretending letters of Carey, and Martyn, and Marshman, and Thomason, and which now requires a supply of such literature as that of which Dr. Duff's work is a specimen, cannot but be productive of the greatest benefit to India. This Missionary literature has already supplied an important blank in our knowledge of the world we dwell in, and of our brethren who dwell in it along with us. Within a very few years we have had "Ellis's Polynesia," and "Williams's Missionary Enterprise in the South Sea Islands," and "Medhurst's China" and "Moffat's South Africa," besides various works of high merit relating to India. We believe we may safely say that these works, viewed without reference at all to their special objects as bearing upon the spread of the gospel, are to the man of literature, to the philosopher, to the geographer and to the philanthropist, among the most important works that have issued from the press for a long time. This is as it ought to be. The spread of truth is the cause of God: and it is fitting that those who are employed in the spread of the most import-

ant of all truth should not despise, in its measure and degree, that truth which, though subordinate to that which they are specially called to promulgate, is yet of common origin with it, and fitted in its place to work out the ends and purposes of Him who is the source and fountain of all truth, the only real enlightener of the minds of his rational creatures.

It is pleasing to see that before this influence of Missionary literature began in any considerable degree to be realized, it was very clearly anticipated by one of the most eloquent writers of our day, Mr. Douglas of Cavers, with an extract from whose "Hints on Missions," published so long ago as 1822, we shall close this article:—

"Between Christians and those who are called philosophers, a great and impassable gulph seems fixed; while the first are interested in nothing but what concerns the next world, the second neither care for nor believe in any thing but "the world of to-day," as the Mahometans speak. It is rather singular, however, that those who are looking to the future and the invisible, are the men of action; and that those, whose only world is the present, have never advanced one step beyond professions of philanthropy, nor made the least effort to introduce the improvements of philosophy into the greatest and uncivilized portion of the world. Still it is to be regretted. that Christians will not shew them what Christian benevolence can do for the comforts and embellishments even of this transitory life, and thus there might be some common feeling between two parties, who might gain much by mutual intercourse. The Missionaries, instead of filling their Journals with the experiences of particular converts, which have often more connexion with the state of the body than the soul, might be gaining experience themselves of the climate and the country, the modes of thinking, and the prevalent supersititious notions of the people by whom they are surrounded.

Whatever they hear or see is matter of information, and of information important to the Mission. In the language, they have both the medium of communication, and the index of forgotten thoughts and events; in the national music and songs, they have the record and the vehicle of the national feelings; and in the tales and superstitions, they have the impression of what the national mind is, and the promise of what it is likely to becomes, in its stength and in its weakness, in its errors, its aspirings, and its dreams. All around bears on the object on which they have to operate—Man. The order of the rocks determines the soil; the soil the vegetables; the vegetables the animals; and, in the aspects of nature, and the events of history, they possess what constitutes the nation. A person must be *sans* eyes, *sans* ears, *sans* every thing, who can write a Journal interesting only to the religious world, when dated from Benares, Lattakoo or Selinginsk. Every one at these stations has the power of commanding attention from all who are possessed of any general information; and by one simple process, philosophers, however they might be scared at the mention of the soul, or a future state, would be forced to read through the Missionary Journals. Let a register of the weather be kept: the directions of the winds noted; regular observations made of the thermometer, and, if possible, of the barometer, the Journals of Missionaries will be received with a very different degree of interest by the world at large. Nor would the necessity of making two regular entries into a journal be useless to the Missonaries themselves, in enforcing habits of regularity and observation upon them; while scientific men would

lose a little of the terror, which the strangeness of religious notions never fails to excite. This apparently simple measure, and easy of execution, would place Missions in an entirely new light.

Missionaries have been considered as a set of ignorant fanatics, unworthy of any attention or sympathy; they have it in their power, by a series of simple observations, to take away that reproach for ever, and to present the most magnificent range of experiences, that has ever been made to science. Every variation of heat from Greenland to the Cape, from Siberia to New Zealand—the direction of the winds, and the fluctuation of the atmosphere from Benares to Astrachan, and from Astrachan to the mouth of the Columbia, might be transmitted regularly to Britain; and, as Missionaries increase, new lines would intersect each other, and other zones of observation be stretched across the globe.

Scripture has represented the Renovation of the World under the Image of the Wilderness assuming verdure and the Aspect of Cultivation. It would be a beautiful fulfilment of the prophecy, that it should at once have a double accomplishment,—that Nature, receiving fresh beauties and new riches from the hands of the Missionaries and their converts, should be an outward and visible emblem of that change which had taken place in the mind of man. Let us hope to see the day when all the blessings of civilization will follow more speedily and amply in the train of Missions, than they did of old the conquests and colonies of Rome, and that Missionaries will scatter with a liberal hand the germe of all the arts, and the seeds of all the natural productions, as well as the seminal principle of a better and God-like Nature, *Naturæ melioris origo*, the ever-expanding germe of Renovation and Immortality."

We have only to add in a single sentence that we have not professed or attempted to give a regular review of the work before us. We have only alluded to a very few of the important topics on which it treats, and to these with the view of illustrating a special subject. We most cordially recommend to our readers to study the work itself, if they have not done so already.

ART. III.—1. *On the Influence of Tropical Climates on European constitutions; by James Johnson, M. D. &c. and J. R. Martin. Sixth Edition. London*, 1841.

2. *Medical advice to the Indian Stranger. By James McCosh. London*, 1842.

3. *Life in the Sick Room. London*, 1844.

WHEN India unvisited becomes India visited—when the ideal gives place to the real, and we see and feel, with our waking senses, clearly and palpably, what before we had only dimly dreamt, how many vain delusions are dispersed—how many idle phantoms of the brain plunged headlong into the limbo of vanity. But one impression early fixed upon the mind, though by the young and joyous scarcely heeded, retains its place,

as years advance, and we, with advancing years, think more soberly and sadly of the stern realities life—one impression, which gathers strength and fixedness, and never, never passes away—one impression, of the truth of which experience heaps up evidence upon evidence, and forbids the intrusion of a doubt. The realities of Indian life do not teach us that we are in error, when we set down the climate of the East as pernicious to the health of the exotic European, whose lot is cast beneath a tropical sun. We do not learn, when the dust of Hindustan is on our feet, that India is not a land of sickness. We do not learn that the climate, for which we have exchanged the sunless skies and wintry springs of our own western island, is mild and salubrious; that the gentle breezes, which fan the spicey groves of Ind, waft the blessings of health across the fair land, and bring measureless enjoyment to the senses of all within their refreshing influence—No; let us endeavour to deceive ourselves as we may—let us solace ourselves by drawing general conclusions from individual instances (happy the man, who finds one in his own person!)—let us revive the recollection, as forcibly as we may, of the miseries of our dreary England—still the truth is not to be gainsaid that the climate of India is a baneful climate; and that the average health of the European residents in India is very, very mournfully low.

We are, by no means, prone to exaggerate. We laugh at the ignorant apprehensions of those, who think that a fever crouches in the turn of every road; that the dust is charged with hepatitis; that the rain is laden with dysentery; and that the very air of heaven is set in motion by the wings of the Azrael of cholera. We do not wish to encourage the belief that the country, in which the lot of so many Britons is cast, is one—

> Where all life dies; death lives and nature breeds,
> Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
> Abominable, unutterable—

India is not necessarily a huge coffin, nor the sky above it a mighty pall. Many exist here; some live. Death, it is true, mows down its tens and its hundreds—and often with frightful rapidity; but do not fearful epidemics have full sway in all countries—do we not read, in the chronicles of European nations, of plagues and distempers and scarcely less fatal influenzas, which destroy multitudes in a season; and is there not ever at work a power which silently destroys whole families, in a manner which we dwellers in the East scarcely dream of; unless, perchance, whilst we are living—perhaps, thriving in the East, we find that our brethren and sisters in the West are following each other in mournful succession to the grave?

We have much to contend against in this country; but there are two mighty evils, from which a compensating Providence vouchsafes to deliver us dwellers in the East—the one *Consumption*, the other *Contagion*. Rarely is it that the fears of the English in India are excited by either of these great destroyers. The contagious disorders which prevail in India are few, when compared with those which riot at home;* and the hectic cheek, and the hollow cough, and the prominent blue veins, which tell so true a tale of the progress of Consumption, are manifestations which in this country are seldom or never presented to the senses to pain the heart.

Still, regardful of these favorable dispensations, it must in all candour be acknowledged that the average of good health in India is lamentably small. Occasional instances—*rari nantes*—of men, who boast that they are more robust in India than in England, may present themselves to prove the rule by affording the exception; but setting aside altogether the question, or rather the no-question, of comparative mortality, we cannot disguise the fact that the number of sufferers, from disease, in one form or another, among the British residents in India, is out of all proportion to the numbers, which suffer in like manner at home.† This is one of those facts, which it is scarcely necessary to propound, in any other form than an admitted truism. It has been established by observation that out of every 1,000 British troops, stationed in our own Island, 787 are annually attacked by disease, in some shape or other, and that the proportion of deaths to patients under treatment is as to 1 to 71; whilst out of every 1,000 British troops in the Presidency of Bengal there are 1,717 admissions into hospital in the course of the year, and that one death occurs in every 30 cases.‡ In other words, that the amount of disease and mortality among Europeans in India is considerably more than double the amount which prevails among the same class of residents "at home."

In the case of the common soldier, we perceive the effects of a tropical climate upon the European constitution, without any of those abatements and mitigations, which, in our present

* Small-pox is sometimes lamentably fatal even among European residents in India, but such visitations occur at long intervals. Scarlet and typhus—all infectious fevers, which destroy so many at home, are unknown in India. Measles and hooping cough are experienced in a mild form.

† Regard, of course, being had, in this comparative estimate, to the period of life during which the European generally resides in India—from 18 to 50—neither extremes of youth and age, when death is most active, being taken into the account.

‡ From a report prepared by Dr. A. S. Thomson, and quoted by Mr. Hutchinson in his work on the Medical Management of Indian jails.

advanced state of Society, civilization supplies and wealth may purchase. Indeed, as regards these palliatives—for they are little more at best—the European soldier is now somewhat in the same condition as was the British resident, even of the higher classes, some seventy or eighty years ago—when the art of making money was better understood than the art of preserving life; when the voyage to India was deemed a desperate venture, and the gamester rattled the dice, with heaps of gold for the prize, but Death for his antagonist. In those days, the climate was braved with a degree of audacity, the record of which fills with astonishment the cautious exile of the present day. The sun was looked boldly in the face; the scorching blasts of the sultriest seasons were as little dreaded, as the mild breezes of a western spring; whilst with consistent daring, the bold adventurer poured down his throat large drafts of burning spirits, to keep alive an inward fire intense as that raging without. In those days, the mortality among the few European residents was frightful. It was said that on the Western Coast, at the end of the seventeenth century, the life of a European was *not worth two monsoons.* What wonder? Disease was courted. Every man held out his hand to Death, and seemed to cry aloud, "Hail, fellow, well met." There was nothing between the delicate constitution of the frail exotic and the destroying climate—nothing to shelter, nothing to protect. India was left to do its worst; and few returned to England to tell the history of that worst. The adventurer died—was buried—was forgotten. Recklessness was then the all-prevailing characteristic of Anglo-Indian Society. Men came hither to make large fortunes in a small space of time. They never regarded India as an abiding place; they set up no homesteads; they had no fellowship with the natives. They looked upon the country as a sea of peril, into which they plunged for a great prize—the people, as the dwellers in that sea, from whom the great prize was to be wrested. Of the "two points in the adventure of the diver"—

> One, when a beggar he prepares to plunge:
> One, when a prince he rises with the pearl—

the second was sometimes attained; but there was a dreary alternative. The plunge taken, the diver too often disappeared for ever beneath the boiling waves.

The fact is, as we have said, that in those days, the European adventurer did not regard the country as a country to be lived in—but a country to be struggled through; and therefore he never bethought himself of rendering it, by artificial auxiliaries, more endurable than nature intended it to be. The white man's grave was dug; and he appeared to walk deliber-

ately into it. Common precaution might have taught him to avoid many besetting dangers; common intelligence might have suggested to him many obvious palliatives for evils not to be wholly avoided. But neither common precaution nor common intelligence interfered to save the stranger from the West. He selected unwholesome localities to abide in: he dwelt in houses unsuited to the climate; he exposed himself to all the fierceness of the mid-day sun, and the still more destructive dews of the damp night-season; he drank strong spirits in the morning to prepare himself for the duties of the day, and he drank strong spirits in the evening to recruit exhausted nature, when those duties were done. Many were sent to India to be got rid of, and they lost no time in getting rid of themselves. They could not find it in their hearts to disappoint their friends by living to show their faces again in a country to whose national character they were a reproach.

It was not, however, indiscretion alone, which mowed down the European residents like grass. There were destructive influences abroad, which no prudence could avoid. "Calcutta," writes Mr. Tennant, in his 'Indian Recreations,' "was at 'first deemed hardly less destructive than Batavia. Its 'situation, surrounded by flat and marshy country, was productive of the same effects. The vicinity has since been cleared 'considerably of trees and jungle; and the more offensive 'marshes have been drained; much however still must be done 'before it can merit the character of a healthy town.*" And in another place, the same writer says "During the 'rapid increase of this town, diseases were fatal to thousands, 'and, particularly, according to the testimony of Dr. Lind, 'among such as had lately arrived from Europe. Hamilton gives 'of his own knowledge an instance of four hundred burials in 'six months, at a period, when the whole English residents 'there did not exceed twelve hundred."

It appears that at this time people were wont to escape out of Calcutta during the hot season. "The air of Calcutta," says M. Grandpré, 'is by no means healthy, its position between 'the river and a large lake in its rear subjecting it to the 'influence of unwholesome exhalations; but the European 'inhabitants remedy this defect by living in the country." "My 'time," says Mrs. Fay, writing on the 3rd of November, 1780, 'has passed very stupidly for some months, but the town is now 'beginning to fill. People are returning for 'the cold season."

Mr. Tennant sets down an excess of bile as the main

* This was written, in 1796. Writing half a century later, we echo this complaint.

cause of the sickness and death obtaining in those times. "Whatever" he says, "be the existing cause of bile; 'whether accelerated from the heat of the climate or re-'laxation from the same cause, its excess is in general the '*origo mali*. It produces fever, dysentery, with a long train 'of nervous and paralytic disorders." We think it not improbable, that even with reference to his own times, the worthy minister was mistaken. To these times the above explanatory passage is not, by any means, applicable. It is not the excess, but the deficiency of bile, which in most instances, produces disease. The former is sometimes—the latter very frequently, nocuous. The former is a very tractable; the latter a very intractable complaint. A torpid liver is a more difficult thing to deal with than one which is too active; and it is with these difficult torpid livers that the Indian practitioner has chiefly to deal. New comers, it is true, suffer from excess of bile; but a little care will prevent the evil from becoming a formidable one. In the old times, as we have shown in a former article, drinking was so fashionable a vice, and exposure to the climate so general an indiscretion*, that we cannot be surprised that the whole system was kept in a general state of excitability. They who lived prudently, avoided exposure to the sun and the night air, and, as far as was possible in those days, occupied habitable houses, lived to return to England. "I was one 'day in company at Bombay," says Mr. Forbes, in his *Oriental Memoirs*, "with twelve other gentlemen in the civil service, 'most of them considerably under thirty years of age, when 'the conversation turning upon the mortality of Europeans 'in India, one of the company made use of the old remark, 'that there was something ominous in the number thirteen at a 'convivial meeting, and that certainly one of us would die before 'the anniversary of that day in the following year; the proba-'bility of which was certainly much in his favour, in a climate 'deemed so inimical to European constitutions. I was, at 'the moment, cutting open the leaves of a book with an ivory 'paper-cutter, and merely to keep in mind the predicted death 'of one of the company within twelve months from the asser-'tion, I wrote down on the ivory the name of each individual 'comprised in the fatal number; this was in the year 1770. The 'ensuing year passed over without the completion of the pro-'phecy; not one of the company died. In 1780, *ten years after I*

* Much, which might appropriately appear in this place; may be found in articles "on the English in India" and "Our Social Morality." which have appeared in former numbers of our Journal.

'*made my nomenclature, the whole thirteen were in perfect health.*" "The fact evinces," adds the amiable writer, "the advantages 'of moderation, employment and diligence."

At this period, however, the English in India had begun to learn, though but in a rude, imperfect manner, the art of mitigating, by artificial means, the extreme severity of the climate. Twenty years earlier, people neither rode in carriages nor dwelt in habitable houses. Mr. Ives tells us that, previous to the conquest of Bengal, the servants of the Company were forbidden, by a sumptuary law, to use roundels (chattahs); observing "It is almost impossible for a gentleman 'just arrived from England, to walk from one to the other of 'these places (his house to his office) in the hot months, 'without getting an inflammatory fever; were it only from 'motives of humanity, it is to be wished that this most respec-'table body of merchants would, at their own expense, allow 'their servants not only the use of *Umbrellas* but also of *Palan-'quins*; since it must always be judged a duty incumbent on 'the constituents to take as much care as possible of the lives 'of their dependants in any of our distant settlements, but 'more especially in this unhealthy part of the world." In another chapter Mr. Ives tells us, that the excessive heat of a day in August killed that excellent man Admiral Watson—a character, to whom history has not done full justice. "This" writes the doctor, "was the most sultry day I ever experienced 'in India; not a breath of air was there for many hours; 'both man and beast, and the very fowls of the air, so sensibly 'felt it, that some of each species fell down dead. My dearest 'friend, Admiral Waston, I may truly say lost his life by it. 'At 11 o'clock, he complained much of excessive heat and the 'want of cool air; and *though every door and window in the house 'were thrown wide open, he had no relief.*"—If every door and window in the house had been closed, and a well-fringed punkah set in motion over his bed, the life of Admiral Watson might possibly have been saved. We do not venture to make use of a stronger word than *possibly;* for the medical treatment to which the worthy admiral was subjected does not appear to have been very judicious. The patient was dying of a bilious fever; and they appear to have given him sherbet, acidulated gruels, chicken water, whey, six grains of rhubarb and three blisters.

Some time before the year 1780, the use of carriages in Bengal had become almost as common as at the present time. M. Grandpré, and other cotemporary writers, speak of the number of carriages to be seen flocking out at even-tide; but we find nothing in his pages, or those of any other traveller, more

amusing than the following paragraph, which we find in a number of Hicky's Gazette, for June 1780. "We are informed 'that the Juty-wallahs or makers and vendors of Bengal shoes 'in and about Calcutta; also the Patna Juty-wallahs intend 'sending a joint petition to the Supreme Council setting forth 'the great hardship they labour under, and the great distresses 'they and their poor families have suffered within these four 'years last past, on account of the great decay of their trade, 'entirely owing to the luxury of the Bengalees, chiefly the 'Banyans and Sircars, as there are scarce one of them to be 'found, who does not keep a Chariot, Phaeton, Buggy, or 'Palanquin—and some all four, by which a pair of shoes that 'formerly only lasted them ten or twelve days, last them now as 'many months." European carriages had become so common in Calcutta that the Sircars had already begun to follow the fashion set by their masters.* The health of the English residents had, by this time, symptoms of improvement, for there was less exposure to the climate than before; but it was reserved for the administration of Lord Cornwallis to see so great a change in the habits of the European dwellers in the east, as really to conduce to a very striking reduction of the average mortality. Year after year has seen a progressive improvement; for year after year has seen jungles cleared away, and marshes drained, and thick-walled, well-raised houses erected, whilst, simultaneously with these important changes, sobriety and moderation have steadily advanced, and rapid strides have been made in the progress of medical science.

In the present day, we are not unwilling to concede that a large proportion of the diseases, which afflict the European residents in this country, are the results of the sufferer's own

* Though it does not immediately appertain to our present subject, our readers will not quarrel with us, we are sure, for quoting the annexed paragraphs from another copy of the same journal, in illustration of the extent to which, in other respects, the natives had begun to ape the manners of the Europeans. "The 'attachment of the natives of Bengal to the English Laws, begins now to extend 'itself to European habiliments. Rajah Ramlochund, a very opulent Gentoo, of 'high cast and family, lately paid a visit to a very eminent attorney equipped in 'boots, buckskin breeches, hunting frock, and jockey cap. The lawyer, who was 'employed in studying Coke upon Littleton for the improvement of the Revenues 'of Bengal, was with the smack of a half hunter waked from his reverie, in great 'astonishment at the lively transformation of his grave Gentoo client, who it 'seems was dressed in the exact hunting character of the Earl of March, and had 'borrowed the fancy from one of Darly's comic prints.

'The Nabob Sidet Ally, when lately at the presidency, employed Connor, the 'taylor, to make him the following dresses, viz.: Two suits of regimentals, two ditto 'an English Admiral's uniform; and two suits of canonicals. At the same time 'sent for an English Peruke Maker and gave him orders to make him two wiggs of 'every denomination according to the English fashion, viz. Scratches, cut wiggs, 'and curtailed Bobs; Ques, Majors and Ramilies; all of which he took with him 'when he left Calcutta."

imprudence. Exposure to the outer atmosphere at unseasonable hours is the most fruitful source of sickness and death. Then follows intemperance, which even in the mild form, which the improved morality of the present day has substituted for the savage debauchery of olden times, destroys more than the sword. We sometimes hear men boasting that they are not afraid of the climate—that the sun never hurts *them*. A few months of idle vaunting, of reckless defiance of heat and damp, and the exulting voice is still for ever; the hog-spear stands idle in the corner of the room; the solah hat hangs on the peg; the faithful dog whines in vain for the caressing hand of its master. He has gone once too often into the jungles; and death has stricken him down. The strongest, the heartiest, the most robust, in whom there is the most life, the most joyousness of spirit, are often the first to fall, for they are the last to acknowledge that the climate has any perils for *them*. We could point to scores of instances of men, whose boastings have been thus grievously visited; we do not know one, who has escaped.

If a proof of the pernicious results of such bravery as this be required, it may be found in the comparative mortality among the officers of the Bengal and Madras armies. It has been computed, that whilst in Bengal, the average mortality among the officers is 3.12 per cent, in Madras it is 4.49. Now this difference cannot be assignable to the climate itself, for the advantage, as regards mere climate, is decidedly in favor of Madras. Indeed, the average of deaths among the soldiery is higher in Bengal than on the Coast—a sufficient proof that the latter is less injurious to the European constitution than the former. To what then can we attribute the fact, that, whilst the climate of Madras is less destructive of life to the European *soldier*, it is more destructive to the European *officer*, than that of the Bengal presidency, but to the circumstance that whilst the European soldier is equally exposed to the climate in the two presidencies, the Madras officer affects to disregard the climate—or we believe really does disregard it—far more than does his Bengal brother, and assumes an independence, which in the latter presidency, is discernible only among those idle boasters, whose end we have noticed above? There is, in the Madras presidency, a systematic defiance of the climate, both in doors and out of doors, which astonishes the visiter from Bengal.* Men walk out beneath the sum-

* The Government of Madras would appear to share in the general delusion. Every reader of the Indian journals must have painfully remarked the excessive mortality among the officers of the Madras army—especially the junior branches—

mer sun, scarcely deeming even a *chattah* an essential; and cricket-matches and fishing-parties and other out-door recreations are indulged in, with the thermometer at a height which would effectually keep the Bengallee at home, with every door and window closed; the punkah swinging freely over-head; and the iced water on the table before him. In Madras these things are not very well understood. The houses in the hot weather are almost as intolerable as the outer atmosphere. What wonder that the owner thinks himself as safe and comfortable abroad as at home? The windows are thrown wide open; the glare is insufferable; the readiest entrance is afforded to the dust; every room swarms with a small species of eye-fly*, whose ravages it is difficult to escape; a punkah is a rarity—one hangs, perhaps, in the centre room, and when it is required to be set in motion, an unfortunate "horse-keeper" (syce) is summoned from the stable to take the rope into his hand. The object would seem to be to make as much of the climate as possible. In Bengal, people shut themselves up to keep out the glare, the dust, and the heated atmosphere. In Madras there is no concealment; no evasion—men throw wide their doors and cry out, "Here am I."—Now, as we conceive that it is no small matter, in such a country as this, to keep down the temperature, we can have little hesitation in saying that the Bengal system is the better, as assuredly it is the pleasanter of the two. As our rooms are large and lofty, and open one into another, very little evil can result from shutting them up during the heat of the day; and if by so doing, we can reduce the temperature several degrees, entirely exclude the offensive glare, and, if we are able to keep ourselves quiet, almost to forget the fierce sun that is scorching up the plains around us, surely we are doing well. We are removing many causes of irritation—we are allowing the whole system to repose. The inexpressible relief which is experienced, on entering a closed and darkened room, after even a brief exposure to the outer glare and the arid dusty atmosphere, sufficiently indicates the advantages of excluding the dazzling light and the sultry air. The excitement of the whole system is at once reduced, and we subside into comparative quiescence. It is on record that "once upon a time there was a griff" who declared that he found

during the by-gone year. The Government of Madras had thought proper to set, without the occurrence of any justifying emergency, a large body of troops in motion at the hottest period of the year.

* "Sore eyes" are very prevalent in some parts of the Madras presidency. It is not unusual to see a whole, or the greater portion of a family, laid up with this infliction at the same time. The wonder always appeared to us that there was a sound eye in the place.

the heat to be intolerable, *although* he had thrown open all his doors and windows.* This is obviously a Bengal tradition. The joke would not be understood in Madras.

But much as the European resident in India suffers from exposure to the heat, it may with truth be asserted that the cold is far more destructive of human life. "Dr. Moseley's paradox," wrote Sir James Mackintosh, shortly after his arrival in India, "I now perfectly understand—that the diseases of 'hot climates arise principally from cold. No doubt, cold is the 'immediate cause of most of them. In the monsoon, heat succeeds so rapidly to damp and comparative cold, and they are so 'strangely mixed together, that we find it very difficult to 'adapt our dress and our quantity of air to the state of the 'weather. We new comers throw open every window, and put 'on our thinnest cotton jacket to enjoy the coolness. The experienced Indians clothe themselves thickly, and carefully 'exclude currents of air. *We soon found that they were right.*" Undoubtedly they were. Let every man, residing in a tropical climate, beware, above all things, of the *cold.* In the majority of cases, where there is no exposure to the direct influence of the sun, the heat itself would not prove very injurious to the constitution, if it were a steady uniform heat. The heat is an evil to be mitigated, chiefly on account of the danger to be apprehended from the cold. The relaxation, consequent upon the increased temperature, renders the frame so peculiarly susceptible to the impression of cold, that the utmost care should be taken to escape the influence of these distressing atmospherical vicissitudes. There are few of the ordinary diseases of India, which may not in the majority of cases be traced to the action of cold on the surface of the body, relaxed by the antecedent heat.† In this respect, the night air is especially injurious. Many Europeans, at night, throw open the doors and windows of their dormitories, and place their couches in such a position as to meet the freest current of air. We believe this to be a fatal error—a fertile source of disease and death. If a steady breeze of uniform strength could be relied upon throughout the night, it might be as harmless, as it would be pleasant, to sleep within its influence. But a man lays his head upon the pillow, under no such security. It is probable that he retires to rest, in a state of profuse perspiration. There is a lull in the atmosphere; not a breath of air is stirring;

* An extract given above from Dr. Ives' Voyages shows that this is any thing but fable. But his was the age of griffins.

† The most fatal diseases of India are Dysentery, Fever, and Inflammation of the liver. These are generally induced by cold; and are most rife at the setting in of the cold season.

he falls asleep to the low simmering music without, which so surely indicates the sultry stillness of the night. The perspiration, profuse before, is still more profuse in the sleeping man; he is doubly susceptible of the influences of the atmosphere. The wind rises—perhaps, there is a sudden fall of rain; and the cold damp air passes over the relaxed and sensitive frame of the sleeper, like the fabled Sansar, or "icey wind of death." How many have retired to their couches in high health and spirits, to be roused from their sleep by the cold hand of disease, making their flesh to creep and their limbs to tremble. The worst diseases of this country are ushered in by a shivering fit. In most cases, the patient can indicate the immediate cause of the attack: in most cases, when questioned, he will reply that he has "caught cold."

European soldiers—especially recruits—are carried to the hospitals by scores, owing to the evil consequences of exposure to the night air. In their case, the exposure is, for the most part, of the worst—the most fatal kind. Wearied out by the extreme heat of the Barracks, after vainly endeavoring for hours to court repose, they rise from their cots, slink out of their dormitories, and fling themselves upon the cold door-steps, or the flags which skirt the barrack walls. Or peradventure—poor creatures!—they do still worse than this, and know not what they are doing. They spend the night, in the heavy sleep of intoxication, on a wet bank or the margin of a ditch—and when the dazzling morning sun sheds its slant rays on the saturated body of the luckless sleeper, he is awakened from his stupor to find that the pains of hell have got hold of him; to crawl home to cantonments; to be hurried off to the guard—thence to be removed to hospital, as a subject for the physician, not the martinet; and to emerge thence, after weeks of acute suffering, not a prisoner to the congee-house, but a corpse to the grave-yard. This, we have said, is the worst form of the indiscretion which we deprecate; we grieve to add that it is the most common one. Whose heart has not been wrung by the sight of stout, healthy European soldiers in the flush of youth, stretched by the roadside,—perhaps bare-footed, bare-headed, begrimmed with dirt, and in a state of helpless intoxication—a sight so frequent in the neighbourhood of large Military stations, that even the most humane pass by on the other side, lamenting but not assisting?

Though such exposure as this is necessarily far more fatal than that which attends the indiscretions of the higher orders, still the difference is one merely in degree; and it must ever be borne in mind that the more delicate frame of the resident

in snug houses, and the traveller in roomy carriages, is affected by influences, which would not endanger the health of the stout European soldier, whose frame, from early youth, has been habituated to more or less exposure. It is true that some escape, for years, in spite of such indiscretions—that some, who are among the most careless, the most heedless, enjoy better health than those who live more regular lives and adhere to more systematic habits. But we have known many stricken down at last by an enemy, whom they have for years derided; and it is remarkable that the most robust in appearance, probably in reality—on whose ruddy faces and athletic forms long life would seem to be most legibly written, are carried off, when disease does at last assail them, with more fearful rapidity than any other class of men. Death strikes them suddenly, as it were in the very hey-day of life and vigour. Inflammation proceeds apace in such subjects; and here what enemy have we to contend against, so vigorous—so intractable—so ruthless?

We are aware, that, as respects very much of this, we have a high authority against us. Dr. James Johnson, whose writings on the subject of Tropical Diseases and Tropical Hygeine are entitled to much respect, descants with considerable earnestness, on the advantages of sleeping in the open air. As the substance, however, of his argument appears to be that night exposure is an excellent thing, *when we are used to it*, we are not so very certain, after all, that we are greatly at issue with the learned Physician, whom we shall suffer to speak for himself:—

"The great object of an European is to *sleep cool*. This enables him to procure more rest than he otherwise could do; and, by giving his frame a respite, as it were, from the great stimulus of heat, imparts to it a tone and vigour—or, as Dr. Darwin would say, "an accumulation of excitability," so necessary to meet the exhaustion of the ensuing day, as well as to repair that of the preceding."

These premises are undeniable; cool sleep is a grand desideratum, but we believe that he best obtains it, who sleeps in a large lofty room, closes the windows on the wind-ward side of his house, or places his bed at a considerable distance from them; and sets the punkah in motion over his head. Some people, we believe, have a prejudice against night punkahs. *We* had, for many years—but a brief trial, at the recommendation of our medical adviser, soon convinced us of our mistake. But let us see the worthy doctor's remedy:—

"A great waste of strength—indeed, of life, arises from our inability, on many accounts, to obtain this *cool* repose at night. Thus rains, heavy dews,

or exhalations, contiguous marshes, woods or jungles, often render it unsafe or impossible to *sleep in the open air*; a practice fraught with the most beneficial consequences, where the above-mentioned obstacles do not prevent its execution. But, pending the hot and dry season in Bengal, and almost always on the Coromandel coast, except during the hot land-winds, or at the change of the monsoons, we may indulge, not only with safety, but with infinite advantage, in the seemingly dangerous luxury of sleeping abroad in the open air.

I am well aware of the prejudices entertained against this custom, by great numbers, both in and out of the profession; but I am convinced, from personal experience and observation, that the practice, under the specified restrictions, is highly salutary, and I know it is sanctioned by some of the best-informed veterans, who have spent most part of their lives between the tropics. Speaking on this subject, the judicious Captain Williamson remarks that—"few, very few instances could be adduced, of any serious indisposition having attended it: while, on the other hand, it is confessed by all who have adopted it, that the greatest refreshment has ever resulted; enabling them to rise early, divested of the most distressing lassitude, attendant upon sleeping in an apartment absolutely communicating a febrile sensation, and peculiarly oppressive to the lungs."—*East India Vade-Mecum*.

If it be observed, that I have all along held up to view the danger of atmospherical vicissitudes to which this practice would *apparently* expose us; I answer, that I have also maintained, that *early habituation* to these, was the surest preservative against their injurious effects, as exemplified in the use of the bath. The truth is, however, that while the custom of sleeping in the open air steels the human frame against these same effects, it is, in reality, attended with less exposure to *sudden atmospherical transitions* than the opposite plan. Nature is ever indulgent, when we observe her ways and obey her dictates. Excepting the periods and places alluded to, the *transition in the open air* from the scorching heat of the day to the cool serenity of night, is gradual and easy. To this the human frame bends with safety, and we sink into a grateful and sound sleep, that renovates every corporeal and mental faculty. Whereas those, who exclude themselves from the breath of heaven, whether from necessity or inclination, become languid, from the *continued* operation of heat and the want of repose; in consequence of which, the slightest aerial vicissitude (either from leaving their couch, or admitting a partial current of cool air, which they are often compelled to do) unhinges the tenor of their health, and deranges the functions of important organs! These are they who require the afternoon *siesta*, and to whom indeed, it is necessary, on account of the abridged refreshment and sleep of the night; while the others are able to go through the avocations of the day without any such substitute —a great and manifest advantage.

Indigenous custom is, generally speaking, in favour of sleeping in the open air, during the hot seasons, in most Eastern countries. The practice, indeed, is less adopted in Bengal, for very obvious reasons, than on the Coromandel coast; but the native sleeps much cooler, at all times, than the European, from this circumstance—that his bed seldom consists of more than a *mat*, while a piece of *calico* wrapped round him, supplies the place of bed-clothes. The more closely we imitate these, the better will it be for us. Indeed a thin hair mattress, with a sheet and palampore, are the only requisities, independently of the thin gauze or mosquito curtains, which defend us from insects, and, when we sleep out on the *chabootah*, arrest any particles of moisture that may be floating in the atmosphere.

Early hours are here indispensable. The fashionable nocturnal dissipation of Europe would soon cut the thread of our existence between the tropics. The order of nature is never inverted with impunity, in the most temperate climates ; beneath the torrid zone it is certain destruction. The hour of retirement to repose should never be protracted beyond ten o'clock ; and at day light we should start from our couch to enjoy the cool, the fragrant, and salubrious breath of morn."

The "judicious Capt. Williamson" may have known no instances of evil having resulted from exposure to the night air: we know instances by the score. But at the same time we are not disposed to question the soundness of Dr. Johnson's theory of "early habituation." *When* a man is habituated to exposure to the night air, he will, doubtless, bear it with impunity. The misfortune is that—as in the case of the Σχολαστικος with whose exploits we were in younger days rendered so familiar, through the classical medium of the Greek *Analecta*—the "foolish fellow," who complained that, just as he had taught his horse to live without eating, it died—people generally go off in the course of the experiment. Dr. Johnson himself tells us in another of his chapters on Tropical Hygeine, of a gentleman, who had well nigh habituated himself to drinking freely over-night and swallowing an enormous amount of provender for breakfast—enough indeed to suffice four ordinary men—but, who just as he had reached the culminating point, had the misfortune suddenly to die:—

"Breakfasts, among the latter, are often productive of more injury than dinners, especially where fish, eggs, ham, &c. are devoured without mercy, as not unfrequently happens. Many a nauseous dose of medicine have I been obliged to swallow from indulging too freely in these articles ; but I saw my error before it was too late. Most people suppose, that as a good appetite in the morning is a sign of health, so they cannot do sufficient honour to the breakfast table ; but the stomach, though it may relish, is seldom equal to the digestion of such alimentary substances as those alluded to, where a sound night's rest has hardly ever been procured. I have seen the most unequivocal bad effects from heavy breakfasts in others, as well as in my own person ; and I shall relate one instance that may serve as a drawback upon the pleasures of a luxurious *déjeuné* in the East. Mr. B———, Purser of a frigate, a gentleman well known on the station, was as determined a *bon vivant* as ever I had the honour of being acquainted with.

"*De mortuis nil nisi verum.*"—He certainly had possessed a most excellent constitution ; for I have seen it perform prodigies, and falsify the most confident medical prognostications ! He had served many years in the West Indies, where he passed through the usual ordeals of yellow fever, dysentery, &c. with *éclat* ; and he came to the East with the most sovereign contempt for every maxim of the hygean goddess ! Although he never neglected, even by accident, his daily and nightly libations to the rosy god, yet no sportsman on the Caledonian mountains, could do more justice to a Highland breakfast than he. Indeed, he rarely went to sea, without an ample private stock of epicurean provender, and I have seen him thrown into a violent paroxysm of rage on finding that two nice-looking hams, which he

had purchased in China, resisted all attacks of the knife, in consequence of a certain *ligneous* principle which "FUKKI" had contrived to substitute, with admirable dexterity, for the more savoury fibres of the porker! The items of the last breakfast which he made, minuted on the spot by a *German* surgeon who attended him, are now before me. The prominent articles were, four hard-boiled eggs, two dried fishes, two plates of rice, with chillies, condiments, and a proportionate allowance of bread, butter, coffee, &c. Many a time had I seen him indulge in this kind of fare with perfect impunity; but all things have an end, and this proved his final breakfast! He was almost immediately taken ill, and continued several days in the greatest agony imaginable! Notwithstanding all the efforts of the surgeon, no passage downwards could ever be procured till a few hours before his death, when mortification relaxed all strictures. Let the fate of the dead prove a warning to the living!"

Now, here was a case of "early habituation." The process was going on in the most satisfactory manner possible. Mr. B—— was in the enjoyment of fine health and spirits. His morning meals were as glorious as his nightly potations. "Many a time," says Dr. Johnson, "I had seen him indulge in this fare with perfect impunity: but all things must have an end"—unless, indeed, the perfection-point of habituation be attained; and *then* men may go on swallowing tons of breakfast, or sleeping in the open air—till they die.

We do not wish to inculcate the expediency of a nervous, restless attention to therapeutics. He who is always fidgetting about his health has a disease not written in his catalogue of ailments; he dies every day, and plays the part of Heautontimoroumenos, in the most antic garb of miserable folly. This is the worst of all ailments—the most intractable—the most hopeless. Dr. MacCosh—a member of that enlightened body of men, which constitutes the Medical Service of the East India Company—in a useful little work, whose title stands at the head of this article, has made some observations upon this subject, which we consider well worthy of attention—though we quote it principally for the very striking bit of practical experience with which it concludes:—

"When we are in perfect health, how often do we anticipate mischances that never happen, reverses of fortune that never have recurrence, and fret ourselves into an actual fever in consequence. When our affairs are prosperous, then we grow diffident of our health, and imagine the seeds of some of the most formidable diseases of the country sown in our constitution; and these embryo ideal creations we watch with utmost circumspection, till some other more palpable symptom of some other disease engrosses our attention, to be in its turn replaced by some other equally speculative. This is an endemic under whose effects a large proportion of medical students labour; and, from my experience, I believe it to be more infectious amongst new-comers in India than at any other part of their career.

While a proper degree of precaution is absolutely necessary, too much nursing, and anticipation of Nature's mysterious laws, is hurtful. I have seen

this carried to ridiculous extremes. One was afraid to walk off the high-road, lest he should tread upon a cobra ; another would not eat a mango, lest it should give him dysentery ; nor drink a glass of wine, for fear of liver ; nor sleep, in the hottest weather, with a door open, for fear of rheumatism ; nor sit under a punkah, with Fahrenheit at 90 degrees, for fear of catching cold ; nor allow the breath of heaven to pass through his chamber, lest it should be laden with disease. Nothing is more common than for them to construe a slight cold into a galloping consumption, a head-ache into the commencement of a remittent fever, a bilious attack into cholera, *tinnitus aurium* into apoplexy, and a spasmodic twinge under the ribs into hepatitis. In fact, every trifling tumefaction is magnified into a mountain ; but the mountain, instead of being, as was supposed, parturient of all the evils of Pandora's box, generally ends in misconception, or in bringing forth nothing but its legitimate mouse. Such meagrims are very natural, at least they are very common ; and they will leave the stranger in course of time, and with increased experience ; but he may save himself a deal of anxiety by being forewarned of their approach. I don't mean to plead exemption from such nonsense ; on my first landing, I had also my share of them, but never knew them to end in any thing serious. The most formidable illness I ever had was a jungle fever. It came upon me in camp, like a thief in the night, without warning ; and, while fast asleep ; I had as narrow an escape with life as possible ; yet my forebodings, during my long illness, were not of the most forlorn nature ; and I have looked forward to the issue of a diarrhœa with as much concern.

Experience will show, that too much solicitude about one's health is seldom of any service. One is never so apt to catch an inflammatory complaint as when he is guarding most against its predisposing causes ; and it is a well-known fact, that none are more frequently victims to cholera, than those who are constantly taking precautions against it.

Another great error strangers are liable to fall into, is the habit of taking medicine, converting their stomachs into pharmaceutical laboratories, and drugging themselves into a state of disease. Not contented with letting Nature take her own way, they force her to take a way of theirs ; and drive her so hard in the new system of regimen, that she in time forgets her own, and only recovers it with great difficulty.

The *vis medicatrix naturæ* is an imperious dame, that won't bear dictation, and seems to resent too officious interference with her regulations of the constitution, as much as she plays well her part when some sudden mishap takes it at a disadvantage ; a regular coquet, and not to be won by direct addresses and straightforward courtship. Ask her for sleep at a given hour, and she will most likely deny it, and perhaps perversely pester you with it at a time when you least want it ; when you are most hungry, you will have a long hour-and-half to wait for dinner ; when most thirsty, furthest distant from the well ; and, when most fatigued, you will have still a "gude lang bittack" to travel.

On the other hand, the *vis medicatrix* is never more provident than when accident takes us by surprise. If a grain of sand fall upon the eye, a gush of tears will be instantly discharged, by which the offending substance is washed away ; if any extraneous substance be received into the trachea, violent coughing will instantly ensue to eject it ; if any dangerous poison be taken into the stomach, it will most likely be thrown up again by vomiting, and if any thing crude or offensive lodge in the intestines, diarrhœa will ensue, and generally carry it off. If a man lose the sight of one eye, that of the remaining eye will become more acute. People born deaf, have generally remarkably good eye sight ; and the senses of hearing, touching, tasting, and smelling, in the blind, strike us with surprise at their perfection. We cannot

make a stumble without being conscious of her efforts to avert a fall; and, if we do fall, she will so arrange matters as to make the fall as soft as possible; and should we be unexpectedly exposed to great hardships and privations, she will enable us to surmount them with impunity, when, in ordinary circumstances, they would be followed with most untoward consequences, or perhaps with death.

Of the truth of this assertion, I can speak from dearly-bought personal experience. I have already alluded to my having suffered severely from a jungle fever, contracted on field-service. While proceeding to Van Diemen's Land, for the recovery of my health, the vessel was cast away about one in the morning, upon the desolate island of Amsterdam, with the loss of seventy-six lives. I swam ashore, almost naked, a few minutes after the ship struck; sat on the bare rocks, under heavy rain, till daylight; clothed myself in various pieces of dress, as they lay on the shore, and let them dry on my person; subsisted upon putrid rice, and brackish water, and half-roasted sea-birds; and, for fourteen days, underwent all the concomitant hardships inseparable from such a state of uncertainty and destitution; yet, I never caught so much as a cold."

This is a striking instance of the goodness of Providence, whose sustaining hand saved the worthy doctor when girt about by perils manifold; but it proves nothing in support of his theory. Another man might have perished outright. The *vis medicatrix* doctrine here laid down is carried out to an undue extent. A man may take too much care of himself, but it does not therefore follow that he ought not to take care of himself at all. Besides, it is idle to talk about nature, when we are living in an un-natural state. It must ever be borne in mind that we are exotics.

We have said that exposure to the climate and intemperance are in this country the two most fertile sources of disease and death. Among the higher classes, intemperance, as the word was formerly understood, has scarcely any existence, though among the European soldiery it is fatally common. But when we speak of intemperance, we allude to such imprudence, however respectable may be the modification of it, as is injurious to the European constitution. It is not to be questioned that a considerable number of people kill themselves every year by eating and drinking improper things, or proper things at improper times. That a few unfortunate creatures, principally in remote stations, bring themselves down, by dint of hard drinking, to an untimely grave, unregretted in death by associates who had despised them throughout life, is unfortunately true; but in India, in spite of all temptations to excess—and such temptations exist, strong and unceasing, in the languor of body and depression of mind induced by the enervating climate and the many dreary environments of Indian life—moderation is no less a characteristic of society than it is "at home." Still, what in itself may be moderation, viewed in

connexion with peculiar circumstances may be excess. It is to such excesses that we now principally allude. It should never be forgotten that in this country, almost every part of the human frame is in a highly susceptible state, and that men, even in a sound state of health, can not indulge with impunity in the same manner, as they were wont to indulge in the temperate latitude of the British isles. It may sometimes fall out that, in spite of every precaution, disease assails us and with fatal severity; but in the greater number of instances, the attack may be immediately traced to some act of indiscretion—perhaps a trifling one, not thought of at the time, but still an act of indiscretion. We hear sometimes of men, at a season when cholera is doing its tremendous work among the people, eating ices, drinking claret, and devouring mangoes after a full dinner, and then on the following morning, regardless of the first symptoms of disease which have begun to manifest themselves, devouring *more* mangoes—death-offerings though they be. We have known many deaths from cholera to have been occasioned by the simple indiscretion of eating ices, when heated by violent exercise—we believe that many more are annually the result of drinking bad wine and unsound beer, large quantities of which find their way into the Indian market. It is more frequently the quality, than the quantity, of what is drunk, which proves fatal.

To enter, at the present time, into an elaborate dissertation on Indian dietetics is no part of our intention. There is an old proverb—its antiquity must compensate for its want of elegance—that "what is one man's meat is another man's poison;" and we believe that this truism is in India especially true. Every man *may*, if he *will*, know what best agrees with his constitution. The misfortune is that few of us *will* know it. It is very probable that a bottle of claret, or a bottle of beer, may be not only perfectly innocuous, but actually beneficial to many Europeans. Indeed, we have known men imbibe three times the quantity, and live to a good old age, with something less than the ordinary amount of suffering which belongs to our transplanted state. But to many, such indulgence would be death. In the majority of cases, the least exciting diet is the best. Few really require stimulants, people are very prone to believe that they do require them. The wish is father to the thought; and they talk about the want of strength, the *sinking* which ensues from the abandonment of intoxicating drinks. Our own belief is that, in nine cases out of ten, a man may take to simple water-drinking without any loss of strength or any "sinking," and that in the greater number of these cases there will not only be no loss, but a positive accession of vigour,

and elasticity both of body and of mind. With respect to food, we believe that the same general rule is nearly applicable. A stimulating diet is seldom to be adopted with impunity in this country. We think that we may set it down as a fact, that whatever is provocative of thirst is a bad article of diet. This is especially true in the case of Europeans, who, to allay the thirst created by solid stimulants, generally betake themselves to liquid ones. We are somewhat too much inclined to point to the hot spicey dishes, which are the principal articles of *Native* diet, and to argue thence that such diet must necessarily be suited to us; but the Native dilutes his curry with cold water, whilst the European too often employs beer or wine as a solvent;* and it must never be inferred that what is well adapted to the constitution of a native of the country must be equally well suited to those who are transplanted from the far West. What would a horticulturist think of the bungling fellow who would act upon such an inference in his management of the garden?

To those whose avocations compel them to be much abroad during the heat of the day, it is of the first importance that they should religiously eschew all stimulating articles of diet. Whatever heats the blood and excites the system is bad. There are few who have not observed the striking difference between the effect produced upon the intemperate and the temperate men of a regiment, when exposed to the influence of the climate. They who drink no spirits and eat little or no animal food, can bear for years an amount of exposure, which would send, in a few days, the dram-drinker and gross feeder to the grave. They who can persuade themselves to abstain have the firmer muscle; the brighter eye; the more elastic step—they are better able to devise, and more ready to execute; they are stronger, healthier, happier; the climate has fewer terrors for them; they *sink* neither in body nor in mind.—And after all, what is there to show on the other side—what is there to compensate for the dreary wretchedness of sickness in a distant land?

There is no question that all the accompaniments of the sick room in India are indescribably dismal and forlorn. Sickness wears many different aspects. The skeleton head may be masked with roses, or it may grin out in all its naked sepulchral hideousness. During paroxysms of very active disease, it matters little to the sufferer whether the linen, which covers his wasted limbs, be of the purest whiteness and the finest

* It is not altogether unworthy of observation that in that part of India, from which this journal is issued, *curry* is rarely to be seen at the tables of European residents. The dish still, to a considerable extent, maintains its place in the Mofussil; but at this presidency at least, few Europeans ever patronise the savory dish. We believe the change to be a beneficial one.

texture, or whether it be coarse and dirty and nauseous to look upon—it matters little whether the walls of his room are covered with paper of a grateful color and pleasant device, and hung around with cheerful pictures; or whether they be bare and weather-stained, with no other ornament than that which the busy spider supplies for nothing; it matters little, at such times, whether the table beside him be decked with cheerful jars of fresh, joy-giving flowers, or whether it be set about with empty physic bottles and dirty glasses. But disease is not made up of a constant succession of paroxysms. A very small portion of the misery of sickness consists of acute suffering. The mind has abundant time for occupation with little things—(with great ones it is forbidden, if it had the power, to grapple) and on nothing is it more prone to employ itself than on the contemplation of surrounding objects. Every invalid can recall hours and hours spent in profound consideration of some very insignificant trifle. It is no trifle to him. Indeed, during sickness, the comparative value of things is strangely inverted. Great things become little, and little things become great. The aliment of the mind, like that of the body, must be of the lightest and scantiest description. The sick man sinks down—in some respects, we may write *rises*—to the child. He is easily pleased—easily distressed. The manœuvres of a lizard, on a sporting excursion along the cornice of the door-way, may furnish abundant food for weighty speculation between the morning tea and the meridian sago or arrow-root; and it is hard if the fantastic border of the paper, with which the walls are hung (in those regions where walls are papered) will not keep the mind employed, in curious creative mood, tracing out all things under heaven in its pattern, until the shutters are closed, the curtains are drawn, and the candles are brought in. Curtains and shutters! We have not yet forgotten the aspect of the sick chamber at home—how different the picture, which the hand of truth must draw of the sick room in India.* We suffer doubly in this country for want of those cheering environments which so brighten up the gloom of the sick chamber in England; and almost, when abundant kindness is there, make a glory in a shady place. We smile, nevertheless at those who talk or write about the pleasures of sickness. "They jest at scars who never felt a wound." Pleasant, quaint, dear Charles Lamb, who, but for his propensity to trifle with grave subjects (albeit the trifling was more in the outward man-

* We shall of course be understood to contrast the different aspects of suffering in people in the same position of life—that class of people of which our readers are mainly constituted. Heaven knows we never forget that there are hundreds and thousands of sufferers in England, who know all the pain and none of the comforts of sickness.

ner than in the inner heart, his gravest meditations turning to kindly humor as they trickled down his pen) would be, beyond all others, the writer to beguile the hours of the weary patient in his first convalescent stage, has set forth in his own characteristic manner, the regal joys of the sick chamber. See how magnificent the picture; and yet how unreal! The man, who had really known sickness, could scarcely write in such a strain as this:—

"What else is it but a magnificent dream for a man to lie in bed, and draw day-light curtains about him; and, shutting out the sun, to induce a total oblivion of all the works which are going on under it? To become insensible to all the operations of life, except the beating of one feeble pulse?

If there be a regal solitude, it is a sick bed. How the patient lords it there! what caprices he acts without control! how king-like he sways his pillow—tumbling, and tossing, and moulding it, to the ever-varying requisitions of his throbbing temples.

He changes *sides* oftener than a politician. Now he lies full length, then half-length, obliquely, transversely, head and feet quite across the bed; and none accuses him of tergiversation; within the four curtains he is absolute. They are his Mare Clausum.

How sickness encourages the reflections of a man's self to himself! he is his own exclusive object. Supreme selfishness is inculcated upon him as his only duty. 'Tis the two tables of the law to him. He has nothing to think of but how to get well. What passes out of doors, or within them, so he hears not the jarring of them, affects him not.

To be sick is to enjoy monarchial prerogatives. Compare the silent tread, and quiet ministry, almost by the eye only, with which he is served—with the careless demeanour, the unceremonious goings in and out (slapping of doors, or leaving them open) of the very same attendants, when he is getting a little better—and you will confess, that from the bed of sickness (throne let me rather call it) to the elbow chair of convalescence, is a fall from dignity amounting to a deposition.....

How convalecence shrinks a man back to his pristine stature! where is now the space, which he occupied so lately, in his own, in the family's eye? The scene of his regalities, his sick room, which was his presence-chamber, where he lay and acted his despotic fancies—is it reduced to a common bed-room? The trimness of the very bed had something petty and unmeaning about it. It is *made* every day. How unlike to that wavy, many-furrowed, oceanic surface, which it presented so short a time since, when to *make* it was a service not to be thought of at oftener than three or four day revolutions, when the patient was, with pain and grief to be lifted, for a little while out of it, to submit to the encroachments of unwelcome neatness, and decencies which his shaken frame deprecated; then to be lifted into it again, for another three or four days' respite, to flounder it out of shape again, while every fresh furrow was a historical record of some shifting posture, some uneasy turning, some seeking for a little ease; and the shrunken skin scarce told a truer stroy than the crumpled coverlid."

This is not the language of one, who has really suffered. A sore throat—an attack of rheumatism—or a seasonable visitation of mild influenza, these are ailments for which compensation may be found in the regality of the sick chamber. There is nothing regal in real suffering; nothing elevating. It drags

down the crowned head to the level of the greasy beggar. Blessings, nevertheless, on those, who in resignation and thankfulness, and in a mood somewhat more serious than that of jesting ELIA, seek and not wholly in vain for the "gains and sweetnesses of Invalidism,"—seeing, with clear spirit, despite surrounding clouds, the "soul of goodness in things evil," whose due appreciation is the true philosophy of Christian life! Perhaps, of all these seekers after diamonds in the cinder-heap,—the moral *cheffoniers* of the world—we most love those who are least successful—who toil the hardest and gain the least; for theirs is the strongest faith, theirs the most hopeful spirit.

But upon the generalities of this subject it is not ours to discourse. Had poor Charles Lamb's experiences of India extended beyond the accounts of its Government, at which he laboured diligently throughout the best years of his life, we doubt whether even he could have brought himself to jest about the pleasures of disease. We would fain know what manner of picture our friends at home are wont to draw, when they think of the sick room in India—what manner of "Oriental tinting" the pencil of imagination throws over it. A spacious chamber, with cool marble floor, skirted with wide open terraces, through which a glimpse is caught of disporting fountains, casting their bright waters into the clear air; ottomans all resplendent with gold, and picturesque with gorgeous drapery; tables of polished ebony, ivory-inlaid, bearing magnificent vases, joyous with the choicest flowers of the East, beautiful beyond the conception of the dull European mind; a wide expanse of couch, carved from the choicest samples of odoriferous sandal-wood, and spread with the softest silken coverlids; troops of turbaned attendants bearing the cooling draft on silver salvers, driving away the insects with gay brushes of peacock's tail, or moving over-head the huge round fan made of the fragrant grasses, which abound in the perfumed East! Oh! if you did but see us, dear brother, sister, or sweet cousin, who playedst with us in the cool valley, wherein stood that nest of greenery we were wont to call our homes. Oh! if you did but see us—the sick room as it is—but we will not essay the picture. We have found one, which will answer our purpose, in a recent work of fiction, which in some of its many chapters displays a few touches of truth:—

"The room was oft he same dimensions, and quite as uncomfortable, as that they had just quitted. Indeed, its aspect was still more wretched, for it was dirtier and more disordered, and in one corner of the room was a heap of dirty linen, the chief part of which was stained and stiffened with blood. On the table were two or three bottles of physic, a pill-box, and a number of blue powder-papers, a wine-glass with the remains of a draft at the bottom

and clinging to the sides, a few scraps of lint, a tea-spoon, which looked as though it had held a powder, and lastly a plate full of salt and blood, in which evidently a dozen leeches or so had lately been disgorging the sanguinary meal they had made. Besides these paraphernalia, which adorned the table, there were a number of soda-water bottles, some full and some empty, in the corner of the room opposite the linen, and scattered about the floor were several large locks of beautiful soft yellow hair, which you might have almost taken for a woman's, so fine and luxuriant did they look.

Beneath a punkah, which a bearer more than nine-tenths asleep was drowsily pretending to pull, was just such a camp-bed as Julian Jenks had seen in Mr, Phillimore's quarters, and on this bed, which was surely never designed for an invalid, lay the unfortunate, fever-stricken patient, his head shaven close to the scalp, his left arm bandaged and bloodstained, and his brows bearing evident symptoms of having lately worn a garland of leeches. Tossing about restlessly, as though seeking in vain for an easy position, and groaning like a person with a weight upon his chest, he presented to Julian Jenks and Mr. Phillimore, as they entered, an aspect to the last degree pitiable; and Julian felt his heart sink within him, as he contemplated the pale sunken cheeks, the emaciated limbs, and the distorted features of one whom a few months before he had seen in all the fullness of youth and health and boundless animal spirits, with a face and a figure that might have served as a model for the painter or the sculptor, who would body forth a Ganymede or an Antinous. * * * * * * *

It was not merely the sickness—the suffering of his friend, or the prospect of death, near as it seemed, that so completely overcame Julian Jenks in this melancholy hour. Sickness and suffering he had seen, and to death itself he was not quite a stranger; but he had never seen sickness and suffering with so little to alleviate their miseries, as he now saw in that wretched barrack-room. To him they had always been as hideous pictures set in very handsome frames; but here all was hideous—unredeemedly hideous—the setting as well as the pictures.

How utterly unlike a sick-room in England—how different the condition of that poor boy, from what it would have been at home under the same pressure of sickness and suffering—the nicely papered room, the cheerful carpet, the white-curtained bed, and all so clean, so neat, with *woman* stamped on its every arrangement—the little jar of flowers by the bed-side—the physic-bottles, and all other things that might disgust, so carefully removed out of sight—the pastile-burner on the chimney-piece—the clean towels on the horse—and countless other things indicative of female kindliness and care; but more than all—far more than all—the ministering presence of the mother or the sister—comforting, aiding, sweetening the bitter draught, and shedding plentiful sunshine around her. Ah! yes—the demon of disease is Janus-faced—and how different the two aspects—how different this from poor Appleby's comfortless barrack-room—an uncarpeted, unmatted floor—a stifling atmosphere—a dirty apartment—heaps of blood-stained linen in the corners—dirty physic glasses on the table, and lastly, a native hireling drowsily pulling a punkah, and only waiting for a favourable opportunity to slink away altogether."

Now we do not say that this is over-charged,—we have seen with our own eyes more dreary pictures by far than this—pictures into which the cheering sun of ministering friendship has not thrown a gleam of light. Many, many die yearly without so much as a friendly hand to smooth the dying pillow. A native hireling performs the office of the wife, the mother, or the

sister; and the scene perchance is changed from the noisy barrack-room, in which at least there is a sense of companionship, to the awful solitude of a single boat on the bosom of a jungle-skirted river. But it is not all like this. There are homes even in India. We make ourselves homes even in this distant land, and fence ourselves around with loving objects. Hearts, not houses, make home. And yet even with the utmost devotion of heart to bless it, the home of the Indian exile is but an imperfect home. It is not his resting place; he looks beyond it. There is not that sense of permanency which is one of the charms of home; and we can never choose our own abiding places. The greater number of us are moved from place to place, at the will of our masters. Often at a few days' notice, are we compelled to betake ourselves from one end of India to the other. We are wanderers, and not voluntary wanderers; and even the most fortunate—what is their sense of home? The merchant or the presidency civilian, or the staff-officer—the only fixtures of which Indian Society can boast—may choose his own residence within a circle of half a dozen miles, but when he thinks of home, he sees the masts of the tall passenger ships, which make a forest of the Hooghly, or stud the ocean which washes the beach of Madras or Bombay; and beyond this a snug English house, with its shrubbery and trim garden-walks, and its sunny fruit walls luscious with the ruddy peach and ruddier nectarine. An Indian home is but a lodging house, or way-side inn, in which the exile kills time, as best he can, until it is permitted to him to proceed on the last stage of his journey homewards. The companionship of wife and children may invest it with a charm, may encircle it with a light, which the solitary man knows not of; but wife and children—the only things which make home—are in this country too often but transient blessings; they leave us, and then we see the most wretched form of Indian exile—the husband and the father toiling wifeless and childless, beneath the wasting sun of the East, full of anxiety and regret—anxiety and regret, which render every day a day of suffering; and at last, where the affections are strong and the bodily frame but feeble, dry up the very current of life.

And how intensely, when prostrated by sickness, do we long for all the cheering accompaniments of an English home! It is not only the in-doors comfort of the sick-room; the white curtains and whiter coverlid of the bed, the cheerful carpet on the floor, the fanciful paper on the wall, the blazing fire, if in the winter season, or if in the mild summer time, the jars of sweet flowers on the chimney piece, and the many colored paper shavings, which take the place of the gaseous coal—it is not

only the in-doors comfort, we say, of the sick-chamber at home, which throws, by bright contrast, the sick-room in India so mournfully into the shade; no, there is that in the outer environments, for which we long, in seasons of sickness and suffering, still more intensely—we long for the fresh air, for the pleasing landscape seen through the open window; we long for that communion with the outer world, which is allowed (scantily in itself, but to him bounteously) to the sick man; we long for that participation in rural pleasures, which we enjoy by making others' happiness our own; and the neighbourly feeling, which grows up in our hearts, when we think of the kind friends who take their daily walks to see us, or haply, for the doctor will suffer no more, to enquire after our well-being, and to leave some friendly offering of flowers or books, or some trifle consecrated by the kind thoughts which suggested the gift, to make us feel that though shut out from their companionship, we are not forgotten by our old associates. In India, solitude is too often the dusky hand-maid of sickness. And what an aggravation of suffering it is to suffer alone. To be left hour after hour to our own gloomy thoughts—to yearn after kind faces and encouraging words, and to find none to solace us—to look forward with eager longing to the periodical visits of our medical attendants—to find companionship even in the *bearer*, who moves the punkah, or the scrubby dog which lies beside our bed and wonders why we do not take our wonted airings abroad—this it is, truly to suffer. And then in India, we have rarely any sense of companionship with external nature. The sick-room in India is girt around with high impenetrable walls, gloomy and dungeon-like. We see little or nothing beyond it. The heat, the glare, the dust; these are the things which surround us and beg instrusively for admittance. If we would throw open our windows to see a little beyond the sick chamber, we are blinded, and scorched, and stifled. Instead of the cool air, and the refreshing greenery, and the music of the humming bees and the choral birds, and the perfumes of the sweet flowers, or, peradventure of the scented hay-field, gladsome with the merry voices of men, of women, and of children,—in place of all these heart-cheering influences we are surrounded with all gloomy things. We are, indeed, prisoners. Communion with the outer world there is none. We cannot look abroad. We are scarcely sensible of the presence of the neighbours around us, if indeed such neighbours there be. Under circumstances most favorable, of neighbourly feeling there is little. The climate forbids such benevolences. We cannot interchange small kindnesses here as we can at home. We cannot walk abroad, basket in hand, to pay our morning visit to a sick friend,

and to cheer him with neighbourly anecdotes of what is passing around him—gossip, not the least refreshing part of which is that which awakens the sympathies of the invalid towards the sufferings of others, and makes him sensible, in the very depths of his grateful heart, that he is indeed comparatively blest. We do not mean that in India there is little true friendly feeling —little kindness and compassion of heart. Kindliness is a plant which thrives as luxuriantly, in the breasts of Englishmen, when scorched by the fierce rays of an Eastern sun, as when moistened by the dark, watery clouds of the Western world. But sickness in India is very common, and that which is very common excites little regard. We look upon the illness of a friend as a thing of course. We know that we all must suffer more or less; and when a friend is stricken down, we merely think that his time has come, and probably that our own is coming. Perhaps, we do not wholly neglect the practical kindnesses which are due from one friend to another, but we are often contented to do them by deputy. We cannot, as in England, take the hat from the peg, and the walking-stick from the corner near the hall door, and sally forth into the fresh, brisk air of morning to cross the common, or thread the green lane, on the way to the house of sickness, carrying with us, elate with triumph, the first strawberries of the season, or the earliest dish of asparagus, to lay them with our own hands, prouder than a nation's conqueror and far happier, on the table beside the couch of the invalid.

But after all, there is nothing we miss so much in sickness, as the sense of rural enjoyment of which we have spoken. There is no time of our lives, at which we have so keen a longing after the blessings and benignities of external nature, as when prostrated by disease; no time at which flowers are so odorous, the voice of birds so musical, the sight of green fields and running waters more grateful than when debilitated by long sickness. We often, indeed, discover new sources of enjoyment at such seasons as this. We had before no idea that a rose-bud, or a thrush, or a bright-winged butterfly was a work of God, capable of affording such intense pleasure to a being made in His own image—but sickness teaches us many a lesson, and not the least of these is, that the humblest thing fashioned by God's hand has a specific importance of its own, which even the proudest must sometimes acknowledge; that the world abounds with blessings everywhere, differing in kind and differing in degree, and suited therefore to different aspects of life and different moods of mind—and that to "feel contempt for any living thing," because we cannot immediately understand and appreciate its worth, is at once to be ignorant and ungrateful.

It is, indeed, a great thing in sickness to commence with the works of nature, though the privilege should extend no further than the enjoyment of a box of mignonette on the window-ledge, or a few plucked flowers in a jar. In India, it is often forbidden to us to see anything beyond an arid plain—a sandy desert; and even that can only be looked upon during an hour or two of the day. The prospect from the window of the sick chamber is, as all who have suffered much know full well, a matter of the gravest importance—How feelingly is this truth set forth in one of the chapters of the last of the three books, whose titles appear at the head of this article. The book is one which bears no acknowledgment of authorship; nor needs it such open acknowledgment to tell the name of the writer. Every chapter of "Life in the sick-room" is instinct with the kindly sympathy, the generous toleration, the noble patience and fortitude—the *almost* Christianity of HARRIET MARTINEAU. Long condemned to suffer in the sick-room, she has at last been emancipated from its gloomy thraldom; and the many, who owe her a debt of gratitude for the much she has done for them, by converting her sick chamber into a temple of serene philosophy, and sending forth her lessons of meekness and patience to the world, will rejoice with her now that she has again gone forth to enjoy the pure air of heaven, with the sky once again above her head, and the grass beneath her feet. See how her sad experiences taught her to appreciate the blessings of external nature:—

"When an invalid is under sentence of disease for life, it becomes a duty of first-rate importance to select a proper place of abode. This is often overlooked; and a sick prisoner goes on to live where he lived before, for no other reason than because he lived there before. Many a sufferer languishes amidst street noises, or passes year after year in a room whose windows command dead walls, or paved courts, or some such objects: so that he sees nothing of Nature but such sky and stars as show themselves above the chimney-tops. I remember the heart-ache it gave me to see a youth, confined to a recumbent posture for two or three years, lying in a room whence he could see nothing, and dependent therefore on the cage of birds by his bedside, and the flowers his friends sent him, for the only notices of Nature that reached him, except the summer's heat and winter's cold. There was no sufficient reason why he should not have been placed where he could overlook fields, or even the sea.

If a healthy man, entering upon a temporary imprisonment, hangs his walls with a paper covered with roses, and every one sympathises in this forethought for his mind's health, much more should the invalid (who, though he must be a prisoner, has yet liberty of choice where his prison shall be,) provide for sustaining and improving his attachment to Nature, and for beguiling his sufferings by the unequalled refreshments she affords. He will be wise to sacrifice indolence, habit, money and convenience, at the outset, to place himself where he can command the widest or the most beautiful view that can be had without sacrificing advantages more essential still. There are few things more essential still:

but there are some ;—such as medical attendance, and a command of the ordinary conveniences of life.

What is the best kind of view a sick prisoner's windows ought to command ? I have chosen the sea, and am satisfied with my choice. We should have the widest expanse of sky, for night scenery. We should have a wide expanse of land or water, for the sake of a sense of liberty, yet more than for variety ; and also because then the inestimable help of a telescope may be called in. Think of the difference to us between seeing from our sofa the width of a street, even if it be Sackville-street, Dublin, or Portland Place, in London, and thirty miles of sea view, with its long boundary of rocks, and the power of sweeping our glance over half a county, by means of a telescope ! But the chief ground of preference of the sea is less its space than its motion, and the perpetual shifting of objects caused by it. There can be nothing in inland scenery which can give the sense of life and motion and connexion with the world like sea changes. The motion of a waterfall is too continuous,—too little varied,—as the breaking of the waves would be, if that were all the sea could afford. The fitful action of a windmill,—the waving of trees, the ever-changing aspects of mountains are good and beautiful : but there is more life-like in the going forth and return of ships, in the passage of fleets, and in the never-ending variety of a fishery.

But then, there must not be too much sea. The strongest eyes and nerves could not support the glare and oppressive vastness of an unrelieved expanse of waters. I was aware of this in time, and fixed myself where the view of the sea was inferior to what I should have preferred, if I had come to the coast for a summer visit. Between my window and the sea is a green down, as green as any field in Ireland ; and on the nearer half of this down, haymaking goes forward in its season. It slopes down to a hollow, where the Prior of old preserved his fish, there being sluices formerly at either end, the one opening upon the river, and the other upon the little haven below the Priory, whose ruins still crown the rock. From the Prior's fish-pond, the green down slopes upwards again to a ridge ; and on the slope are cows grazing all summer, and half way into the winter. Over the ridge, I survey the harbour and all its traffic, the view extending from the light-houses far to the right, to a horizon of sea to the left. Beyond the harbour lies another county, with, first, its sandy beach, where there are frequent wrecks—too interesting to an invalid,—and a fine stretch of rocky shore to the left ; and above the rocks, a spreading heath, where I watch troops of boys flying their kites ; lovers and friends taking their breezy walk on Sundays ; the sportsman with his gun and dog ; and the washerwomen converging from the farm houses on a saturday evening, to carry their loads, in company, to the village or the yet further height. I see them, now taking in a cluster, as they walk each with her white burden on her head, and now in file, as they pass through the narrow lane ; and finally they part off on the village green, each to some neighbouring house of the gentry. Behind the village and the heath, stretches the rail-road ; and I watch the train triumphantly careering along the level road, and puffing forth its steam above hedges and groups of trees, and then labouring and panting up the ascent, till it is lost between two heights, which at last bound my view. But on these heights are more objects ; a windmill, now in motion and now at rest ; a lime-kiln, in a picturesque rocky field ; an ancient church tower, barely visible in the morning, but conspicuous when the setting sun shines upon it ; a colliery, with its lofty wagonway, and the self-moving wagons running hither and thither, as if in pure wilfulness ; and three or four farms, at various degrees of ascent, whose yards, paddocks, and dairies I am better acquainted with than their inhabitants would believe possible. I know every stack of corn on the heights. Against the sky I see the stacking of corn and

hay in the season, and can detect the slicing away of the provender, with an accurate eye, at the distance of several miles. I can follow the sociable farmer in his summer-evening ride, pricking on in the lanes where he is alone, in order to have more time for the unconscionable gossip at the gate of the next farm-house, and for the second talk over the paddock-fence of the next, or for the third or fourth before the porch, or over the wall, when the resident farmer comes out, pipe in mouth, and puffs away amidst his chat, till the wife appears, with a shawl over her cap, to see what can detain him so long; and the daughter follows, with her gown turned over head (for it is now chill evening), and at last the sociable horseman finds he must be going, looks at his watch, and, with a gesture of surprise, turns his steed down a steep broken way to the beach, and canters home over the sands, left hard and wet by the ebbing tide, the white horse making his progress visible to me through the dusk. Then, if the question arises which has most of the gossip spirit, he or I, there is no shame in the answer. Any such small amusement is better than harmless—is salutary—which carries the spirit of the sick prisoner abroad into the open air, and among country people. When I shut down my window, I feel that my mind has had an airing."

And again, a little further on—how redolent is all this of home:

"I have a sense of property too in the larks which nestle in all the furrows of the down. It is a disquietude to see them start up and soar, with premature joy, on some mild January day, before our snows and storms have begun, when I detect in myself a feeling of duty to the careless creatures,—a longing to warn them, by my superior wisdom, that they must not reckon yet on spring. And on April mornings, when the shadows are strong in the hollows, and some neighbour's child sends me in a handful of primroses from the fields, I look forth, as for my due, to see the warblers spring and fall, and to catch their carol above the hum and rejoicing outcry of awakening Nature. If the yellow butterflies do not come to my flower-box in the sunny noon, I feel myself wronged. But they do come,—and so do the bees: and there are times when the service is too importunate,—when the life and light are more than I can bear, and I draw down the blind, and shut myself in with my weakness, and with thoughts more abstract. But when, in former days, had simple, natural influences such power over me? How is it that the long-suffering sick, already deprived of so much, are ever needlessly debarred from natural and renovating pleasures like these?

Watch the effect upon them of a picture, or a print of a breezy tree,—of a gliding stream,—of a group of children swinging on a gate in a lane. If they do not (because they cannot) express in words the thirst of their souls for these images, observe how their eyes wistfully follow the portfolio or volume of plates which ministers this scenery to them. Observe how, in looking at portraits, their notice fastens at once on any morsel of back-ground which presents any rural objects. Observe the sad fondness with which they cherish flowers,—how reluctantly it is admitted that they fade. Mark the value of presents of bulbs,—above the most splendid array of plants in flower, which kind people love to send to sick prisoners. Plants in bloom are beautiful and glorious; but the pleasure to a prisoner is to see the process of growth. It is less the bright and fragrant flower that the spirit longs for, than the spectacle of vegetation."

How thoroughly English is all this. We have none of these enjoyments here. Is there not something in such descriptions as these to make the heart of the weary exile throb with strong desire to revisit his forsaken father-land? Strange that

we should so often neglect the warnings of Providence —strange that we should so often stifle the promptings of nature. There is often much obstinacy—often much wilful blindness. Sickness comes upon us; and departs; and re-appears—and still we cling to India; still we allow sordid feelings to make us play the fool's part, and worse than the fool's part. There is an appointment, which must not be sacrificed; or there is *one lakh more* to be made. We cannot loosen our grasp of the money-bag, and so we die with it in our hands. And this too when the remedy—and that a remedy laden with sweetness—is before us. The Invalid in India has ever before him the certainty—on what is nearly a certainty—of restoration to health and strength and spirits, in a voyage to England. The sacrifice may often be great; but what sacrifice so great as the sacrifice of health—ay, perhaps and of life itself? How many have we known, who have laid down their lives in this land of exile, rather than summon the necessary courage to forfeit an appointment, or to leave a thriving business—or, in some cases, only to make the necessary arrangements or incur the necessary expenses attendant on a voyage to Europe. They live long enough to repent of their folly, but not long enough to profit by their repentance. How easy, unless hopeless pecuniary embarrassments raise up a dismal barrier, to betake one's-self to the hospitable enclosure of one of those fine passenger-ships,* which now swarm in our Indian ports—vessels which in respect of space, and comfort, and the character of their commanders, are improving every year—and there in the light, airy, well-fitted cabin, on the lengthy quarter-deck, or the unencumbered poop, enjoy the pure fresh breezes which come laden with health, across the blue ocean. There is health and happiness before all tropical invalids, if they will but emancipate themselves, in time, from the influence of the climate, which, with fatal certainty, is undermining their constitution—sapping the very principle of life. We need not dig our graves with our own hands. Death will come unto us soon enough without our running forth to meet him. There are two sides to the picture. What sound man can hesitate? In one there is an image of ruddy health with a joyous English landscape in the back-ground; in the other we see the hard face of the undertaker bending over the emaciated corpse, as he covers the ghastly face with the white linen, and beckons to one of his underlings to bring the coffin-lid, which hides for ever from the sight of man the last victim of a tropical climate.

* We speak here of the sailing ships, because we are writing with especial reference to tropical invalids, to a large proportion of whom the long sea voyage is eminently serviceable.

ART. IV.—1. *Rigveda-Sanhita,—Liber primus, Sanskrite et Latiné, edidit Fridricus Rosen.*

2. *Kathopanishat and Vajasaneyasanhitopanishat—printed by the committee of the Tuttwabodhini Sabha.*

3 *The Bhagavat Gita with the commentary by Shridhara Swami—Chundrika Press.*

4. *The Vedanta Sutras by Veda Vyasa, with the Sharirika mimansa Bhashya by Shankaracharja—Sanskrit Press,* 1740 *(Hindu Era.)*

5. *Illustrations of the literature and religion of the Buddhists by B. H. Hodgson, Esq. B. C. S.*

6. *The Ramayana of Valmiki in the Original Sanskrit with a prose translation, by William Carey and Joshua Marshman —3 vols. Serampore.*

7. *The Vishnu Purana—translated—and with notes by H. H. Wilson, Esq. M. A. F. R. S. Boden Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford.*

8. *The Sribhagavat—Chundrica Press.*

9. *The Chaitanya Charitamrita by Krishna Dasa Goswami—Ratnaker Press.*

10. *Several Tracts on Hindu Theism—Tuttwabodhini Press.*

11. *Report of the Tuttwabodhini Sabha for* 1843-44.

12. *Discourses read at the Theophilanthropic Society.*

THE Hindu mind has been by some writers supposed to be *immutable*. The Ethiopian cannot change his skin; the Leopard cannot efface his spots; nor can the native of Hindusthan unlearn his Brahminism. The tenacity with which he has hitherto adhered to his Priests and his Shasters is an omen of his future obduracy. How can he forsake his native champions of religion and guardians of learning? How can he disregard men whom the Shasters have invested with a sanctity and a supremacy not unworthy the ambition of the gods themselves;—before whom not only earthly heroes, but celestial potentates, have so often trembled;—under whose imprecatory or maledictory inflictions adverse or delinquent *Suras* and *Asuras*, Kings and nobles have frequently smarted? Sooner could a Hindu license himself to occasional freaks against the absent gods and conveniently dumb idols of his

pantheon than stand the living fulminations of his fiercer Brahmins.

Sentimental speculators who look upon faith and religion as mere conventionals, and turn theology into a question of taste and imagination have hereby been driven to the conclusion that there is something in the very constitution of the Hindu mind, which, as it has resisted proselyting efforts from time immemorial, will always stand proof against changes and revolutions. The success with which the gods of the Vedas and Puranas have repelled the incursions of their adversaries, is a source of triumph to those who have derived amusement from their legendary tales albeit impure, and who are gratefully desirous of their perpetual enthronement in the hearts of the Hindus. It is perhaps natural that such persons should convert their *wishes* into *hopes*, or even be so far elated with fond anticipations of the uninterrupted prevalence of this romantic idolatry, as to brand with the character of infatuation whatsoever attempts are made to demolish its strongholds. The retreat which the famous Roman Catholic Abbè* sounded in his missionary camp by pronouncing the Hindus to be impervious to the influence of the gospel, gives some colour to these triumphant exultations, and marks the desperation to which even spiritual professors and masters in Israel can be reduced in their conflicts with paganism. Such inglorious retirement from a cause as noble as it is arduous—and such worse than Islamite† condemna-

* "In my opinion the Hindoos will remain the same in this respect after another thousand years as they were a thousand years ago.—Their reserved and distant intercourse with Europeans will always continue the same, and their abhorrence of the religion, education, and manners of the latter, as well as their other leading prejudices, will continue undiminished."—*Letters on the state of Christianity in India by the Abbè J. A. Dubois p.* 43.

"But to conclude, let Bibles, as many as you please, in every shape and in every style, be translated and circulated among the Hindoos; let them, if you wish, be spread in every village, in every cottage, in every family; let the Christian religion be presented to these people under every possible light, I repeat it with deep sorrow, in my humble opinion (an opinion grounded on twenty-five years of experience) the time of conversion has passed away, and, under existing circumstances, there remains no human possibility to bring it back."—*Ibid* p. 42.

† "Are we not warranted, on beholding the unnatural and odious worship which prevails all over India, in thinking that these unhappy people are lying under an everlasting anathema; that by obstinately refusing to listen to the voice of the heavens which "declare the glory of God," they have for ever rendered themselves unworthy of the Divine favour; that by obstinately rejecting the word of God, which has been in vain announced to them without intermission during these last three or four centuries, they have "filled up the measure of their fathers;" have been entirely forsaken by God, and (what is the worst of divine vengeance) given over for ever to a reprobate mind, on account of the peculiar wickedness of their worship, which supposes, in those among whom it prevails, a degree of perversity far beyond that of all old Pagan nations?"—*Letters on the state of Christianity in India* p. 112.

tion of one hundred millions of human beings, proves however only the missionary's own ineptitude to wield the panoply of the Bible. No intrinsically invincible character is thereby imparted to Hinduism;—nor are the millions of India really doomed to reprobation because of the Abbe's assertion;—neither is the all-conquering grace of Christianity obscured by the fainting of a popish standard-bearer. The truth shall yet flourish out of Zion notwithstanding all its obstacles. The stone which has already shattered the celestial hierarchy of Mount Olympus shall not spare the hilly palaces of Kailasha.

The impressions which education, even apart from direct Christian instruction, has produced of late on the Hindu mind in the metropolis of British India, were briefly adverted to under the head of *Miscellaneous* notices in a recent number of this Review. The little publication which occasioned that notice is but one instance among many of the attacks under which the supposed invulnerable divinities of Hinduism are still writhing. The native mind, priest-ridden as it had long been, has tasted the pleasures of intellectual freedom —and, impatient of the restraints imposed upon its progessive development, is now boldly asserting its rights to liberty and independence. When a conflict fairly commences between light and darkness, the consequences may be easily predicted. Whatever barriers false priests or blind guides may interpose, will only accelerate the progress of knowledge and free inquiry in the end. The violence of the stream will burst all bounds, and impart to the current a rapidity, heightened the more for the opposition that had been offered. Barriers rudely thrown up have never yet turned the tide of popular opinion in any country. Anomalous as Indian communities unquestionably are in many respects, they still contain a sufficient admixture of human elements not to bear long with such obstacles to the march of intellect.

The past history of the Brahminical theology too, far from inculcating any constitutional obduracy in the minds of its followers, chronicles many innovations and changes they have already accepted. Opponents of the cross had better not amuse themselves with fancied visions of the immutability of the Hindu religion. Religious revolutions have certainly not been unknown in the annals of India. However compact the system may appear from a distance, a closer survey cannot fail to discover the discordant elements of which it is composed. Disproportioned and disjointed limbs present themselves to the spectator on its very surface, and continue multiplying as the interior is inspected. The artificial ligaments with which

its philosophic supporters have vainly endeavoured to preserve its unity serve only to betray the genuine impotency of the system. Opinions against opinions, theories against theories, *sutras* against *sutras* have been from time to time fastened on its misshapen form. The Doctors and Rishis, cloistered in their sylvan schools, busied themselves like the Athenians of old "in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing." Despising all external aids to knowledge, and trusting to their vagrant imaginations alone, they propounded systems and propositions without number—embracing a wide extended range of sacred and profane—spiritual and physical topics. Thus you have astronomy and geography, and chemistry and natural philosophy, and metaphysics and logic, and history and anatomy all linked together with theology and psychology, and set forth in the melodious fascinations of poesy as means of procuring final beatitude. Their favourite motto is, that knowledge is necessary to salvation. A more beautiful adage can scarcely be conceived if understood with proper limitations and qualifications. Certainly knowledge *is* necessary to salvation so far as God's will and God's dispensations to men are concerned. But the Hindu sages would extend the principle to every—even the commonest and the most profane subject. Knowledge with them has for its object not the Supreme Being only, but the nature and properties of the commonest substance. Hence every topic on which they have chosen to try their scientific genius, or exercise their poetic imagination, is to be studied for a passport to Heaven. Not that we depreciate science or poetry; but we cannot exalt either to an essential *necessary* to salvation. The immortal Bacon used no hyperbolical exaggeration when he dignified *knowledge* by the term POWER;—for so undoubtedly it is, whatever be its objects. But there is a terrestrial and a celestial power, as there is a terrestrial and a celestial light. A want of sufficient discrimination between these has often led the philosophers of India to confound one branch of inquiry with another; and thus, by too eagerly grasping at a multitudinous array of topics, they have run into diversities of opinions, self-contradictory and inconsistent.

That a host of eremitical sages, without any definite symbols of faith to restrain their mental extravagancies, possessed of a poetic and contemplative imagination in common with all Asiatic philosophers—ignorant of that inductive and analytic process of reasoning which is the glory of modern science, and little disposed to test their aphorisms by laborious experiments—should give out contradictory and conflicting dogmas on such a wide extended area of subjects, is not surprizing.—

Harmony under such circumstances would be extraordinary. We do not assail the character of the *Rishis* themselves when we speak of the inconsistencies to which they have given production. We cite them only as instances of the flexibility of the Hindu mind.

We do not intend to assert with some writers the original prevalence of Buddhism all over India in order to demonstrate our position respecting the mutability of the Hindu mind. We have often heard of people rebutting views like those propounded by the Abbé Dubois concerning the impossibility of converting the Hindus, by adverting to the original prevalence and eventual extirpation of Buddhism. The people anciently, say they, were all votaries of Buddh. The Brahmins subsequently sprang up and overthrew his credit and his worship. If the country could *once* accept so thorough a change of religion, why may it not once *again*? The deficiency in this argument is not its want of logic in the conclusion, but the want of historical certainty in the premises. The primeval reign of Buddh is at best a dubious point—scarcely strong enough to become the foundation of any theory—certainly inadequate to the settlement of the question under consideration. We will not stop to examine this claim of priority advanced by the advocates of Buddh. Historical points of so doubtful a character are not easily to be settled by the periodical press; nor do we aspire to the honor of summarily finishing a controversy in which so much learning and ingenuity have been enlisted on both sides. Whether rampant Brahma ferociously destroyed hoary Buddh under his clutches, or whether the new fangled myrmydons of Buddhism maintained for a time an unsuccessful and harassing struggle with long-enthroned Brahminism, is a question which, however interesting, we shall here be content to pass untouched. We can afford to leave it where we first discovered it, so far as our present argument is concerned. We do not wish to enforce our views by the assumption of a disputed point. We shall meddle only with unquestioned facts; having no favourite theory to uphold, nor proposing any other object than a historical delineation of the various phases under which the Hindu mind has actually appeared in different by-gone ages.

The works we have placed at the head of this article may be considered as indications of distinct epochs in the history of the Hindu mind. These do not however engross *all* the stages through which Brahminical opinions have passed; nor do we pretend to present so complete a view of our subject as to preclude future additions by more talented successors. We only

hope to clear certain obscurities we have often witnessed in expositors of Indian theology; and if we fortunately succeed in affording a clue to a still closer penetration into the mazes of the system, we shall consider ourselves amply rewarded. We have no predilection for mere theorizing, and shall strive to avoid baseless speculations where no data can be received from historical sources. We are careless and therefore fearless of consequences. We know that the only TRUTH we are interested to uphold—the triumphant truth of Biblical dispensations, enthroned in the hearts of the wisest and best of our species—can never suffer from an analytic survey of any systems or opinions;—and beyond *this* truth we possess no favourite theory for which to shrink from any inferences legitimately deducible from undoubted premises.

The earliest records of Hindu sentiments, indicative alike of the imaginative and devotional cast of the Hindu mind, are unquestionably contained in the Vedas. Yes; we cheerfully testify that the incipient strides of native literature were in the paths of religion and devotion. The religion was unsound; the devotion was mistaken; still there was an effort,—there was a *feeling after* something divine, which might shame many that have since received superior light but neglect to cultivate it. These longings after something preternatural—something more ineffable than the most durable of mundane substances—something calculated to elevate the mind above earthly sensualities and gewgaws, lead to the irresistible conclusion that God has indeed not left himself without witness—that atheism and ungodliness, which are in fact almost convertible terms, are not adapted to our mental constitution—are we may say *monstrously* unnatural.

But if religion thus, in a loose sense, sanctified the original literature and poetry of the Hindus, the latter have fully returned the compliment by imparting a portion of their romantic spell to Theology. The austerities of religion had guarded the erratic wanderings of poesy from the impurities and inanities of subsequent versifiers, just as the light wand of poetry had communicated an enthusiastic ardour to religion, and given life to a cold category of positive dogmas. Theology, it must be confessed, requires the fervent energy of action, no less than the still calmness of patient investigation. It has its object and its subject. It demands a dispassionate inquiry into its objective truths as well as their practical comprehension by the subjective man. But with the authors and followers of the Vedas, religion originally was one more of sentiment than of rational conviction. The poetry had well nigh swallowed

up the science. The Rishis *felt* that the heavenly bodies could not be inanimate masses of matter, and gave expression to their devotion in the hymns of which the Sanhitas, evidently the most ancient of these writings, are composed. But they never stopped to examine the grounds of their faith. They never paused to consider the inutility of devotional effusions when the objects of their worship were devoid of power and intelligence—perhaps of existence too. They celebrated the praises of Indra and Varuna. They approached these gods of their own creation with sacrifices and prayers. They asked not themselves whether the husband of Sachi and the legendary destroyer of Vitra was really the sovereign of heaven—whether the god of the waters was not a mere fabrication of their own fancy.

Of the Vedas it has been supposed that a whole and integral copy is not in this age procurable in any part of India. Certain it is that in Bengal not one in a million can produce even a considerable portion. One only entire copy is known to be preserved in the British Museum. This was obtained by Colonel Polier, and appears to be the only instance in which European attempts to procure entire transcripts have succeeded. The manuscripts in the Library of the East India Company, and in the private collection of Lady Chambers, from which the *Rigveda-Sanhita,* published by the Oriental Translation fund, has been printed, do not appear to be complete copies of the Vedas. None of the public libraries in India has been so fortunate as to collect more than detached portions of them. We may hence infer how contracted the circle must be where the light of the Vedas now shineth. Their scarcity has however served in no small degree to enhance their value. The obscurity in which the major portion seems to be enveloped has tended to increase their veneration in the minds of the Hindus and to give an edge even to European curiosity. This is natural. When curiosity is once excited, the absence of the object is apt to augment its value and to inflame the desire of seeing it. The children of this world are verily wiser in their generation than the children of light. The Brahmins have evinced no contemptible knowledge of human nature by studying to conceal their sacred writings from the public gaze. The veil of obscurity which they have thrown has proved a master-piece of priestly art. Ignorance has shrouded its imperfections from popular observation, and ensured them a credit which a familiar acquaintance might probably have soon overthrown. Unseen and unknown, they have ever possessed an appearance of awe and majesty, of which a

nearer inspection might easily have denuded them. That which we cannot see we do not despise. That which is beyond our reach we cannot criticise, and therefore do not censure. And although familiarity with what is amiable or estimable increases our love and admiration, the reverse becomes our feeling where the claimant of our love or esteem possesses nothing that is amiable or venerable. In such a case the further the object is removed from our sight the more advantageous it is for its credit. If we cannot admire it because we do not see it—neither can we despise it because we observe not its jejune appearance.

Under these circumstances we ourselves are also constrained to speak with reservation, and generally to practise a modest caution in our appeals to these earliest oracles of Hinduism. The available fragments are however so thoroughly of a piece, —so harmonious as regards their style and sentiments—that if the residue be of a materially different character, the genuineness of the one or the other may fairly become questionable. This consideration will occasionally impart a boldness to our criticism, against which otherwise it might be reasonable to guard our pens, because of the obscurities in which the Vedas are enveloped.

The age in which the Vedas were first composed cannot now be easily ascertained. Whatever it was, it dated the incipient efforts of the Hindu mind in the department of theology and poetry. The Brahmins attribute these effusions to nothing less than the inspiration of their demiurge himself—at the creation. Strange that such a legend should be entertained by masters of philosophy;—stranger still that our esteemed friends, the rational advocates of pure Hinduism, the followers and admirers of the Rajah Rammohun Roy, should also hold it with a tenacity worthy only of a dark and superstitious age.

Europeans have puzzled themselves, quite gratuitously as we fancy, by their attempts to fix a definite period for the composition of these writings. Infidelity has on the one hand rejoiced to find in the extravagant pretensions of Hindu chroniclers what they would gladly construe into a virtual falsification of the Mosaic chronology of the world; an anxiety has on the other hand been manifested, it must be confessed, to divest the Vedas of any possible seniority to the Pentateuch in the mere consideration of antiquity. The one, to wit, the attempt to obscure the indubitable and triumphant truths of Christianity by imparting to the Hindu Scriptures an earlier era than the Biblical cosmogony will allow—we repudiate as irreligious and absurd. The other—*i. e.* the impatience to

describe the Hindu literati as necessarily juniors in age to Moses and the prophets, we consider to be needless. The divine anthority of the Bible can suffer nothing from the concession of a more primitive epoch to the Vedas than to the Pentateuch. The Christian truth does not imperatively demand that the inspired learning of the Jews should be represented older than that of any other nation. The Scriptures themselves concede precedence in point of learning to the Egyptians, in *all whose wisdom* Moses is said to have been instructed before the vision of prophecy was vouchsafed to him. And if Eygpt could cultivate letters before Israel, consistently with the Divine oracles, what difficulty can there be in the supposition that India had possibly done the same too.

But we repeat we have no favorite theory to uphold. We care not to what postdiluvian age the composition of the Vedas is ascribed. For ourselves we believe its age cannot be easily ascertained. There are no definite data upon which to construct such a chronological theory.—That they must have been written some centuries before the Puranas, and perhaps before some of their own component parts, will be disputed by few.—Their comparative simplicity could not have been changed or developed in the course of a single generation into the far-fetched philosophy of the schools, or the full-grown mythology of the epic poems. The grammar and vocabulary too, peculiar to the Vedas, could scarcely turn obsolete within a single age, so as to admit all the improvements or innovations observable in the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the puranas. The puranas and the other shasters, on the other hand, as the fixed standards of the Hindu theology, must have been, at least most of them, long completed before (to ascend no higher) the known era of Vikramaditya, whose court was adorned by the celebrated Kali Dass and the other *gems* of his nine-fold group. These poets make so many references to the legendary tales of the *puranas* as *ancient* sayings and doings, that a long time must have intervened between their respective ages. Now the age of Vikramaditya was fifty years anterior to Christ, if the evidence of the *sumbat* be of any weight. Whatever then the age of the Vedas might have been, it was unquestionably long anterior to that of the oldest puranas—and the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the older puranas* at least, must have been published before Vikramaditya who flourished a little before the Christian era.

* Professor Wilson thinks that the Puranas as they now exist are of a more modern origin,—and that if any of them were composed before the age of Amara Singha, who was contemporary with Vikramaditya, they have since undergone

Mr. Colebrooke, with that characteristic patience and calmness which marked all his investigations, has modestly expressed his inability to fix upon any certain data the period when the Vedas were first composed. But no person had better reasons to dictate on the subject than himself. He has supplied a clue which may enable the inquirer to proceed far in this investigation. He adduces a passage from the *Iyolish* of one of the Vedas, where the northern solstitial point is reckoned to be in the middle of *Aslesha* and the southern at the beginning of *Sravishtha* or *Dhanishtha ;* and then declares what he had elsewhere shown, that " such was the situation of those cardinal points in the fourteenth century before the Christian era." Unless the extraordinary hypothesis should be needlessly entertained, that the Brahmins had calculated their *religious* calendar *upward* and *downward*, as some nations are known to have tried their astronomical skill by reckoning eclipses retrospectively for ages before the creation,—this testimony must be decisive as far as it goes. Portions of the Vedas at least must have been composed before there could be any necessity for regulating the times and seasons when the sacrifices they enjoined should be solemnized. This so far settles the date of the Vedas that it must be anterior to the fourteenth century before Christ ;—and it well harmonizes with their internal marks of antiquity, without clashing with any known and already ascertained truths.

But the Brahminical account of the origin of the Vedas is extravagant without a parallel. In fact the bold asserters of their eternity have outwitted themselves. They must have been bad calculators indeed of the progressive character of the human mind, if they expected that the glaring absurdities of their favourite theory—worthy only of an age of Egyptian darkness—would for ever be sanctioned or overlooked by posterity. They did not stop to reflect that by pretending to invest their Scriptures with a higher antiquity than time itself could allow, they precluded every possibility of their being proveable to be genuine or authentic. If the Vedas were revealed at the creation,—to whom and when, and where and how was the revelation made ? How do you know that it was really revealed ? What direct testimony can you show in support of this allegation? What evidence can you pro-

large alterations and admitted many interpolations. Some Puranas, properly so called, must have been written, it is admitted, before this era—for Amara Singha himself speaks of them ;—but they were not wholly identical with those that have come down to us. See preface to the Vishnu Purana—a most interesting and instructive document.

duce of their uncorrupted preservation throughout so long an interval? How do you know that the first man or men or their successors did not adulterate their purity? What is the oldest manuscript you can produce? Questions like these can be multiplied to an indefinite extent to which it would be impossible for the Brahmins to give any answers—to say nothing of satisfactory answers.

In the case of our modern revivers of the Vedant, whom we shall presently introduce to our readers more distinctly, the absurdities of the aforesaid hypothesis of the eternity of the Vedas do not certainly vanish. They rather expand into a series the summation of which becomes difficult only for its divergency.—In their anxiety to preserve the nominal integrity of their country's long cherished institutions, these gentlemen from a sentiment, much mistaken, of what we may call a religious patriotism, affect to consider the Vedas and the Vedas alone as the authorized rules of Hindu theology, and hesitate not to pronounce on Brahminical principles all other shasters to be the human productions of another and a degenerate age. Not that our philosophical friends are really hostile to the saints on the Brahminical calendar. No such thing. Their disregard of the worthies of Hindu antiquity does not proceed from a cruel or ungenerous antipathy towards *them*. When *convenient*, the highest veneration is cheerfully tendered. The disregard proceeds from a fear—certainly not groundless—that the cause of Hinduism will not prosper in an inconveniently enlightened age like the present, without occasional desertion of them. If the testimony of Menu and Vyas is inadmissible, it is only when a charge of idolatry is preferred against Hinduism, and appears to be proveable from their incautious admissions, or imprudent advocacy. The fact is, they were not such adepts in the science of modern disputation as our friends themselves. Their pretensions to divine inspiration cannot accordingly be sustained without serious damage to the Brahminical theology. But this course of proceeding is *unjust* to the primitive sages of Hindusthan. How can our friends, the patriotic defenders of their ancestors' faith, disclaim the authority of the Rishis consistently with their avowed belief in the primeval inspiration of the Vedas. Who will sustain these extraordinary pretensions, if the saintly sages be turned out of the arena? Without the aid of inspired expounders and witnesses, nothing but a vague and disconnected tradition, traceable at the highest to some thousands of years posterior to their pretended production, is left to support this fictitious account of their divine original; and yet the modern vedantists are content to place on such feeble founda-

tion what in their sanguine expectations is to serve as unassailable bulwarks of Hinduism. The reader will surely not understand us to advocate the claims of Menu and Vyas. We only mean to assert, what we believe can never be disproved, that the popular expositors of Hinduism, who acknowledge the Puranas and other Shasters as authorized interpreters of the Vedas, and recognize Vyas and Menu as inspired and unerring witnesses of their supernatural production, can at least boast of consistency in their divinity though otherwise monstrous; but the rationalist professors of pure Hinduism, who are labouring to reconcile with the light of the nineteenth century, the rude and mystical fabric of an age enveloped in darkness, have yet to achieve the Herculean exploit of demonstrating the legendary inspiration of the Vedas, independent of the factitious authority of the Puranas and other subsequent compositions. The ground on which the Vedantists have chosen to place their efforts to purify the religious belief of their countrymen must always be untenable. They must invariably meet with signal discomfiture.

There can be little hope of settling the paternity of the Vedas —(of their *age* we have already spoken at some length) upon the principles of the New Vedantists. The only light which antiquarians can here expect is that which the internal testimony of these writings affords, perhaps in their simplicity. The Vedas, it must be remembered, are numerically distributed into four integral portions, designated the Rig, Yajur, Saman and Atharvan—each being distinct and complete of itself, and divided into two principal branches, styled its Sanhita and its Brahmana. The Sanhitas are collections of hymns and other devotional fragments inculcating in a liturgical way, the doctrines maintained by their authors. The Brahmanas are treatises on positive divinity, authoritatively propounding the tenets held sacred by the Rishis. To these are appended small additional tracts under the name of Upanishads, evidently of later production, and striving to harmonize the detached and isolated maxims of the Sanhitas and Brahmanas into a consistent whole.

Now the Sanhitas or hymns supply a good clue to the real paternity of the Vedas. These are, as has been noted, detached compositions, purporting for the most part to be the devotions of some particular Rishis—expressed in some particular metres —and addressed to some particular deities, specified in the hymns or prayers themselves. Scholiasts and commentators direct special attention to the names of the Rishi, metre and god of every hymn, inscribed at its head. Where the inscriptions are wanting, the commentators supply the deficiency from

traditional sources. Who needs then perplex himself on the subject? Who needs hesitate to whom to ascribe the paternity of the hymns and prayers—especially where names are inscribed at the head of the compositions, as in the case of some of the Psalms of David. The Rishi to whom a prayer is ascribed was doubtless himself its author, as the metre specified was its versifying measure, and the god, the deity to whom it was addressed. While in possession of such internal testimony, harmonizing with the principles of archaeological investigation, we need not amuse ourselves with the theory, which the asserters of Vedic inspiration and longevity are fond of propounding, in order to escape the difficulty interposed by these inscriptions. The testimony of these inscriptions, which are in many cases embodied in the Vedas themselves, is, it is needless to add, fatal to the supposition of their being coeval with the creation. The Rishis who are thus claimed as their authors must have been born and educated: the metres in which they are composed must have been invented or cultivated:—and the gods to whom they are addressed must have established their empire over the popular mind—*before* those scriptures could have been indited. The supposition that the inscriptions only denote the sages who *discovered* certain compositions which had existed from the beginning, is better calculated to amuse children than to instruct or convince rational consciences, and yet this is the only loop-hole through which the defenders of the Vedas hope to escape from the straits to which the inscriptions aforesaid drive them. Whatever then the expositors of the popular Hinduism may allege on the authority of their supposed prophets—or the modern Vedantists may advance on still weaker foundations—the Vedas themselves purport to be detached compositions, written on different occasions, by different Rishis, and as addressed to different gods, in different metres.

It is commonly maintained that the Vedas do not inculcate idolatry—that they are not chargeable with polytheism. We would gladly subscribe to this assertion if the voice of truth suffered us to do so. We would gladly exonerate of such a charge the oldest and most revered compositions of the earliest cultivators of learning. But this position cannot be maintained without many limitations and qualifications. If by idolatry can be meant *only* the worship of graven images, and by polytheism *only* the acknowledgment of separate gods with *equal* powers and *perfect* independence, we will cheerfully acquit the Vedas. But is such a contracted definition of idolatry and polytheism correct? Is not the worship of a created substance without the

intervention of images as much idolatry as the adoration of an effigy? Is not the acknowledgment of any gods besides the Supreme Ruler and Governor of the universe polytheism? If so—if idolatry must include whatever worship in whatever way is tendered to other objects than the deity—if polytheism signifies the acknowledgment of more gods than one of whatever description or character—then can we by no means pronounce such a verdict in favor of the Vedas—then must we condemn them for inculcating and sanctioning the worship of the elements and the heavenly host, however readily we may acquit them of the fabrication of images.

Granted, the Vedas do not teach the adoration of graven images; does this prove that they are hostile to every species of idolatry and polytheism? The Asiatics were at one time—and that probably in the palmy days of the Vedas—divided, with the single exception of the Jews, between those who committed idolatry by means of graven images, and those who tendered divine honors to other creatures without pictures or statues. Both were theologically traitors against the one living and true God. The Sabean idolatry and the Magian idolatry, as the two forms have been severally termed, however distinct among themselves, were both equally real departures from the true worship of the Supreme Being. As early as the days of Moses was it necessary to warn against the natural wanderings of fallen man, not only in the way of graven idolatry, but also in that of elemental polytheism, which diverted the devotions of multitudes from the rightful Sovereign of the universe, and directed them to the sun, moon and stars, as if these could challenge their adoration. And is not the worship of the host of heaven idolatry? Is it not a departure from true religion of the same kind, though not to the same extent, as the consecration of wood and stone?

However free from the grossness of image worship, the Vedas are surely not exempt from the charge of *elemental* idolatry—of the deification of fire and air and the host of heaven—of a limited, but for all that not the less real, polytheism.—In vain do their defenders labour to efface this black stigma. The fact they cannot deny;—the charge is substantiated by the pleas which the apologists themselves put forth. How far these pleas are admissible in palliation we shall afterwards see.

The *Sanhitas*, which are effusions of devotion, liturgically arranged, contain prayers and petitions to the sun, moon and stars, to fire, air, earth and water—to Indra, Yama, Vishnu, Rudra and others. These prayers are partly homologatory, partly doxological, partly supplicatory. The gods are invoked to

accept the sacrifices offered, or to confer the blessings sought for, and are regaled with laudatory ejaculations setting forth their excellencies. We shall present a few specimens in the words of Mr. Rosen, who has translated the *Rig-Veda Sanhita* into Latin.

"Tuam iram* Varuna precibus et sacrificüs avertemus atque oblationibus: —hic commorans, Asura, sapiens rex! nobis peccata remove admissa."—(*Rig Veda Sanhita*, p. 39.)

"Hanc meam, Varuna, audi precem, hodieque exhilara nos; te opem desiderans imploro—Tu universi, sapiens! coelique terraeque imperium habes: tu salutis caussa audi nos.—(*Ibid* p. 41-42.)

Equum veluti caudatum, te celebratum venimus ceremoniis Agnim,† dominum sacrificiorum.—* * * Nos participes fac summorum mediorumque alimentorum; largire opes e proxima *terra*,—(*Ibid* p. 43.)

Quem protegunt sapientes dii, Varunas, Mitras, Aryaman, celeriter sane is vir vincit hostes.—Quem hominem dii, brachia veluti, fovent et custodiunt ab hoste, is illaesus omnis crescit (*Ibid* p. 79.)

Tu hasce herbas, Soma,‡ cunctas, tu aquas generasti, tu vaccas; tu expandisti magnum coelum, tu lumine tuo caliginem occultasti.—Lucida nobis mente, lucide soma! divitiarum portionem, robuste, largire.—(*Ibid* p. 183.)

Ille, qui vota largiens, cum viribus habitans, magni coeli terraeque rex est, aquæ effusor, vocandus in certaminibus, Marutibus sociatus nobis esto, Indras, auxilio.—Cujus cursum, veluti solis cursum, nemo assequitur, in quovis certamine Vritrae occisor hostium combustor est, largientissimus erga amicos suos ipsum comitantes; Marutibus sociatus &c. Indras, cujus lucidi solis velut, pluviam elicientes meatus incedunt cum vehementia et indomiti, superans inimicos, vincens viribus suis, Marutibus sociatus, &c. Ille inter incedentes incedentissimus fuit, largiens inter largientes, inter amicos amicus quum esset, inter celebrandos celebrandus, inter laudandos optimus; Marutibus Sociatus, &c. Ille filiis quasi, Rudris circumdatus, magnus, in pugna domans inimicos, una commorantibus cum Marutibus aquas cibum largituras demittens, Marutibus Sociatus, &c. Ille, hostes necans, pugnae peractor nostratibus viris Solem concedat hoc die, proborum tutor, a multis vocatus; Marutibus Sociatus, &c. Illum incedentes Marutes ad dimicandum incitant in certamine; illum thesauri sospitatorem homines faciunt; ille cujusvis sacrificii potitur solus; Marutibus Sociatus, &c. Illum nancisci cupiunt, vigoris in dimicationibus, viri virum auxilii caussa, illum opulentiae caussa; ille in caeca quoque caligine lucem impertitur; Marutibus Sociatus, &c. Ille laeva manu cohibet inimicos quoque; ille dextra prehendit oblata sacrificia; ille, a laudatore quoque laudatus, dabit divitias; Marutibus, &c. Ille una cum Marutum catervis dator est; ille vehiculis cognoscitur ab omnibus hominibus statim hodie; ille, viribus devincens inglorios hostes, Marutibus, &c. Quum ille, a multis vocatus stipatus incedentibus Marutibus, in pugna se adjungit viris sive gaudentibus cognatorum ope, sive ea destitutis, tunc hominum ipsum adjutorem nactorum filii et nepotis victoriae consulit; Marutibus, &c. Ille teliger, hostium occisor, horrendus, terribilis, mille Scientias possidens, centum laudibus gaudens, magnus, libamen veluti, cum vigore quinque

* Varuna—the Neptune of the Hindus.
† Agnis—fire.
‡ Soma—the moon.

tribubus favens, Marutibus sociatus, &c. Illius telum contristat magnopere, aquas largiens, sol veluti splendidum, tonans efficax: illum sequuntur dona, illum divitiae; Marutibus Sociatus, &c. Cujus semper cum vigore clara fortitudo celebrabilis protegit coelum terramque undecumque haec, ille servato nos a scelere, sacrificiis gaudens; Marutibus sociatus, &c. Cujus divinitatis non dii, non mortales neque aquae potestatis finem assequuntur, ille superans Vigore terram coelumque, Marutibus Sociatus, &c. Jugum equorum rubicundum et nigrum, magnum, ornatum, in coelo commorans, opulentiam Rijrasvae conferens, currum ab Indra pluvio conscensum vehens temonibus, laetificum cernitur inter humanas gentes,.—Hancce tibi, Indra! pluvio cantilenam Vrishagiris filii recitant conciliantem, Rijrasvas cum aliis vatibus adstantibus, atque Ambarishas, Sahadevas, Bhayamanas et Suradhas.—Inimicos hostesque Indras multum invocatus, incedentibus Marutibus adjutus, feriendo humi telo prostravit: expugnavit terram sociis suis nitentibus, expugnavit solem, expugnavit aquas, bono telo utens.—Quotidie Indras patronus nobis esto: non afflicti fruamur cibo: id nobis Mitras Varunasque tutum reddunto, et Aditis, Sindhus, Terra atque Coelus." —(*Ibid*, p. 200-204.)

This same Indra, whose celestial zenana by the way was as thickly populated as a Persian or Babylonish King's Haram, is elsewhere celebrated as the sovereign Arbiter of Heaven and Earth, "cujus sub imperium flumina veniunt, qui universi mundi vita praediti dominus est—qui a fortibus invocandus est et qui a timidis.—Cujus gloriam fluvii septem declarant, et terra coelumque, et aer, et spectabile solis jubar.—Ille mortalium nutritor."—Not that the Rishis invidiously magnified Indra to the prejudice of his friends Mitra, Varuna and others.—Similar powers are ascribed to them also, and the same kind of confidence expressed in their power and readiness to succour their votaries. "Duc nos ad magnam opulentiam; ne nos habitare sinas in vacua domo."—Such suffrages are indifferently addressed to all these divinities; while most of the prayers and hymns conclude with doxological sentences like the following: "*Id* nobis Mitra Varunaque concedunto et Aditis, Sindhus, Terra atque Coelus.—Hodie dii! ad ortum solis a scelere nos liberate turpi; id nobis, &c.—Tu Agnis! nostram vitam produc hic deus! eandem nobis Mitras, Varunasque protegunto, et Aditis, Sindhus, Terra atque coelus."

It is needless to multiply citations. These prayers will abundantly justify what we have asserted concerning the idolatry of the Vedas. How their philosophical advocates explain away such passages we shall presently see.

The first incipient efforts of Hindu devotion, of which the Sanhitas of the Vedas may be considered proper indices, were accordingly directed towards a simple and but imperfectly developed species of idolatry—not dissimilar to what was afterwards inculcated by the Magi in the neighbouring coun-

try of Persia. Indeed of the Magian worship of the sun and the elements, North Western India or Bactria appears to have been the centre.* This has been by some writers considered the quarter whence the human family had taken their first start after the deluge towards the plains of Babylon ;† it may also be looked upon as the original nursery of whatsoever was good or evil in the feelings and principles of that infantine state of society. The argument gathers further strength from the identity of the names under which the great solar luminary was worshipped in all these parts. The *Mithra* of the Magians is scarcely distinguishable from the *Mitra*‡ of the Brahmins.

We do not wish to suppress the fact that the *Sanhitas* speak elsewhere of a being higher than Indra, Mitra, Varuna or Agni —one who is more eminently the Supreme Governor of the universe, and under whose vassalage the inferior deities hold a sort of feudal dominion. The mere acknowledgment of one, superior to the rest, does not however suffice to exculpate the Vedas. The immediate objects of worship—the direct arbiters of mundane destines are still reckoned to be multifold. The great bulk of mankind are still enjoined to offer their prayers and devotions to these imaginary gods, though the gods themselves are also supposed to owe homage and worship to the great Spirit. This certainly is idolatry. A multiplication of gods, so repugnant to the first principles of sound theism, cannot escape the charge of polytheism, though the divinities be placed under the direction and supervision of another superior Being. The classification of a diversity of orders among the celestial divinities cannot reflect any particular honor or credit on the Vedas. All polytheists have inculcated the same. No one has ever fabricated a host of deities without simultaneously calculating a table of heraldry, defining their relative privileges, powers and attributes. The *Sanhitas* of the Vedas are in this respect no better than any pagan scriptures. They have indeed placed one mighty Spirit at the head of other

* Not a few eminent writers, of whom Dean Prideax is one, supposes however that the worship of the sun and planets arose first in Chaldea. This question is connected with another: were the Brahmins or the Chaldeans the first cultivators of astronomy?—If Brahm or Brahma be a corruption of Abram or Abraham, the religion and science of the Indians may reasonably be supposed to have been derived from Chaldea. But *is* Brahma a corruption of Abraham?

† Gen. xi. 2. "And it came to pass as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar," &c. If the journey towards the plains of Babylonia was *from the East*, the starting point was probably from the Eastern confines of Persia or Bactria. But it must be confessed that the Hebrew *mikkedem* is sometimes put for *eastward*.

‡ One of the Sanskrit expressions for the Sun, constantly occurring in the Vedas.

heavenly states;—but they have invested the states themselves with uncontrolled power over the creation—with honor and authority which none but God could challenge.

It will be readily perceived that the original sentiments of Brahminical theology were strikingly similar to those of most other Gentile nations on their first departure from the primitive tradition of truths revealed to Adam and Noah;—and especially to the notions long prevalent in Asia for many subsequent ages. In the investiture of Brahma with the dignity of the creator, of Indra with the empire of the world, of Yama with the sovereignty of Hades, we see the germs of that philosophy which in the central provinces of this continent separated the Demiurge from the great first cause, and ordained limits to the jurisdiction of the heavenly powers. India was probably the centre from which these principles of oriental philosophy spread around in all directions,—gradually assuming more expanded forms, and subsequently attempting the adulteration of the Christian verities themselves by means of gnostic heresies.

The doctrines incidentally inculcated in the hymnology of the Vedas were without a system. You find prayers and doxologies addressed at random to the sun, moon and the planets, to Indra, Varuna, Agni, Maruta and others. You hardly know what shape to give to the Hindu theology in embodying these isolated and detached fragments of devotion. The Brahmins quickly perceived the deficiency, and commenced, in what we will call the *era of philosophy*, to harmonize the older tenets of the Vedas. The didactic treatises and the *Upanishads* were then brought forth. They were composed subsequently to the *Sanhitas* or the liturgical effusions of devotion, evidently with a view to reduce their dogmas to a uniform system. The interval which elapsed between these eras we are unable to divine. It could not however have been long. The various and scattered productions of the imaginative religionists could not have been long studied without suggesting the necessity of incorporating them didactically into a consistent and well proportioned body. It was for this purpose we believe that the positive inculcation of dogmatic divinity, contained in the *Brahmanas* and the *Upanishads*, was undertaken.

In their attempts to harmonize the Vedas the principal difficulty which presented itself to the Brahmins was the *divinity* which their sacred hymnology ascribed to fictitious gods, the elements and the heavenly bodies. This they soon found was not easily reconcileable with the unity of God. How could so many inferior deities, each challenging worship

and obedience from the people, consist with the doctrine of the *one living and true God*,—with the *ekamevádwitiyam* so repeatedly asserted by the Brahmins themselves? In order to reconcile the seeming contradiction, the Rishis set themselves to task with all their talent and genius. But this peace-making work was one of no little difficulty. The most conflicting enemies—the most adverse opponents were to be united;—the *one* God was to be made consistent with *many* gods. The Brahmins were however no contemptible diplomatists. They propounded three distinct formulæ, one or other, or each and all of which, would, they fancied, facilitate the solution of their problem. In the *first* place the inferior gods were declared to be created intelligences with limited jurisdictions dependant as feudatory lords upon the Supreme Being, and acting under His authority. Is Indra represented as the sovereign arbiter of Heaven and earth—whose voice controlleth the elements and the sea? It is because the conqueror of Vitra has purchased the distinction by his merits. He is nevertheless inferior to the great spirit, to whom, as to his liege, he pays homage for his celestial dominions. Is *Varuna* also invested with the government of heaven and earth? It is because the Supreme Being has chosen to honour him. Are Indra and Varuna both styled lords of heaven and earth? This say the Brahmins is no real contradiction. You may understand the passages in different senses. You may receive the one as the sovereign *regnant* of heaven and earth; the other only as honorary or titular imperator of the upper and lower worlds. Is Yama celebrated as the god of the infernal regions? It is because the supreme Spirit has consigned to him the custody of the dead. And thus on the feudal principle of liege-lord and vassal, the Brahmin would reconcile all seeming inconsistencies, and efface the stigma cast on his Vedas.

But these feudal maxims fail to reduce those revolting absurdities to the vanishing point. They do not even approximate to zero, and it becomes difficult for Brahminical philosophy itself readily to receive the solution. What! is Brahm so regardless of his creatures as to consign them all to gods of such questionable characters—to give away all his territories to Indra, Yama and others? Has he reserved nothing for his own government and providence? Has he enfranchised or chartered no part of his vast creation, that it might be immediately dependant on him without acknowledging an inferior celestial baron or prince? Is there no creature that may be called directly *his* subject—that may look up to *him* as his father in heaven, ready to hear and give answer?

The Brahmins themselves could anticipate such questions as fatal to their system, if no better solution of the difficulty were attempted. Their Brahm could have no incommunicable or peculiar glory, if he could so readily alienate his whole creation from Himself, or give away his empire to inferior favourites.

The feudal theory accordingly will not do. The Brahmins have however another solution ready at hand. The inferior deities are not separate personifications distinct in nature and substance from the great Spirit. They are but so many manifestations of himself. Indra, Yama and others are only different forms of the same Primeval Spirit who called the worlds into existence. The husband of Sachi, what else is he, but the eternal God allegorized, or actually incarnate? The rector of the infernal regions, what else is he, but another representation of the same Great Being? The controller of the ocean (Varuna,) is he not only *another* name in which the Almighty has chosen to exhibit himself? The whole pantheon is thus represented as a series of manifestations of the same Creator. This theory appears to the Brahmins so incontrovertible, that even their Anglicised successors of our own age appeal to it with equal confidence and self complacency. The followers of the late Rajah Rammohun Roy contended with an air of triumph, that the Hindu theory of a multiplicity of the divine manifestations, was not different in principle from the Christian mystery of the Trinity! "The same omnipotence," said they, "which can make THREE ONE and ONE THREE, can equally reconcile the UNITY and PLURALITY of three hundred and thirty millions." This argument is more specious than true. To say nothing of the *want* of any authority, on the one hand, in the Hindu records sufficient to command our faith in mysteries, and the indubitable credentials of divine inspiration on the other which the Bible can produce, the analogy which our Vedantic friends laboured to establish between Hinduism and Christianity, with reference to the unity of the Godhead in a plurality of persons, fails in some essential characters. The unity of the Godhead cannot exist in a plurality of persons invested with *conflicting* dispositions, and militating against our established notions of the moral perfections of the Deity. Although the bare possibility of one God existing in many persons is not itself called in question—the *moral* possibility of the characters, pourtrayed in the Hindu scriptures, being divine essences, may be very properly denied. How could individuals so much at variance with one another, and so opposed to our predetermined views of the divine perfections, be all manifestations of the Supreme Governor of the Universe? Can

light and darkness agree? And yet the gods of the Hindu pantheon are, if possible, more diversified in their characters than light and darkness. The attempts of the Vedantists twenty years ago to obscure this clear line of demarcation between the Hindu theory of *many* gods, *reciprocally pugnacious*, in *one*, and the Christian mystery of the holy Trinity, have however neither served their own cause nor injured that of the gospel. Plausible reasoning is not synonymous with true reasoning;—and since the same belligerent plan against Christianity is adopted once more in the resuscitation of Rammohun Roy's Vedantism at our own doors, we too might be "not a little amused"* (if there were room for amusement on such a subject)—at the readiness with which our friends can confound ideas so different as the Hindu and Christian doctrines of a plurality of persons in the Godhead.

The Rishis have gone a step further in harmonizing their multiplicity with the unity of God. Every thing of physical necessity is and cannot but be Brahm, either whole or in part. *Sarvam Khalwidam Brahm.* How could an entity, say they, proceed from a non-entity? The very argument which proves a self-existent *efficient* first cause, demonstrates a self-existent *material* cause too. Just as it is necessary to admit an eternal efficient cause of the Universe in order to account for the wonderful evidences of design and intelligence in the creation, so likewise is it necessary to acknowledge a self-existent *material* cause in order to escape the alternative of conceding the eternity of atomic matter. Are you forced to grant something uncreate that you may consider it the maker of all things? —and can you refuse your assent to the doctrine of something equally self-existent, from which, as from its material cause, the universe was spun out? Is it not then philosophical to suppose that the same Being was the efficient, material and instrumental cause of the world, rather than assume two causes, one *material*, the other *instrumental*? And if this theory be inevitable, the universe is consubstantial with its Creator, and must always have existed in its cause, like the tree in the seed. It then bears the same relation to Brahm that a pitcher of water does to the mighty ocean. What incongruity can there be, under these suppositions, in the doctrine of *many* gods in *one*—all being of physical necessity identically or *materially* the same with

* "At the same time we are not a little amused to see persons who could reconcile with their belief of the Triune God-head, that of redemption and sanctification—the manifestation of God in flesh, looking unblushingly, with scorn and contempt, at the absurdities of Hindoo idolatry."—*Tuttwabodhini Patrica No.* 19, *Part* 2.

Brahm? As to moral objections to this theory, proceeding from diversities of attributes and qualities in the gods, they are based upon the doubtful aphorisms of ethics, which are deduced from mere probabilities and vague notions of right and wrong, and must therefore be corrected by physically necessary and demonstrable truths!

Thus you have an undisguised pantheism presented to you as the specific harmonizer of all inconsistencies—as the practised peace-maker between gods and demons. No theory to be sure could prove more effective in reconciling contradictions. If Brahm is the *material* as well as the *efficient* cause of the universe, every thing that has existence must be consubstantial with him. Then men can worship gods, and gods can worship men without any inconsistency. Every thing then can be called any thing, every thing, or nothing. A function of zero amounts to nothing. A function of Brahm has this additional property, that it may amount to any thing we please;—to any thing, every thing, or nothing. No absurdity can therefore be conceived which this theory will not clear. The battle between several incarnations of Vishnu or Brahm themselves—that for instance between Rama and Parusharama—however ludicrous in appearance, is perfectly soluble upon the pantheistic theory.

This development of elemental worship into a metaphysical pantheism was a superstructure little dreamt of by the simple Rishis who had unintentionally laid its foundation. The original *feelers* after God, who had chaunted the praises of Indra, Varuna and Agni, had scarcely any foreknowledge of the pantheistic vortex where these objects of their rather poetic devotion should be engulphed. Such a denial of matter and spirit—such a spiritualizing of the one, and materializing of the other and such a consequent destruction of the integrity of both, had never entered into their heroic thoughts. They did not know that the great spirit was to be considered as the undeveloped universe, or that the universe was to be styled the expanded spirit. Their successors undertook to correct and harmonize the poetic wanderings of their rude devotion; and they conducted their work of reform with a vengeance. The delusive chart of a misdirected philosophy led them into errors more monstrous than the worship of fire and air.

This however was but the natural result of the speculations of unaided reason. The philosopher strove to correct the debasing notions of God which his less speculative but more imaginative predecessors had formed from their rude natural feelings of dependence upon something supernatural. That which was low and vulgar he exalted indeed, but he propounded

withal other errors peculiar to philosophy unenlightened by revelation. He magnified the great spirit, and asserted his claims to the worship of his creatures, but not understanding what may be called his *personality*, he was involuntarily led to place him as the all-pervading soul of the universe, in a pantheistic sense, which renders every intelligent creature a portion of Himself. "Though philosophy," as Mr. Newman, of Oxford, remarks "acknowledged an intelligent, wise, and beneficent Principle of nature, still this too was, in fact, only equivalent to the belief in a pervading Soul of the Universe, which consulted for its own good, and directed its own movements, by instincts similar to those by which the animal world is guided; but which, strictly speaking, was not an object of worship, inasmuch as each intelligent being was, in a certain sense, himself a portion of it."*

The impetus which philosophy imparted to the Hindu mind brought on another era—that of the *Schools*. The lists of argument and debate once entered in—the combatants commenced tiltings that were interminable. On came *Kapila* with his specific remedy for the threefold *taps* or sufferings of human nature, whether proceeding from self, or from extraneous causes, or as inflected by supernatural powers. *Gnyana*, or knowledge, was the unfailing panacea for all these evils. This *gnyana* dogmatized, among other things, that the universe was created by something which was *pradhana*, or great, and *achetana*, or non-sentient. If these words had any meaning, they were a virtual denial of an *intelligent* first cause. Up rose then Jaimini, the founder of the *Mimansa*, harmonizing the Vedas and laying down his sure standard of Orthodoxy, which while it upheld pantheism, presented *obedience* and the performance of the appointed *kriya*, or works, as the ultimate design of the Scriptures. Now came *Goutama* with his logical aphorisms, and propounded *his* view of orthodoxy—denying the deity to be the *material* cause of the Universe, and recognizing in him the *instrumental* moulder alone of ever existing and eternal atoms. Then came Vyas, and after him a whole troop of Vedantists, giving fierce battle in turns to all three; to the *Sankhya*, who had pronounced the first cause to be non-sentient—to the *Mimansic*, who had inculcated *obedience* and not *knowledge* as the ultimate doctrine of the Vedas—to the

* Sermons chiefly on the theory of religious belief, P. 23, 24. It is ever to be regretted that so powerful and clear-headed a writer, as the author of these sermons, should degrade himself by attempting to exalt the calendared worthies of an age, the darkest which Europe ever saw since the establishment of Christianity, and over which every historian is obliged to blush.

Naiyaik, who had controverted the Divine material cause of the Universe. Thus were schools against schools—doctors against doctors—philosophers against philosophers—texts against texts—fiercely arrayed.

In the controversy concerning the First Cause between the several schools of Brahminical philosophy, we cannot help being struck at the motley compound of truth and error, which the combatants exhibited. They were all right and all wrong. The Sankhyas were not wrong in calculating, that if the Universe must have an eternal material cause, that cause could not be a sentient being, and so in calling it some thing that was *achetana* and *pradhana*; but they did not stop to ask themselves wherein lay the necessity of supposing such an eternal *material* cause—nor did they understand that an *efficient* First Cause, self-existent, eternal, intelligent and almighty, was alone sufficient to account for all the wonders in the creation, and to supply the cravings of our moral constitution. The Naiyayiks, on the other hand, were right in denying Brahm to be the material cause of the Universe, but erred in inculcating the eternity of material atoms, and in ascribing to the Deity, only the work of framing and fashioning what had always existed from endless ages. The Vedantists again had truth on their side, when they controverted the eternity of matter, but injured the interests of theology and philosophy, when they proclaimed their Brahm to be at the same time the *instrumental* and the *material* cause of all things. The Brahmins it appears could not comprehend that the Almighty might, as we know on the highest evidences he did, call forth into existence things that never were—and thus *create* out of nothing this stupendous Universe. Considering the talents and the mental vigor which the Brahmins undoubtedly possessed, we are apt to be surprised at their failure in the discovery of this first principle of all theology. The fact is however only a corroboration of the well known adage, that the most learned philosopher of antiquity might place himself with profit under the spiritual pupillage of the most unlettered follower of the Bible. A single text of the Christian Scriptures might have supplied the Rishis with the truth they were searching after. "He commanded and they were created."

A house divided against itself cannot stand. The truth and wisdom of this divine aphorism have been sufficiently verified by facts, in all parts of the world, and among all professors of religion. No external hostility can ever inflict so severe a blow upon a spiritual society, as schisms and divisions

within itself. The Hindu theology can also testify to the justice of this remark from *its* experience. The discussions and controversies, which were at once the causes and effects of its conflicting Schools, produced sooner or later the most disastrous consequences. Sects and parties got up, who not only controverted its favourite maxims and peculiar principles,—not only bid defiance to its venerated priesthood and vilified its most sacred mysteries—but also boldly and openly struck at its very foundations—and denied the authority of the Vedas themselves. When these daring assailants commenced this undisguised anti-Hindu warfare is a question comparatively of little importance. That the war had been declared, and for a time prosecuted with vigor, can admit of no doubt;—and this, before some of the *schools* had properly organized their systems. We find for instance the founders and advocates of the Vedant severely cudgelling the bold impugners of the Vedas and Brahmins. The heresy must have been hatched, before the Vedantic Brahmins had settled the rules and standards of their philosophy.

This then was another era again—the age of open heresy—in the history of the Hindu mind. The Buddhists spared neither Indra nor Brahma nor the Vedas. New names, new scriptures, new principles, were set up to supersede the old. The Brahmins lost their spiritual dominion over the faithful. The Vedas fell into discredit. The sacrifices were abandoned. The altars were neglected. Religion itself assumed an entirely new appearance.

To illustrate the literature and philosophy of the Buddhists is not the object of this essay. It is true they have been much maligned by their Brahminical opponents, who have denounced them without exception to be atheists. It is equally true they have propounded doctrines, subversive of all belief in the providence of God, even where they have not actually denied the existence of the Deity. Their philosophy is partly Epicureanism—partly materialism. Some of their schools contend, like the Sadducees of old, that there is no resurrection—neither angel nor spirit, nor yet an intelligent efficient first cause. Others acknowledge the being of a God, but deprive him of action and providence. The Brahminical doctrines of caste they utterly repudiate, and bloody sacrifices they allow not. They came forward perhaps as reformers of their priest-ridden countrymen under the provocations received from the haughty and pampered Brahmins; and there is no wonder in their being easily driven to the opposite extreme of scepticism. It is not every reformer that can preserve mental equilibrium while contending against prevalent corruptions. In most cases the mind has been

carried to opposite errors. Sacerdotal pride and intolerance has every where proved the hot-bed of infidelity. Strong feelings of indignation, against false and unworthy priests, can scarcely ever keep within legitimate bounds. They violently strike at the very foundation of religion, confounding the minister with his doctrine. If such happened with the original Buddhist teachers, it was not unnatural. They appear however to have somewhat retraced their infidel steps in subsequent times. The images and idols they set up are proofs of their return to some kind of ritual worship, and to a corresponding change in their speculative metaphysics. By the Brahmins they have always been indiscriminately branded as atheists, infidels, and barbarians;—as revilers of God,impugners of the Vedas, contemners of holy things, and asserters of the soul's materiality and mortality. But they have not been wholly strangers to the idea of spiritual existence after death.—They speak of *Moksha* or the soul's liberation from this world of sin and sorrow.—They must have had some notions of future joys and sorrows, though we believe they were not free from the Brahminical sentiments of pantheism.

Whatever their positive doctrines, they boldly inveighed against Brahminism, and sought to extirpate it from the shores of Hindustan. But in this arduous attempt they failed. The Hindu mind returned to its original obedience to the Vedas. By fair means or foul, the Brahmins completely routed their Buddhist adversaries and drove them from the field. Speculative scepticism, which was the very essence of Buddhism, was ill adapted to the spiritual cravings of human nature. Brahminism, with all its absurdities, had neverthless a priesthood, however false, and a body of practical divinity, however puerile, which must strike the senses and command the sympathies of its votaries, so long as no doctrine, more practical than Buddhism, was offered to their faith and obedience. The mind requires something to feed upon,—something which will speak consolation and rest— something which will afford relief in trouble— something which will impart, at least confidence, if not assurance —something which will soothe in seasons of affliction, and cheer its prospective passage through the valley of the shadow of death. This Buddhism could not supply. Its invectives against Brahminical extravagancies, however formidable for a season, soon lost their credit with a people, who had been exasperated indeed with the spiritual tyranny so long exercised against them, but who nevertheless needed some doctrine more practical and less speculative than Buddh produced, in order to satisfy their wants as sinners.

The ineffectual struggles of Buddhism did no small service to Brahminism in the end. It afforded the priests an opportunity of making still further innovations in support of their authority. The talisman of poesy was again handled. The enchanting spells of sweet and powerful metres were a second time enlisted in the service of religion. This brought on the era of mytho-heroic religion. Not that mythology was unknown before. The Vedas themselves contain a sufficient quantum of mythical legends. You have Indra armed with thunderbolts and enthroned in heaven as the husband of Sachi and the destroyer of Vitra. You have Yama invested with the government of the inferior regions, and striking terror into the inhabitants of the earth. You have departed ancestors invoked for succour and protection.* You have Vishnu and Rudra, Brahma and Varuna represented in their several characters, —now producing fear—now inspiring hope—now as objects of awe, now of love. Still the calendar of deities was not yet full —nor their earthly deeds all properly celebrated. This gracious task was reserved for the heroic romancers and the *Pouranics* —the authors of the legendary poems. They began to fill the blanks in the sacred calendar by liberally dispensing the favor of canonization. The mighty, though often not very decent, deeds of Shiva and Parvati, of Krishna and his numberless milkmaids—of Rama and his quadrumanous long-tailed general (Hanumun)—were all set forth in becoming colours. The *Agni-hotra* of the old Brahmins was superseded;—the heavenly host and the elements, though still acknowledged divine, were invidiously classed in the hindermost ranks;—other gods, unknown to primitive authors, and unheard of in times of yore, occupied the foremost ground. The appearance itself of Hinduism was materially changed. Nothing that was before held sacred was now denied or abjured; the Rishis were venerated; the Vedas were read as authorities; the schools were respected and studied;—but extensive innovations in doctrine and ritual were introduced;—new forms of worship, new mantras, new ceremonies were brought into use which naturally threw the older forms into desuetude. Even in the *naming* of individuals, new gods were complimented. Instead of the Nachiketas, the Sanat Kumars, the Shwetuketus of the Vedas, we meet with Kalidasses, Ramkrishnas, Shankaracharyas, Kasinaths in the era of mythology. Images too came into popular favor about the same time. Directions were given in the Puranas how to represent their several heroic deifications in visible shapes. Their limbs,

* *Avantu nas pitaras.*

their apparel, their features, even their colours were minutely described for the statuary and the painter's guidance. Durga, for instance, to whom the great annual festival in Bengal is dedicated, is delineated as the personification of youth, beauty, and military fortitude;—a lovely girl in the very bloom of youth, of an olive coloured complexion, a countenance like the moon at her full, standing in the most graceful attitude, and adorned with all the jewels of oriental manufacture,—mounted upon a lion, and armed with the weapons of Asiatic warfare, the sword, the buckler, the spear, the arrow, the discus, the axe, the sling—grasping them with her ten hands, and dexterously plying them against her foes—with three eyes, all equally intent upon martial survey; her beautiful tresses, clotted through neglect, but presenting yet the image of a crescent of jet. To the making and adoration of such effigies the highest rewards are promised.

The mythological age settled the canon of the Hindu Scriptures. No further attempts were afterwards made to extend the inspired Library of the Hindus. Diversities of opinion indeed prevailed, and continued to widen, but the Scriptures reckoned holy were completed. The Vedas, the Puranas, the Tantras, the Smritis, &c., are still considered as the only oracles of Brahminism. Forgeries have been put forth—interpolations have been attempted; but no new prophet has appeared in the field, claiming divine honors in his own name, or pretending to divine commission as the author of a fresh shaster. Many of the Tantras are evidently of a modern origin, but they challenge the faith of their followers only by pretensions to antiquity. No additions have been formally and professedly made to the Shasters of old;—no Mohammed has come forward with a new Koran.

One exception must however be specified. The spirit of making new Shasters had not entirely taken its leave of our own province of Bengal. For several centuries indeed such a spirit lay dormant. For several centuries no daring or enterprizing person got up to claim divine honors or pretend to divine inspiration. The energies of rationalists and the devotions of religionists met with sufficient exercise in the systems already existing. If new expositions, new argumentations were put forth, it was with no other than human pretensions, and merely as exegetical of the old. At last however a new *avatar* made his appearance. Only a few centuries ago, and while the crescent of Mohammed was politically trampling under foot the *trishula* of Shiva, a novel system was organized. In the classical village of Nudea on the banks of the Hooghly, where king

Lukhman Sen once held his royal Court—uprose an individual, destined to direct the consciences of a large and not uninfluential class of Bengal's sons. The name of Choitanya is now familiar to every one possessed of any knowledge of native opinions and sects. This man proclaimed himself to be very God and very man, a personification of the mighty Krishna, the most perfect of the passed incarnations of the Deity. To his standard numbers came flocking, who received him not only as a Saviour and a prophet of divine unction, but as the very Supreme Being, manifested in human nature and sojourning among men. A sure prospect of ineffable bliss in heaven was held out as the reward of faith in this most perfect Avatar, the Mohammed of the new Vaishnavas. The establishment of a hereditary priesthood in the family of Nityanand, tended in no small degree to consolidate the conquests of these spiritual combatants. To a wonderful mixture of sound and unsound doctrines, they added a bold depreciation of the Brahminical priesthood. Faith in Chaitanya and the mighty name of Krishna was openly preached as the only passport to heaven. Sacrifices and ceremonies were denounced as useless, or worse than useless; the time had come when faith and charity and *ahinsa* should be the only thing needful. The superior sanctity claimed by the Brahmins was transferred to the *Goswamis*—the spiritual governors of Nityanand's holy line, who possessed the power of the Keys among the Vaishnavas. These were the *prabhus*, or lords, as Chaitanya was the *Mahaprabhu*, or great Lord. Spiritual fraternities, not unlike the tunic-wearing brethren of the Roman Church, were instituted to become readers, teachers, guides or confessors to the families of the faithful, who were pledged to maintain, by precept and example, the honor and credit of the *Maha prabhu* and his vicars the *Goswamis*. Under the title of *babajees*, or fathers, these sworn followers of Chaitanya's kingdom have proved as effective and powerful auxiliaries to the Goswamis of Bengal, as ever any brethren of a religious house in Europe to the princely successors of St. Peter. The Vaishnava fathers are indeed not bound to celibacy;—they may marry, or entertain as many sisters of similar spiritual ordination as they choose; but they are bound, equally with the brethren of Roman monasteries, to obedience and mendicant life. They must profess poverty, and lead a life of continued abstemiousness and mortification. We have no doubt they observe these rules with rigid scrupulosity, though they are not very *jejune* in their appearance. Holy fraternities of religious houses, whether under the Pope's or the Goswamis' obedience, are perhaps acquainted with some specific remedy against spare frames

and feeble makes which might prove an important acquisition to the apothecary's pharmacopœia. Their fasting and abstinence do not certainly militate against the integrity of their flesh!

Many of the doctrines and practices of the Vaishnavas of Chaitanya's party appear to have been borrowed from the characteristic tenets of Christianity, of which they probably had received some indistinct account. Their doctrine of salvation by faith, independent of the rules and observances of caste, reminds us of St. Paul's doctrine of justification without the deeds of the law. Their disregard of caste is a faint representation of that enlarged philanthrophy of the evangelical dispensation, which offers its privileges to all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues, without distinction of tribe or colour. Their exhortations to love call to our minds the charity of the New Testament, which is the bond of Christian perfection. Their distribution of the *bheck* without regard to the caste of the recipient, is not dissimilar to the administration of the *tunic* of ecclesiastical celebrity. Hereditary priesthood they respect not. The Brahmin must receive their symbol of initiation and ordination, before he can be allowed to meddle with their mysteries. Their door to conversion is open to all classes without exception—not excluding even the barbarian and the Mletcha. The *Sribhagavat* is their favourite Purana,] though they do not disacknowledge the rest of the shasters, and have moreover extended the canon by the addition of several professedly new compositions, parts of which are in the vulgar tongue of Bengal.

The mutations of Hindu opinions to which we have hitherto adverted proceeded from sources, and were produced by causes, purely indigenous. They were marked also by that narrow feeling of exclusiveness which is the very genius of Hinduism. However conflicting and at variance among themselves, the Hindu sectaries jealously avoided intercourse or contact with foreigners. The Javana and the Mletcha were common objects of abhorrence to all. Even the use of exotic languages, contemptuously called *Mletcha bhashas,* was studiously abstained from in expositions of religious tenets. Neither the followers of the schools, nor the Pouranics, nor yet the Vaishnavas, would condescend to expound their systems in the language of foreigners, which if allowed to be studied at all, were so only as means of temporal maintenance. To proclaim the doctrines of Vyasa or Manu or Chaitanya in English or Persian would be to scatter pearls before swine—and give that which was holy to the dogs.—But time which changes all things—which, as the poetic Vyasa describes it, makes and unmakes whatever exists—over-

came at last this antipathy to foreigners and foreign languages, among a wide circle of respectable and influential natives in the metropolis of British India. The name of Rajah Rammohun Roy cannot be unknown to any in Europe or Asia. Endowed with a vigor of mind and acuteness of intellect far above his age, this extraordinary personage sought to reform the faith and worship of his countrymen by the introduction of European ideas and customs, and the translation and composition of religious tracts, not only in the vulgar dialect of Bengal, but also in foreign, or what his predecessors would have designated, the *Mletcha* vocables of English. This gave rise to a new era in the history of native opinions. The *Brahma Samaj* which he established on the Chitpore road, tore up for the first time in India, the sacred veil which had enveloped the Vedas. That which the primitive Brahmins had accounted too holy to be publicly exposed—into which the Sudra and the woman, and even the unconsecrated or degraded Brahmin were forbidden to pry, was now read and translated to crowds of wondering hearers in the Vedantic chapel. Expositions of the ancient scriptures, which would have filled Manu or Vyasa with horror, were now boldly put forth as their true interpretation. A new picture of Hinduism was presented almost totally distinct from the old. Those parts which were left in shady ground by the primitive Rishis were placed in prominent light; those which were before represented in brilliant colours were now either wholly concealed or set in almost invisible characters.

Rammohun Roy's memory we cannot but venerate. A patriot and a philosopher, and that in the true sense of the words, he certainly was. We do not mean his patriotism was wholly or even generally well directed, or that his philosophy was in every way sound; still he was a patriot and a philosopher. Possessed as he was of a moderate fortune, the liberality with which he spent it in the service of his countrymen was a noble evidence of his regard for their improvement. His pecuniary sacrifices were only equalled by the sacrifice of his personal exertions. Never did a man labour more indefatigably as an *amateur* reformer. Never did we see a voluntary instructor of his species more untiring in efforts to do good. Nor have we ever heard of an individual, who could embody like Rajah Rammohun, the thoughtful patience of the philosopher, the disinterested energy of the patriot, and the courtesy and amiability of the gentleman. It is impossible for us not to honour the memory of such a character. But it is equally impossible for us not to regret that he so hastily considered the rejection of Hinduism to be incompatible with his patriotism;—that from the beginning

of his career he contracted a strange jealousy against Christian missionaries. We believe that his patronage of the Vedant proceeded from the best of motives; we know this patronage continued to his latest breath; but we are at a loss how to reconcile such patronage with his other sayings and doings—on which the Socinian Dr. Carpenter expatiated at such length in his funeral sermon.

Whatever his own opinions and personal deficiencies, he has conferred benefits which India can never forget. He has imparted an impetus to free inquiry which must sooner or later lead to the knowledge of the truth. He has inflicted a blow upon the corrupt and superstitious fabric, idolized by his countrymen, which must eventually cause its entire destruction. Unfortunately for all, he had imbibed deep-rooted prejudices against the missionaries. This provoked him to an active though not rancorous opposition to the gospel. Under the influence of his own convert to Unitarianism, "the *second* fallen Adam," as Dr. Robert Tytler called him, and irritated perhaps by the uncourteous language which misguided zeal scrupled not to employ against an intelligent and a good man, the Rajah's hostility to missionary proceedings became inveterate beyond calculation. We cannot help regretting that under the spell of such deep rooted prejudices, he failed to notice the visible effects of Christianity in the work of human civilization which he himself admired and appreciated—and would fain have introduced among his own countrymen. That a benevolent and patriotic spirit should neglect the unequivocal dictates of history on the soul-transforming character of the Biblical theology, is a problem soluble only on the scriptural dogma itself that 'God hath made foolish the wisdom of the world.'

With the departure of Rajah Rammohun Roy for England, and his subsequent lamented decease, the cause of his New Vedantism seemed to expire. None of his followers were found sufficient to follow up his reform. None could supply the gap which his removal left in their ranks. Neither his talents nor his energy were exhibited in his survivors. The gap has however been since filled up by the leader of the *Tuttwabodhini Shabha*. If amiability of manners and illustrious filiation from one, whom crowned heads have delighted to honor in the most civilized quarter of the globe, be advantages of no ordinary magnitude, the *Tuttwabodhini Shabha* has every reason to count itself happy in securing such a patron and friend. In him they possess a bulwark of which they have every human right to boast. The loveliness of youth, when associ-

ated with illustrious parentage and rare excellencies of character, is no despicable weapon. But the internal strength of their cause is just in the inverse ratio of their external advantages. They wish on the one hand to set up a religion which on their own principles cannot fail to prove untenable, inconsistent, and powerless; and they desire to retard on the other hand the progress of a truth that has triumphed over all obstacles, and which must go on conquering and to conquer. The worship of the elements, which the Vedas enjoin, and the fabrication of images which their most venerated sages have encouraged and tolerated, they can never overturn, so long as they proclaim the divine authority of the one, and most modestly revere the superior Brahminism of the other. Our friends are in a false position. They desire to wean their countrymen from the bewitching scenes of a fascinating idolatry, when they dare not condemn it as sinful in itself, when their own Vedas and Rishis have licensed and sanctioned what they are labouring to destroy. The very unity of God, which they profess to uphold, is intimately connected in their sacred writings with pantheistic views, subversive of the foundations of all theism. How can they long maintain, consistently with their improved knowledge and light, the divine wisdom of writings which teach that the universe* is an expansion of the divine substance—that the human spirit, like the divine, is eternal and uncreate; that the knowledge of the true God transforms a created being into the Divine spirit—that the highest object of religious meditation is to discover that the worshipper is himself God,—and that the ultimate reward of such discovery is absorption into deity. There is an internal feeling of individual responsibility in the human mind which can seldom give way to such notions of self-deification, and which will ever fall back upon the heroic idolatry of the *Sanhitas* and *Puranas* so long as nothing better is offered to

* The leaders of the Tuttwabodhini Shabha are constantly complaining that Christian writers have often charged the Vedant with pantheism without substantiating the charge by quotations from the Vedas. This is not the arena of a theological pugilism. We shall however give a few. *Sarvang Khalwidam Brahma.* "All this is truly God." *Sadeva soumyeda magra asit.*—Again, *Asadeva*, &c. "This universe was originally in a state of entity." "This universe was originally in a state of non-entity." These passages are reconciled by expositors of the Vedas by the assertion that as the supreme Being is the *material* cause of the universe, the worlds may be said to have been in a state of undeveloped entity in their material cause—and that where they are represented as non-entity before the creation, the meaning is that they were as yet unexpanded. *Brahmaveda Brahmaiva bhavati.* "One that has attained to the knowledge of God becomes God." Such a character may compliment himself by saying and thinking, *Aham Brahmasmi*, "I am God." You are then to salute him saying, *Tattwamasi*, thou art he (God.) *Etadalambanam gnatwa Brahmaloke mahiyate* —which according to the commentary of the *Kathopanishad* put forth by the *Tuttawabodhini Shabha* means, that "by the knowledge of God a man becomes worshipable as God!" *Na jayate mriyate va vipashchit*, &c. "The soul is neither born nor dies."

its reception. The *Tuttwabodhini Shabha* must accordingly fail to stem the torrent of idolatry,—especially since they do not pretend to supply a more improved liturgy of occasional services which the incidents of life daily call for. Unless we are greatly mistaken—neither Rammohun Roy nor his present followers have propounded any practical formularies for the actual execution of their theoretical declamations against idolatry. Matrimonial and funeral ceremonies we fancy are still allowed to be performed in the old idolatrous way. The shradh, the marriages of infants, the investiture of young Brahmins with the sacred cord, have not been discontinued. No reformer has yet ventured to accept a widow for his wife, or settled a widowed relation in a second matrimony; nor has any sudra dared to aspire to the hand of a Brahmin's daughter. The reform is entirely confined to theory and wordy lectures. Little as our expectations are of any *spiritual* and lasting benefits to India from this quarter, we should for the sake of humanity rejoice to see the *Tuttwabodhini Shabha practically* introducing a social reform in these respects, and leading their countrymen to eschew the demoralizing institutions of caste, early marriages, &c.

The origin of the *Tuttwabodhini Shabha* is itself a proof of the weakness of the cause it is designed to uphold. It was established from an apparent consciousness in the members, that Brahminism, unless propped up in some extraordinary way, would soon sink under its own weight:—

"It could not be mistaken even by an ordinary observer, that the immense fabric of Hindoo Idolatry was tottering under the progress of Reformation, superinduced by the introduction of the European sciences, and a superior system of education into this country. The educated native mind relieved, as it were, from the burden which superstition had so long imposed, was naturally left to receive the first impression it could lay hold on. It was to have been feared, therefore, that, as a natural result of this course of events, the great body of the people, unshackled from the fetters of superstition, would either imbibe the pernicious principles of atheism, or embrace the doctrines of Christianity, so successfully promulgated by its teachers;—a consummation which the members could not bring themselves to look on with indifference, consistently with their regard for the welfare of their countrymen. It was to counteract influences like these, and inculcate on the Hindoo religious enquirer's mind doctrines, at once consonant to reason and human nature, for which he had to explore his own sacred resources the Vaidanta, that the society was originally established."*

So then the members of the Tattwabodhini Shabha would perhaps have gladly left Brahminism to itself, had it not been for their apprehension that the light of "the European Sciences"

* Report of the Tuttwabodhini Shabha for 1843-44.

would soon erect the superstructure of "atheism" or "Christianity" upon its ruins. This was a "consummation" which the members could not regard with indifference,—and so they came forward with a new system to bid for the faith of their countrymen. We honor the patriotism that dictated the movement; we know not how to admire the judgment or taste which could place *atheism* and *Christianity* in juxta-position as systems to be equally eschewed by their countrymen :—we know not how to extol the spiritual discernment that would rather tolerate the "multifarious perversions" in popular Hinduism than introduce "the doctrines of Christianity so successfully promulgated by its teachers." What sort of patriotism is that which hesitates not to sacrifice hereditary institutions in temporal affairs—which can appreciate the benefits of European civilization, and objects not to its introduction into India,—and still resists every effort to bring in that very truth with which the moral and intellectual welfare of the West can never be disconnected. No one at all acquainted with the history of European civilization, and capable of tracing effects to their right causes, can controvert the fact that the true spirit of philosophical investigation was first introduced by the influence of Christianity—and that the impetus which its thundering and all powerful voice first imparted to popular improvement and female emancipation, was the real cause of the social elevation which Europe now enjoys.

To the poor the gospel was originally preached. The poor and the illiterate were from the beginning the objects of the church's care and solicitude. The pagan division of theology into exoteric and esoteric, which had excluded the vast majority of men from the privilege of studying the mysteries of religion, had long retarded the course of popular improvement. Christianity tore asunder this aristocratic veil; and, inculcating the necessity of personal religion in all, encouraged them to think and to meditate on the interests of their souls. So long as the people were kept ignorant of their salvability, and were not called upon to exercise their minds on theological truths, they felt no stimulus for intellectual exertions. Once invited however to contemplate these solemn verities, they began to acquire habits of thoughtfulness, which the darkness of the middle ages itself could not entirely destroy. And did not such intellectual exercises, inseparable from religious thoughtfulness, contribute largely to the improvement of the mind?

In the due elevation of the female sex too, which Christianity brought about, we perceive the exercise of a mighty influence

in favor of human civilization. No community can move onward and without retrogression, of which one half is suffered to grovel in ignorance and mental debasement. Feminine influence must be paramount in the domestic circle for good or for evil. The educated husband may despise the ignorant wife, but nature will often force him to yield to her counsels or freaks in a thousand ways. Society can never, even under the most favourable circumstances, march far in the career of improvement so long as the women are not prepared to move with the men; for the one sex cannot leave the other far behind. Consider then the blessings which Christianity has conferred by the elevation of females to their proper level. Europe could never have attained her present commanding position, if her inhabitants had not been nurtured and seconded by the instruction, influence and counsel of enlightened mothers and wives.

What then must be the infatuation of those amongst us who can appreciate the benefits of Western civilization, and are nevertheless hostile to the cause which produced it? How can Brahminism, pure or impure, ever facilitate that consummation of social improvement and female elevation, which are so essential to the moral welfare of this vast empire, and which every intelligent native, that loves his country, should devoutly cherish?

Our friends of the *Tuttwabodhini Shabha* are fond of the theory that the Shasters, when they forbid Sudras and females to pry into their sacred contents, do so upon the well-grounded presumption that women and the inferior classes are apt from their extreme ignorance to abuse such a privilege;—that the Vedas and other Scriptures were not excluded from popular perusal, where the populace were fitted by due intellectual cultivation for their study. They remind us of the case of Maitreyi, whose husband had openly instructed her in the shasters. Strange, if the Brahmins, during the three or four thousand years of their existence,—or, according to their own story, for the millions of years and cycles which the world has witnessed, found only one or two women and Sudras capable of intellectual cultivation and Scriptural study? Are the members of the *Tuttwabodhini Shabha* really of opinion that India has only produced such women and such Sudras as were scarcely superior to the animal creation, as were *naturally* and constitutionally inferior to their European sisters and brothers, and were incapable of mental improvement; —that the intellectual dearth in the proscribed classes is to be attributed to the unnatural grossness of their understanding,

not to the tyranny and intolerance of the party that proscribed them and made them famish for lack of knowledge? For the honor of India's soil—for the credit of our common humanity, let not such a misanthropic thought be for a moment entertained. In the name of common justice—let the stigma be affixed to the legitimate quarter;—to the narrow policy of Bramhminism, which strove to erect its monstrous dominion by the slaughter of popular intellect, which blighted every effort at self-improvement in the women and the Sudras. It is sufficient that these unhappy classes have been so long trampled under foot. Let not additional cruelty be inflicted upon them by detractions from their natural capacities. And let not the fortuitous and extraordinary improvement of isolated and solitary individuals, like Maitreyi, lull us into forgetfulness of the general rule of Hinduism, which has, alas! too effectually, succeeded in destroying those germs of moral and intellectual elevation, which nature had without doubt bestowed upon India's sons and daughters as liberally as upon those of any other country.

But the most inexplicable enigma respecting the patriotic directors of the Tattwabodhini movement, is the way in which they unhesitatingly deal with those numerous texts of the Vedas and other Shasters, where idolatry and the worship of the elements are directly and clearly enjoined. These,* say they, are intended for the ignorant and the unenlightened, who are unable to comprehend the unity and spirituality of the Deity. What an apology this, for compositions set forth as divine and inspired! Do the Vedas then contain two systems diametrically opposite, and are they still to be proclaimed as the unerring voice of God who cannot lie? Do the Vedas then commit evil that good may come—teach falsehood to advance truth—practise fraud in the service of piety—encourage treason for the welfare of the state—preach rebellion in the cause of loyalty?—and are they still, in spite of such duplicity, to be acknowledged as the living oracles of the Most High, whose counsels are faithfulness and truth? We have heard of fallible mortals beguiling children and lunatics, and propounding what are called *white* lies for some desirable ends;—such conduct is nevertheless always universally censured by

* "These as well as several other texts of the 'same nature,' (meaning such precepts as relate to the practice of rites and ceremonies,) 'are not real commands, but only direct those who are unfortunately incapable of adoring the invisible Supreme Being, to apply their minds to any visible thing, rather than allow them to remain idle.' 'That the worship of the Sun and Fire together with the whole allegorical system, were only inculcated for the sake of those whose limited understandings rendered them incapable of comprehending and adoring the invisible Supreme Being; so that such persons might not remain in a brutified state, destitute of all religious principles.' "—*Tattwabodhini Patrika.*

sober moralists, not only because it militates against truth, but also because it frustrates its own ends; but we are involuntarily led to abominate the enlisting of falsehood in the service of *religion*—and we cannot for a moment tolerate the idea, that God, whose paths are righteousness and truth, would ever on any account inculcate error—or call upon his creatures, however ignorant, to worship fire, air, water, and Indra, when neither fire nor air nor water nor Indra had any real divinity by virtue of which to challenge such worship. Upon their own confession, the members of the *Tattwabodhini Shabha* are toiling to establish and extend the credit of Scriptures, which deliberately impose upon a portion of their countrymen, by inculcating the adoration of creatures which they know are not gods; they are preaching the divine authority of writings which betray of themselves their fabrication by lying spirits and deceitful authors, whatever the objects of the cheats might be.

But what right had the authors of the Vedas to presume that the bulk of their countrymen, whom they enjoined to worship Indra and the elements, were incapable of comprehending the doctrine of the divine unity? How can our friends of the *Tattwabodhini Shabha* readily sanction this sacerdotal arrogance? The pleas of autocratic monarchs, desiring to trample upon the liberties of their subjects, and of corrupt and faithless priests, eager to feed and fatten *themselves* instead of their flocks, have invariably been the same. The former have ever expatiated upon the unfitness of the people to understand their own interests; the dullness of the multitude to comprehend the mysteries of religion has proved an inexhaustible text with the latter. We might naturally expect a more generous view of popular capacities from the leaders of the *Tattwabodhini philosophy*. Were the authors of the Vedas themselves sufficiently enlightened on the unity and spiritual worship of God, or were they entirely exempt from the desire of self-aggrandisement—from what Dr. Arnold used to call the *priest-craft heresy*—they might easily discover that, a true system of the divine worship being propounded, few would be found "whose limited understanding rendered them incapable of comprehending and adoring the invisible Supreme Being."

Besides, if we consider that the wisest of our species is but a child in knowledge in relation to the infinite vastness of its objects—that the most erudite is still infinitely ignorant—the intellectual eminence of one man over another can in the sight of Omniscience be no greater than the unequal elevation of different particles of sand upon the sea shore. Philoso-

phers ought to take care how they exclude any of their fellow-creatures from the privilege of knowing and worshipping the one living and true God on the ground of ignorance or intellectual dullness. Our ignorance of what we know not is certainly greater than our knowledge of what we do know. It is clearly an abuse of the gifts of God, so to boast of our comparative superiority in spiritual understanding, as to constitute ourselves into a sort of religious aristocracy, and to shut out our less favoured brethren from all inlets to the knowledge of the truth. We should derive a lesson of modesty from our own ignorance, before we presume to affix such a stigma upon the mental powers and capacities of millions of our species.

But to teach idolatry in order to subserve the interests of religion!—The idea appears preposterous. The worship of the creature has never yet led to the worship of the Creator as its legitimate sequent. Supposing the authors of the Vedas were themselves enlightened and really desirous of establishing a monotheistic system of theology, we can characterize their inculcation of elemental idolatry as nothing short of actual infatuation. Certainly we cannot accord to such doctors the meed for spiritual wisdom. What say you of the wisdom of the statesman, who creates and fosters high-treason in the hope of advancing his Sovereign's interests—or of the physician who habitually and deliberately prescribes poison as a security for health—or of the ethical lecturer who encourages crime for the promotion of virtue? But the fact is that speculative atheism is a rock on which the ignorant and the illiterate were never so much in danger of splitting, as those who affected wisdom and were proud of their intellect. Lectures on idolatry, as a security against atheism, could never be needed for the unlettered poor.

Our own belief is that the members of the *Tattwabodhini Shabha* have done the authors of the Vedas no small injustice by the line of argument they have adopted in order to explain away the primitive idolatry of Brahminism. In their anxiety to establish the spiritual enlightenment of those sages, they scruple not to represent them as hypocritical and self-stultified masters of theology; labouring to impose one kind of doctrine upon the belief of their countrymen, while they entertained a different kind in their own minds, and flattering themselves with the vain hope of furthering the cause of true religion by the inculcation of false dogmas. Far greater credit would it reflect on their characters—and far more honourable would it be for their memory, if their partial enlightenment were plainly acknowledged. Far more honourable would it be for the clients

and the pleaders, if the truth were openly and undisguisedly set forth;—if greater credit than was due were not claimed for the doctors of elemental idolatry, on the score of *knowledge*, and if the full amount of tribute were demanded for their *honesty* and *simplicity*. We do not believe that the earliest Brahmins, who worshipped the sun and the planets, were such cheats and hypocrites as their Vedantic advocates are apt to exhibit them. They were not sufficiently enlightened on the doctrines of true theism, which, considering their age and their many disadvantages, could entail on them no disgrace;—but such as they were, they honestly appeared in their compositions—without the varnish of philosophy, and ignorant of the use that might afterwards be made of their writings.

One word more to our friends of the *Tattwabodhini Shabha*. How do they intend to deal with the pantheistic passages in the later Vedas, the Upanishads, and the generally received works of the Old Vedantic School? Are they prepared to maintain that the human spirit becomes converted into the divine by the knowledge of Brahm—that man becomes God? Is not this doctrine more opposed to the first principles of true theology—and more mischievous in its moral consequences, than the grossest impurities of idolatry?

We have been involuntarily, and indeed quite insensibly, led to dwell longer on the *Tattwabodhini movement* than we intended when we commenced this article. We entertain the highest regard for its leaders, and could not help taking especial notice of their proceedings. That we do not agree with them on most important points must have already appeared; that they have our best wishes we can sincerely assure them; that their efforts shall succeed in overturning the prevailing idolatry and corrupt practices of the Hindus, we doubt much. We shall watch their progress with great interest; and whatever be our opinion of their speculative doctrines, we shall rejoice to hear of any practical reform they may be induced to introduce among their countrymen—towards the abolition of the idolatry connected with their Shradh—their matrimonial ceremonies—and their numerous festivals, and towards the promotion of a generous intercourse and inter-alliance between different castes, and of a more rational mode of contracting matrimonial engagements.

The last work on the list at the head of this article bespeaks a movement different from all the rest. The nature of this movement will best appear from the following extracts:

"A few words explanatory of the principles upon which I feel it a privilege to appear in your assembly, and the motives for which I delight to aid in

furtherance of your Society's interests, will form a proper introduction to the subject on which I am about to address you. That in the heart of a city so long and so universally given to idolatry and all its mummeries, such a respectable corporation of our educated gentry should be found, anxious to discharge their religious obligations as men, and to cultivate those feelings of reverence and awe with which alone creatures can approach their Creator —is a pleasing and an auspicious omen of good things to come. So grossly have the pernicious practices, ceremoniously observed in the country, blunted the sentiments of piety in her people, and corrupted their notions of the very fundamentals of divine worship, that a native scarcely ever thinks of worshipping his God except by means of unintelligible sounds, which he has been taught to articulate without understanding their meaning, and to which he attributes a more than magical efficacy in propitating the gods. He seldom contemplates the natural or the moral attributes of the Supreme Being,—nor ever feels the propriety of worshiping Him in His holiness. The Hindu ritual, of which the largest portion is carefully concealed from the vast majority of the inhabitants, and no portion whereof can be used by the servile classes, but in the presence and under the superintendence of the *twice-born*, has entirely disregarded the duty of rendering a rational and spiritual service to God,—wherein the invocatory words and phrases articulated, may be indices to the devotion of the soul, and helps to the promotion of eucharistic, homologatory and petitionary sentiments in the mind. It is the voice, no less of reason than of revelation, that hymns or prayers uttered by means of words which the understanding does not comprehend, and which are, therefore, worse than vain repetitions, can never expect to obtain a hearing or acceptance from Him—who, though he be a God that* *heareth prayers*, and *despiseth not the sighing of a contrite heart*, cannot be reasonably supposed to take pleasure in the mere *acoustics* of a religious ceremony, and is certainly not capable of being charmed by sounds. But Hinduism leads its votaries to render nothing but loquacious *mantras* unto God, which the speaker perhaps never understands and which are often unintelligible to the superintending and dictating priest himself. Such unmeaning invocations may be considered as direct insults to the Supreme Governor of the Universe, who *searcheth the hearts and trieth the reins*, and requires the calves of our lips to be joined with groanings that cannot be uttered. To draw nigh unto God with the lips, while the heart and mind are kept afar from him, would be a mockery of divine worship, even where a person prayed in intelligible language; but to articulate words without understanding their meaning or purport, and consider them as addresses to the Most High, is the greatest possible perversion of religion. And yet this is daily practised by almost the only portion of the Hindu community that ever thinks of worshipping God at all.

Under these circumstances I cannot but hail this Society as the harbinger of great and good things to come. It is impossible to survey, unconcerned, uninterested, the attempts making by those who are still incorporated in the Hindu community to rise above the level of their superstitious countrymen, and to exhibit before an idolatrous generation, a semblance, however faint, of the grand principle of worshipping God with the mind and the spirit. It is impossible to be a cold spectator of efforts, calculated, on the one hand, to instruct the ignorant and the uneducated in the great duty of praying with the understanding and in a known language, and to warn the educated and the learned, on the other hand, against the sin of living in practical atheism. That the Hindu Society is at this present moment

* Psalm 65. 2.

divided for the most part between those who serve idols and others what serve nothing at all;—that those who oppose idolatry and are convinced of its futility are generally devoid of or indifferent to every feeling, even of rational worship,—are facts that need no evidence. Your Society betokens a new and an improved state of things. It presents to the Hindu community a picture they had never before seen among themselves, of exertions by members of their own body, to cultivate religious feelings in a rational way, and to introduce the idea of worshipping God with the heart and the mind. And consequently, as a Native and a Christian, yea much more as a sworn servant of the most High God, I cannot witness without interest and delight this improved state of things;—this approximation to that fully developed and perfect mode of serving God which is a worship *in spirit and in truth*. And although there is a peculiarity in the evangelical dispensation which it is my privilege to believe and to preach, that does not leave me at liberty to become a *member of your body*,—although, as a Christian, I can never presume to appear before the Majesty of Heaven without the intervention of that annointed Saviour, who shed his most precious blood for the emancipation of sinners, and has thereby become my Righteousness and Salvation, Sanctification and Redemption;—yet since I believe you are following the light you have already received, I feel it a privilege, as a *visitor*, to offer my feeble services for your growth and prosperity;—and my sincere prayer is, and shall ever continue to be, that the Giver of all good gifts may vouchsafe His blessing upon your proceedings, and communicate to your minds a fuller knowledge of Himself and His Will. For without His benediction nothing is strong, nothing is good —and without His grace none can know or understand the things that belong to their peace."—*Discourses read at the Theophilanthropic Society, p.* 44-47.

This movement professes to be "absolutely independent of all creeds." It cannot however long maintain this *nondescript* character. It cannot proceed far before it feels the necessity of looking for a more perfect exhibition of God's will and man's duty than can be collected from the phenomena of nature. The human species, it must be remembered, is not in our days what it was before the fall. It is not a mere statement of the being and attributes of God, or of our natural duties to Him that we need for our soul's welfare. Together with the *knowledge* of our obligations, we need the *power* of discharging them. This power must be sought for from other quarters than the book of nature. Hence the necessity of higher sanctions, higher gifts, higher assurances than the creation can supply. The members of the Theophilanthropic Society must feel this necessity as they advance. If no retrogression be allowed to throw them back in their career —if after such generous bursts of indignation against idolatry, and such an apparent dread of the vortex of pantheism, they can guard themselves against a lapse into the one and the other,—they must sooner or later reach a limiting point beyond which nature can give them no further direction;—where they must be at a stand-still if they do not seek for progressive instruction from above, or if they consider themselves too wise

to be further indoctrinated by the revelation of God's will. The human mind cannot however continue stagnant for any length of time. The movement must therefore either retrograde; or carry its originators to happier positions than they can as yet anticipate.

But why, it may be asked, all this prosy detail of the *transition-states* of the Hindu mind? Why detain the reader so long with accounts of sects and opinions, with which not one out of ten of those into whose hands our Review is likely to fall has any connection whatever? We shall conclude this paper by answering this question.

In the history of the Hindu mind we have the history of the *human* mind. The transitions from one state to another which India exhibits, are just those which we should expect from the efforts and speculations of unassisted reason. The gradual departure from primitive patriarchal traditions, was but the natural result of the confusion of tongues and the separation of the sons of men. The lapse into elemental idolatry and fire-worship, which the earliest Vedas testify, was the legitimate consequence of their forgetfulness of the revelations which Adam and Noah had received. Unwritten and unrecorded, these revelations soon fell into oblivion, or were but indistinctly remembered. Their faint recollections, however, contributed, together with the natural cravings of the human mind, to keep up a feeling of dependance upon something supernatural, and a longing after something unseen. What this object of their involuntary groanings was—or how it was to be attained—they either knew not,—or if they had ever learnt from primeval traditions—remembered not—understood not. They saw and felt however the elements constantly in operation around them, with forces and powers which they could not calculate or reduce to any physical principle as yet discovered. The solar and the lunar orbs—the greater and the lesser lights—daily revolved over their heads. The stars twinkled night after night—a few of which they perceived changed their positions in relation to the rest. It was natural that they should recognize in these, individually or collectively, the very object which their minds longed after, and tender to them the tribute of devotion and worship, which they felt they owed to some Being or other. And thus the adoration of the sun, moon, and stars, of fire, air, and water might naturally follow the first forgetfulness of original revelations.

But the mind has a tendency, as its powers are progressively developed, to reduce isolated points of faith and observation to

science. This too is evidenced in the transition which the Hindu theology underwent from the simple worship of the elements to systems of philosophy. New discoveries in the physical world, and the wider expansion of the intellectual faculties, suggested the suspicion that the tangible elements of fire and air and water could not be the great Being which their minds spontaneously longed after. There must be one superior to all visible and sensible substances. Philosophy commenced accordingly to correct the previous belief. But that belief was sanctified by the recollections of revered ancestors, and was a holy legacy bequeathed for a perpetual memorial of their devotion. The philosophers were greatly embarrassed—and felt their work to be one of no small delicacy. Different theories were invented, harmonizing their improved speculations with the ancient pyrolatry. That the philosophical theories under such peculiar circumstances should fail in the task proposed—or might in some instances prove a deterioration upon the earlier hereditary worship of the elements, was as natural, as in the case of the Brahmins it was an actual fact. And since every one had a right to speculate in his own way, philosophy might easily be, as we know it really was, divided into diversified *systems* and *schools.*

The era of Buddhism, supposing it to have been posterior to the first ages of Brahminism, (and its abounding more with *negations* than with *affirmations* shows it to be a departure from, or an improvement upon, some previously existing system)—is a striking evidence of the fact that human patience has its appointed limit,—beyond which it cannot be tried with impunity. The extreme pressure of sacerdotal outrages against individual liberty, perpetrated by Brahmins, secure in their long-continued enthronement in the hearts of their votaries, and confident of the popular inclination in their favour,—might well provoke the opposing energies of an indignant nation, and bring down thunders of reproaches upon spiritual tyranny.—Storms however soon blow over, and the elements are then reduced to greater calm than before. The ill-adaptation of Buddhism—of a category more of *negations* than of *affirmations*—to the spiritual wants of human nature, became more and more visible, and the priestly arrogance of the Brahmins was forgotten in the general craving after something practical,—something which might supply aliment to the famished soul. A reaction was the consequence in favour of the old religion, which, with all its faults, pretended to treat man as he required to be treated—a spiritual invalid. The sympathies of the people, ignorant of a better and a more substantial system, were

again turned towards the sons of Brahma. Unsuccessful rebellions tend eventually to strengthen the interests of royalty in the political world. The decay of heresy did the same service to the Indian hierarchy in the religious world. The Brahmins rose to greater favour than ever,—and carefully improved the opportunity thus presented. We find in the succeeding ages fuller developments of Brahminism than ever before. A pantheon better replenished—liturgies more expanded —sacrifices more bloody—ceremonies more multifold—occasional services more numerous and more dependant upon priestly functionaries—images and legends extended ad infinitum, were established as the bulwarks of Brahminism, which have since continued impregnable to foreign foes,—which have gathered strength in every succeeding age, and subsequently bidden defiance to the conquering sword itself of proselyting Mohammed. The Shacteyas, the Shaivas and the Vaishnavas,—the three great ramifications of the Pouranic mythology, however opposed to each other, have all equally reverenced the Brahmins; — and though among the modern Vaishnavas, the followers of Chaitanya, hereditary priesthood, except in the Goswami families, is not in high repute, yet they have never ventured to declare open war against the Brahmins, and have often winked at what they could not resist.

The movements among the *pure* Hindus and in the *Tuttwabodhini* Shabha are confined within such contracted circles that it is impossible to anticipate their future developments. They are also so intimately connected with extraneous causes—with "the introduction of the European sciences," and so evidently called forth as the last expiring efforts of Hinduism against "the doctrines of Christianity, so successfully promulgated by its teachers"—that they can scarcely be ranked with the other movements, which were owing purely to intrinsic causes.

The history of the Hindu mind may accordingly prove an interesting subject of speculation in every part of the world. It is a chronicle of the progressive developments of the human mind, unassisted by revelation,—and pourtrays at the same time the deficiencies and capabilities of unaided reason. To Indian readers, the history of Hindu opinions must be still more deeply interesting. It is the history of millions of their own neighbours. The Vedantists, the Pouranics, the Shacteyas, the Shaivas, the Vaishnavas exist at their own doors. To Christian speculators the struggles of the Indian intellect for spiritual light must prove a visible demonstration of the evangelical maxim that the full knowledge of our religious duties can only be derived from revelation;—that so long as India is not chris-

tianized, the past vicissitudes may be taken as omens for the future,—and that it is only in the life-giving faith and all-consoling hopes of the everlasting gospel that she can find *an anchor of the soul*—capable of securing her against being "tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait in deceive."

ART. V.—1. *Report of the Superintendent of Police*, 1842.

2. *Rambles and Travels of an Official, (Colonel Sleeman) in India.*

THE attention of the inhabitants of Bengal, but more especially of Calcutta, has been lately much invited to the state of the Police in the Lower Provinces, and it has been admitted by all parties that it is inefficient.

The report of the Superintendent of Police for the year 1842 (only just published) is a document which, if correct, fully bears out the opinion of the public. We say, if correct, because the Superintendent himself admits that many of the statements on which it is founded are not trustworthy. The Superintendent does not tell us upon what authority he arrives at this conclusion, but he here and there mentions conversations with private Natives, which have influenced his opinion, and we must therefore be content with his assertion.

True or not however, the report is startling, and it naturally leads us to enquire in what the inefficiency of the Police consists, and the causes of the inefficiency. Assuming the statements upon which the report is based to be correct, we at once see that the Police is insufficient to afford that protection to life and property which the inhabitants have a right to expect, and is incapable, after the perpetration of crimes, of collecting evidence sufficient to ensure the conviction of criminals.

There are in the provinces of Bengal and Behar, under the jurisdiction of the Superintendent of Police, 33 zillahs or districts; and we learn, from the epitome of offences ascertained by the Police to have been committed during the last six months of 1842 (vide page 81 of the Report,) that 28,147 crimes were committed, in which 48,875 persons were supposed to have been concerned, of whom 24,821 were arrested,—and that of them, 16,098 were convicted and punished, 6573 acquitted, and 1932 remained under trial at the end of the year.

In round numbers then it may be assumed that there are 60,000 offences in the year committed against the persons or property of the peaceable part of the community, and that consequently 300,000 persons (assuming 5 to a house) are annually placed in a state of agitation and alarm, owing to the inefficiency of the police. Nor does the alarm affect only the inhabitants of the house in which the offence is committed; the whole community is agitated by a feeling of insecurity, which is by no means allayed by the knowledge, that of 90,000 persons supposed to be concerned, 35,000 only have been convicted,—45,000 being left at large to repeat their depredations on the inhabitants on the first favorable opportunity.

The computed value of the property stolen during the last six months of 1842 (page 83 of the Report) amounts to Rs. 2,24,888-14-7, of which Rs. 61,394-11-11$\frac{1}{2}$ was recovered; and of that sum we observe that Rs. 23,024-12 was recovered in one zillah alone, Rs. 1829-1-3 only having in that zillah been unrecovered.

This we attribute to fortuitous circumstances; for in other zillahs the average amount recovered is only 10 per cent., and of that again 10 per cent. is by law allowed to the Police as a stimulus to exertion; so that the parties robbed recovered but little if any of the property stolen from them.

It is however, possible that both the number of offenders and the amount of property stolen is greatly exaggerated by the sufferers; the first with a view to give themselves imaginary consequence, the second to conceal their cowardice, by pretending to shew that resistance would have been in vain.

On the other hand the number of crimes ascertained to have been committed is probably only half of the number which actually occurred,—the sufferers wisely considering that it is better to rest with the loss they have suffered, than to lose the remainder of their property by calling down upon themselves a visitation from the Police.

We will now endeavour to ascertain the causes of the inefficiency of the Police, and will point them out as they appear to us honestly and fearlessly, as we are fully satisfied of the desire of the Government to apply a remedy.

The officers of Police of all grades are not selected from one particular caste or class of persons, but are taken at random from every caste and creed in the Company's territories. Mussulmans, Brahmans, Christians, and Domes are all employed, some within the district in which they were born, and some at a distance from it. Their inefficiency then cannot be traced to a particular class of men, for no particular class is employed; neither can it be traced to local connections, for many of the

Police are strangers to the country to which they are appointed, and have no localities to turn them from the paths of duty.

It is generally urged, that inadequacy of pay is the principal cause of the inefficiency of the Police, and of this doctrine Colonel Sleeman is a powerful advocate. He says, "These 'Thannadars, and all the public Officers under them, are 'all so very inadequately paid, that corruption among them 'excites no feeling of odium or indignation in the minds of 'those among whom they live and serve. Such feelings are 'rather directed against the Government that places them in 'situations of so much labor and reponsibility with salaries so 'inadequate, and thereby confers upon them virtually a kind 'of license to pay themselves by preying upon those whom 'they are employed ostensibly to protect. They know that 'with such salaries they can never have the reputation of being 'honest, however faithfully they may discharge their duties; 'and it is too hard to expect that men will long submit to the 'necessity of being thought corrupt without reaping some of the 'advantages of corruption." Again—"He who can suppose that 'men so inadequately paid, who have no promotion to look for-'ward to, and feel no security in the tenure of their office, and 'consequently no hope of a provision for old age, will be zealous 'and honest in the discharge of their duties, must be very im-'perfectly acquainted with human nature and with the motives by 'which men are influenced in all quarters of the world; but 'we are none of us so ignorant, for we all know that the same 'motives actuate public servants in India as elsewhere."

We are not of those who believe that inadequacy of pay is the principal cause of the inefficiency of the Police, though we have noticed with pleasure that previous to the publication of Colonel Sleeman's work, the salaries of some of the Darogahs had been raised so as to be equal to those of the lowest grade of Civil Native Judges, and to the highest salaries the Darogahs will rise by gradation.* If their having no promotion to look forward to were a cause of the inefficiency, it is one that is in the course of being removed. Insecurity in the tenure of their offices still exists, and this we shall notice presently.

There are cases doubtless in which the necessities of individual members of the Police have rendered them open to temptations by which they would not have been assailed had their pay been greater; but as a body they have not been altogether so

* While this sheet is passing through the press, we notice, with the greatest pleasure, that the pay of the body of Darogahs is to be doubled, of a portion of them trebled, and of another portion still, quadrupled.—Ed. C. R.

inadequately paid. They have been equally well paid with all other bodies of Native Officers in the employment of Government, and yet among them chiefly do we hear repeatedly of breach of trust, of connivance with thieves. The Jemadar of a Treasury Guard, for instance, on the Collector's Establishment, receives 8 rupees a month, and the Burkundazes 4 rupees each, and the Police Jemadar and Burkundazes receive the same; but when do we ever hear it asserted that the Treasury Guards habitually betray their trusts, or are in connivance with thieves. We have heard, on the contrary, of many instances in which they have resisted manfully, and not unfrequently successfully, when their posts have been attacked.

The salaries of the Darogahs have been raised to a level with those of the lowest grade of Native Judges, and the Thanna Mohurirs are equally well paid with the Subordinate Ministerial Officers of the Sudder Courts, and though among these latter we hear of individual instances of corruption, no one charges them as a body with habitual corruption.

The lowest grade of Police, the Chowkidars and Pykes, receive 3 rupees per mensem each man, and are equally well paid as the same class of men in the service of private individuals, and yet instances of betrayal of trust among the latter are rare, whilst amongst Natives their fidelity is proverbial.

The average salaries of the Police are quite equal to the average salaries paid to servants by private individuals, whose temptations to plunder are at least equal to those of the Police, whilst their opportunities are greater, and yet robberies by them are of rare occurrence.

Besides salary there are legal emoluments granted to the Police which are not granted to other Establishments. They are entitled by law to a commission of 10 per cent. upon the value of all property recovered by them, and may, where their exertions entitle them to it, obtain a special reward. We do not, therefore, think that the inefficiency of the Police, as a body, can be mainly attributed to inadequacy of pay. To what then can it be attributed, for we admit its existence?

The causes to us appear two fold. 1st. The demoralization and ignorance of the people; and 2nd. The defects of our own system of Police.

Under the native Government the Mofussil Police was at least as good as it is now, and yet it was worse paid. Its members were nominally paid by the Zemindars, but they were permitted to realize their salaries as they best could, and these were either not paid at all, or realized by cruelty and oppression.

They were also employed by the Zemindars in collecting their rents, or in making forays on their neighbours, or in persecuting such as fell under their displeasure; and thus trained and habituated to habits of extortion and oppression. The same body of men were continued under the English Government, the only alteration being that the Zemindars were made responsible for all crimes committed within the boundaries of their own estates. For crimes committed beyond their boundaries they were not responsible, and each therefore connived at the residence of thieves, who carried on their depredations within the boundaries of their neighbours. This responsibility suddenly ceased, and the landholders were declared responsible only in cases in which their connivance with the robbers should be fully proved. The control of the Police was from that time vested in the Government and its Officers, but the same body of men, the Policemen of the Zemindar, was retained; and being completely his creatures, continued to perform his orders. A few of these Policemen may, perhaps, still be found, while their sons and relations compose at the present day the body of the inferior Police.

The nomination of these men is still (which it ought not to be) vested in the Zemindar, and they are consequently as much bound to him by self-interest as ever; they cannot in fact with safety to themselves oppose his wishes. Bred up in ignorance, and staunch observers of the traditions of their forefathers, they as blindly perform the orders of their Zemindar now as they have heard their fathers did when he was their recognised head. From ignorance and custom, and sometimes also from attachment, where the old families still retain their own, the residents of the soil are equally under the control of the Zemindar as the inferior Police, and on the occurrence of a crime are either ignorant of or acquainted with the merits of the case as he directs. If a crime occur and the perpetrator be unknown, and the Landholder have a quarrel against any one, the whole village is bent by promises or intimidation to bring the crime home to him. The Zemindar perhaps himself gives notice of the crime at the thanna, the superior officers of the Police arrive, perjury and forgery are put in force by him, and the Police officers being totally misled, innocently forward a report to the magistrate in accordance with his wishes. If on the other hand the Zemindar is baffled by the superior penetration of the Police, and his plot is discovered, or if before their arrival the delinquent is able to appease him, the engines of forgery and perjury are turned upon the Police, and they

are sacrificed by some false but well authenticated story of oppression on their part in his stead. A crime has been reported and a victim must be found.

This is no overdrawn picture, but one of every day occurrence. And is it surprising, we ask, that the Police, men of like passions and education as the Zemindar, should in their own defence use similar weapons? This they do, and detection following, a cry with much justice, that the Police is a curse to the country. The superior officers of Police are supposed to have now the authority as the Zemindars used to have. The Zemindars used to harbour thieves on the payment of a douceur, with the understanding that they should not practise their profession within their limits; the Police do so now, and this not perhaps from any fellow feeling with the thieves, but from the knowledge that without compliance with this old established custom, so long sanctioned as to be now a point of honour, they could not retain their places. False charges would be brought against them either by the party whose bribe had been refused, or by members of the Police who had long been corrupted; for at every Thanna there are men who were once scrupulous, but having been themselves tumbled into the vortex of corruption, in their turn now corrupt others.

The chief remedy—apart from thoroughly moralising educational measures—for this state of things, it may be urged, would be the establishment of a healthier moral principle by the introduction of European settlers; and doubtless, if settlers could be obtained in large numbers so as to act as a check upon one another, much good might be effected. As it is, alas, cut off from all society with their equals, many of them become deeply infected with the plague raging around them, and even surpass the natives in cruelty and oppression.

Contaminated by daily intercourse with depraved natives, and forgetful of their God, they can only be distinguished from the Heathen by the color of their skin and their notorious open profligacy.

Do not let it be supposed that we have any wish to vilify the whole body of settlers, for such is not the case. We know that there are among them many honorable and upright gentlemen; and to their scorn and to the scorn of the public we are anxious to hold up those desperately wicked among them, who have made and continue to make the name of Planter as detestable in the Mofussil as the name of the Police. We have heard of many deeds illustrative of the immorality and wickedness of English settlers, committed oftentimes with impunity;

but the two following will be sufficient for the purpose; though to some of our readers they will not be new.

An Indigo Factory had long been established in a certain zillah, and had met with such signal success as to induce other settlers to go there also. One gentleman, however, took up his quarters so near the old established Factory as to be a source of annoyance to its owners; he was at first civilly desired to decamp, but as he had built his Factory on ground of which he had a lease in perpetuity from the Zemindar, he naturally demurred.

Petty quarrels arose between them. Charges and counter charges, some true, some false, were made, and with various success, before the magistrate; but the new-comer maintained his ground.

This was not calmly to be borne by men whose word in that part of the country had hitherto been law, and the annihilation of the Factory was determined on. The Police were summoned, and notice was given them of the intended outrage. Large bribes were given, and threats of vengeance held out, if any mention of the affair should reach the Magistrate's ear; and the night was fixed upon for the attack. Armed with clubs and spears, and provided with spades, pickaxes and baskets, a body of three hundred men silently and slowly wended their way to the doomed Factory in the dead of the night. Its occupants were fast asleep, and the English settler was seized in his bed. He and his servants were put in irons, and he was taken below to witness the demolition of his Factory.

The band was divided into three parties. The first collected every thing combustible and set fire to it. By the light of the fire the second party broke up the Factory with their spades and pickaxes; and the third carried away the materials in their baskets, and threw them into a deep nullah which ran about two hundred yards from the house.

As the morning dawned, the attacking party reached their own Factory, carrying with them their prisoners, whom they meant to detain till matters were finally adjusted. One servant, however, unperceived by the aggressors, had effected his escape and given information of the outrage to the Magistrate. The Police Darogah was desired to investigate the affair, and after consultation with the principal aggressor, boldly reported that there was not a word of truth in the statement; that he had moreover seen Mr. —— a *guest* at the house of the party charged, and that he also had affirmed to the falsehood of the statement. Dissatisfied with the report, the Magistrate summoned Mr. —— to make personal enquiries of him, and he was permitted to attend the

Court, in company however with the party charged. Face to face each fought his battle before the Magistrate, the one affirming that the outrage, as above detailed, had actually occurred, the other that it had not, and that Mr.—— had never had a Factory on the spot stated by him. Witnesses were summoned on both sides, but their statements were so conflicting that the Magistrate determined to proceed in person to the spot. The rains however set in, the country became flooded, and his departure was unavoidably postponed. Mr.—— went to Calcutta, and the other party returned to his Factory. Quietly and carefully was every vestige of the destroyed Factory removed even to the very foundations, the earth was smoothly levelled and neatly laid down with turf, and before the visit of the Magistrate the spot was covered by a dense grass jungle. After a personal inspection of the spot the Magistrate returned to his cutcherry fully satisfied that the charge was false.

The other tale we mean to tell will shew the Police to have been the sufferers, and is one among many instances we could give of the difficulties with which they are surrounded.

There was an Indigo Planter of very gentlemanly and winning manners, who chiefly resided at the Sudder Station, where he almost daily associated with the Judge and Magistrate,—the concerns of his Factory being to all appearance left to the care of his Gomastah or Steward.

Complaints occasionally were made to the Magistrate of acts of oppression on the part of this gentleman, which however were disproved; but as they increased in frequency, the Magistrate began to suspect that they might not have been so unfounded as he had imagined them to be, and he inwardly determined to visit the scene of the next alleged outrage. He had not long to wait. The gentleman was charged with having rooted up the crop of rice of a ryut, and to have forcibly sown the ground with Indigo, and the Police Darogah reported that the charge was true. There was now a fine opportunity for the Magistrate to see the state of things with his own eyes, and to test the probity of his Darogah, and he accordingly proceeded to the spot and pitched his tent on the contested field. The case was most clearly proved against the Indigo Planter, and he was duly summoned to answer the charge. He instantly obeyed the summons, and with gentle urbanity expressed his regret that the Magistrate should have been misled into such a wild-goose chase. The evidence was read over to him and his countenance fell, and he instantly admitted, that, though innocent, appearances were much against him, and that it would be difficult for him

to disprove the charge, since the parties acquainted with the case were of course tutored against him, as he and the Darogah (who was elsewhere on duty) had long been enemies.

Deeply did he seem to feel the awkwardness of his situation, but he requested the Magistrate, with a view to establish his innocence, that he would examine any uninterested parties who might accidentally pass the tent. To this the Magistrate agreed, and very shortly afterwards a party of villagers were seen crossing the plain. The Magistrate's Chupprassis were despatched to bring them to the tent, but so great was their alarm that they were with difficulty seized. They gave their evidence very reluctantly, admitted that the Indigo Planter was oppressive, but that the present charge was false,—the field of contention having never to their knowledge been cultivated by the complainant. The complaint was of course dismissed, and the Darogah punished for a false report, while the Indigo Planter was received by the Magistrate into as much favor as ever. At length, in a fit of inebriation he confessed, "that he had done the Beak" by causing a well suborned party of witnesses to cross the plain, so soon as he should, according to the preconcerted plan, appear at the tent door in company with the Magistrate.

But surely, it will be said, the enlightened natives, those who have been educated at our public Seminaries, will come forward and stop the plague. Alas no; they may not, 'tis true, connive with thieves and robbers, but bribery and oppression they still practise. Their nature is unchanged; they can read and write and speak English fluently, but they are the same, nay in some respects worse than their ancestors.

They have copied the vices of Englishmen, but are ignorant of their virtues. And why is this? They have been well educated in History and Geography, Natural Philosophy, and Mathematics, and surely they must be better than those who have not had similar instruction. Such will be the first reflection; but a deeper consideration of the subject will prove its unsoundness. 'Tis true their studies will have given them some slight knowledge of nature and of nature's God, but that is all—their own books even may teach them something of all this—their own books may teach them as much secular morality, as may be calculated to make them passable members of society, as all the lessons inculcated in the Schools. We are here speaking only of the Government Schools, and in them instruction in sound, vigorous, practical morality is wholly lost sight of. Sufficient knowledge is imparted to the scholars to make them despise their own system of Theology; and that, in all, having broken down the barriers to vice imposed by their own religious prejudices and superstitions, the

Government has not courage to offer them in their stead the ennobling doctrines of Christianity. It fears to introduce the Bible lest its introduction should deter the scholars from attending school, lest thereby our English literature should be closed to the people. We do not think that such would be the case. There is a spirit of enquiry abroad among all classes, and the doctrine of our own religion is a point to which the attention of the natives is particularly awakened. So little do they comprehend it now that the generality of the common people, more especially in the Moffussil, believe Christianity to consist in eating beef and pork, and drinking an unlimited quantity of wine.

The fear of preventing the attendance of scholars is, we believe, one of the chief reasons usually alleged for not introducing the Bible into the Schools, and that reason has now ceased to have force. The education minute of Sir H. Hardinge has declared that, of two equally qualified candidates for public employment, the preference shall be given to the Alummi of the schools. And we unhesitatingly affirm that the introduction of the Bible will not deter the natives from sending their children to them,—from availing themselves of the most direct and certain road to the highest offices of the state.

We may not want the Government Schools to be converted into Mission houses, to render it imperative upon the Masters to endeavour to convert the scholars to Christianity; but what we do want is, that at least our Christian system of morality, the highest in the world, should be offered to the consideration of the scholars in lieu of their own, which, as we have before remarked, they are imperceptibly taught to trample under foot. Until the Bible is introduced, until the leaven of Christianity is worked up among the masses of the people, until their moral degradation, one of the causes of the bribery and corruption of the Police, is removed, we are fully convinced that we may look in vain for its efficiency as a body. If bribery, corruption, oppression, and subornation of perjury are not rife among the rural population of Bengal, why is it, we ask, and let each man's conscience answer the question, for we cannot—Why is it, we ask, that though almost every man accuses his neighbour of these crimes, few can be found with sufficient moral courage to venture upon prosecution—to cast the first stone?

In our opinion it is as unmanly as ungenerous of the present body of the people to upbraid the Police with bribery and corruption, as it is for a man to taunt a woman with a want of chastity, whom he has himself seduced from the paths of virtue. Once let the members of the native community be taught to shun him who has been openly guilty of perjury, forgery, bribery

or fraud, and the Police will be found more equal to the duties entrusted to them.

We have endeavoured to point out why we consider the demoralization of the people to be one grand cause of the inefficiency of the Police, and we will now turn our attention to the *second* cause, *the defects of our own system*,—and to enable our readers to understand them, we will slightly sketch it as it at present exists.

On the receipt of information by the Darogah of the occurrence of a heinous crime, he is required to submit a notice thereof to the magistrate, and proceed himself to the spot to hold a preliminary investigation. On his arrival he sends for the prosecutor or aggrieved party, takes concisely his deposition and the deposition of his witnesses, and makes such enquiries as may appear to him proper; and, if the case be proved, forwards his proceeding together with the defendant to take his trial before the magistrate. In cases of simple burglary and theft the Darogah is forbidden to hold any investigation unless a petition is presented to him by the injured party, or he be ordered to do so by the magistrate.

The witnesses ought to be bound down to appear at the Magistrate's Court on a certain day, but as they would never do so voluntarily from the dread of detention at the Magistrate's Court, they are usually apprehended and forwarded under charge of a Police officer. Arrived at the Sudder station, the deposition of the prosecutor and his witnesses, the defence of the prisoner and the deposition of his witnesses are taken at length, and the case is disposed of either by the magistrate acquitting or sentencing the prisoner himself, or by committing him for trial to the Sessions Court. If he disposes of the case himself and punishes the prisoner, an Appeal will lie to the Sessions Judge, provided it be made within one month. If however he passes a Sentence of Acquittal, his order is final. If the case be committed for trial to the Sessions Judge, a day is fixed for the trial, and the parties are a third time bound down to attend to give their evidence. If the Sessions Judge awards punishment, an Appeal from his decision lies to the Nizamut Adawlut, in certain cases, provided it be made within three months. If on the other hand a Sentence of Acquittal be passed, his order is final. If any informality appears in cases in which punishment has been awarded, or the Court of Nizamut Adawlut is of opinion that a sufficiently searching investigation into the merits of the case has not been held, it is returned for re-investigation, and the prosecutor and his witnesses are a fourth time summoned to repeat their evidence *de novo*. It may even be necessary to re-

examine them a fifth or a sixth time, but this is an extreme case. In all these Courts the conduct of the Police is rigidly enquired into. If the Magistrate is of opinion that any member of it has misbehaved, he has the power of suspending or dismissing him at once,—his order however being subject to an Appeal to to the Superintendent of Police. If, on the other hand, either of the Superior Courts, is of opinion that any of them have misbehaved, it can only record its opinion for the information and orders of the Magistrate; or, in extremely bad cases, report the circumstances for the final orders of the Superintendent of Police.

As a check, each upon the other, the Darogah is required at the end of every month to submit a statement to the Magistrate, shewing the number of crimes ascertained to have been committed within his jurisdiction (this information being required to be furnished to him by the Zemindar or his Agents) the estimated number of offenders concerned, the actual number apprehended, the result of his preliminary investigation, the estimated value of the property stolen, the actual amount recovered, and the number of cases still under investigation, together with a concise report of the proceeding held in them by him. These statements are entered into the body of a statement, prepared by the Magistrate, who adds to them the result of the trials thereon held by him, which he submits to the Sessions Judge. The Sessions Judge, after receiving them, and examining any cases entered therein, which he may think proper to call for, forwards them to the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, together with the result of any trials held by him either in original or in Appeal, where they are all again scrutinized, and are ultimately made the basis of a Report to Government. Quarterly, half-yearly, and annual statements are similarly submitted, with the view of shewing at a glance the exact amount of crime and the state of the Police at any given period of the year. Upon these statements depend the characters of all the officers concerned.

Copies of the Magistrate's statements are also submitted to the Superintendent of Police, and on them is based the report now before us.

But before we state our objections to this system, which however chiefly lie against the statements, we will consider the mode in which the Offices of Magistrate are filled and paid, which is we think highly objectionable, and we earnestly hope to attract attention to the circumstance. A reference to the Register of the Civil Service (compiled by Ram Chunder Das) will shew that an Officer is deemed qualified to act as Magistrate after he he has served an apprenticeship of three years, though the average standing of Magistrates is five years, while some few are above

that standing; and yet no one is considered fit to officiate as Collector till he has at least served an apprenticeship of seven years, the average standard being ten years. If a Magistrate, after two or three years' service, is considered a good officer, he is promoted to a Collectorship, and the office is again filled up by some inexperienced stripling. And why is this? Are the duties of a Collector's Office so much more onerous than those of the Magistrate? Is his power of doing injury so much greater as to require more matured intellect and experience? We answer, no. Intricate landed questions often come before the Collector, but the final decision does not rest with him; he merely prepares a report upon the case and submits it to the Commissioner, who in his turn submits it to the Board of Revenue, whose final orders the Collector is compelled to enforce. His power of doing injury through inexperience, though great, is less than that of a Magistrate, and is always reparable, while that caused by a Magistrate is not so. What reparation can be made to the man who, though innocent, has been branded as a felon, whose family has been dishonored?—None. A Collector may imprison a person wrongfully as a defaulter, but he is not thereby dishonored, for poverty is no crime, and he has the power of recovering damages on his release in a Civil Court, should he have been wrongfully imprisoned.

The only reason to be assigned is, that the Court of Directors have been pleased to give greater salaries to, and to require more experience from, those to whom the collection of the Revenue is entrusted, than to the Magistrates, who are employed in defending the people and their property; but surely this is an erroneous principle.

If the Magistracy were efficient, there would be a great probability that the Police would be so also, and when there is security for property there is a disposition to accumulate it. If the population were sure that they could enjoy them, they would, instead of burying their riches in the ground, collect around them articles of luxury and elegance which are never now to be met with; and these being collected, the labors of a Collector of Revenue would be comparatively light. He could always seize the property, and by its sale realize his demands.

We do not grudge the Collectors their salaries, but we should like to see the Magistrates put upon the same footing.—We should like to have two grades of Collectors and two of Magistrates, the salaries of the highest grade in each being equal, and this would enable the Government to have men of some experience to control the Police. When it is remembered, that if a Magistrate through inexperience acquits a guilty person he

cannot be again tried; that a Magistrate is vested with the power of inflicting corporal punishment, a punishment from which an appeal is unavailing; that all classes of society combine to mislead him; that he is vested with the immediate control and the power of suspending and dismissing the Police Officers, many of whom were appointed before he was born; surely it must be admitted that experience in a Magistrate is indispensably necessary to the due administration of Justice, and to the efficiency of the Police. But to return to the system of control.

To the mode of trial we have no objection to offer, though we must regret that the incapacity or inexperience of the Judicial Officers should render a fourth or even a fifth investigation necessary, for this is a principal cause of the distaste exhibited by the Natives to our Courts. The distance of most places from the Sudder Station, where the trials are ordinarily held, is highly objectionable, and is we know a great incentive to the people to conceal crime and baffle the Police; but as the Government are aware of the defect, and are striving to remedy it by the appointment of Deputy Magistrates, a bare mention of the fact is all that is necessary. When a sufficient number of qualified officers of the description are procured, "the interposition of officers between the Thannadars and the Magistrates, armed with Judicial powers to try minor cases," as recommended by Colonel Sleeman, will doubtless be made.

The insecurity of office is considered by Colonel Sleeman as a great cause of inefficiency, and in this opinion we heartily concur. No respectable Native will accept an Office from which he knows he may be removed in a fit of irritation, and those appointed at the present day are for the most part the lowest of the low. They accept office for the sole purpose of filling their pockets as speedily as possible, and if detected and dismissed, hurry away to another district where their delinquencies are unknown. Little care is taken in the appointment of Darogahs, nor indeed is the field of selection large, and in few instances is security, the means contemplated by the Government for ensuring respectability, demanded.

We would not take away the power of suspension and dismissal of the Police Officers from a Magistrate, but we would take care that it should be exercised with discretion. We would extend to the Police the same protection as is extended to the, Native Judges. We would in extreme cases allow of suspension but we would have the reasons reported for the immediate confirmation of the Superintendent of Police. Where the reasons for suspension are not urgent, or the Darogahs or Mohurirs are deemed fit persons to be dismissed, we would have the dismissals

sanctioned by the Superintendent of Police before the dismissal take place.

It remains for us to notice the Statement system, and we will then bring this article to a close.

These Statements if rightly used are we think admirably calculated to answer the purpose intended. We say rightly used, for their use is perverted and they are made the source of much evil. They are intended to ensure regularity, activity, and efficiency among all classes, by shewing clearly and distinctly that each Officer has done and is doing his duty; and they are made instead the sources of dishonesty, inefficiency, and neglect by being considered as proofs that duties have been neglected. If for instance a Dacoity has occurred and the Police Darogah has been unable to trace the offenders, the offence having perhaps been committed only two days before the end of the month, the bare crime is entered in the Statements, but the column of apprehensions blank. Blank too become the faces of the Magistrate, the Sessions Judge, the Superintendent of Police, and the Judges of the Nizamut Adawlut; and as all consider erroneously that the Statement is final, all agree that the Police is worthless. Occasionally they vent their spleen one upon another by hinting at insufficiency of control somewhere: but as neither is willing to believe that the alleged incapacity rests with himself, the taunt is handed on from one to the other till it bursts in accumulated fury upon the heads of the Police. A Perwannah or order is issued to the Darogah informing him that unless he can apprehend the criminals within a given time he will be dismissed as incapable; and a futile threat, and so known to be by the Police, is sometimes added, that he will be worked upon the roads with labor and irons.

Now a Dacoity or a well contrived robbery is not always to be sifted to the bottom in the course of a week or even in a month: but sifted it must be in some fashion, and the crime brought home to some one within the given period or the Police Officer is ruined—his appointment is taken from him. Failing in discovering the right parties the Darogah casts his eyes around for suspicious characters, or for persons for some reason or other obnoxious to himself, and weaves around them such a web of false evidence, that the victims, completely entangled and seeing no road to escape, throw themselves as they suppose upon the clemency of the Courts, and confess themselves guilty of the crimes of which they are accused. The next month's Statements do not go down blank, and all the controlling officers from the Magistrate to the Nizamut are delighted. The Darogah is extolled to the skies, and receives perhaps a pecuniary

reward, and he repeats the same fraud again and again, until he is either convicted or raised to the highest Office in his Department.

That an innocent person should confess himself to be guilty of an heinous offence, will be to many incredible, but instances are by no means rare. Some persons are induced to confess by the promise of a large reward, measures being understood to be taken to prove their innocence ; others confess from the fear of maltreatment, and others from ignorance of the consequences,—they being told that no injury will ensue to them,—while a few confess with the view of extorting money from their families and connections who pay both them and the Police large bribes to conceal a circumstance which would otherwise entail disgrace upon them.

We will mention an instance of the first description of confession which is one of several within our own knowledge. A Darogah reported that a murder had occurred, but that he was quite unable to obtain a clue to the murderers as no one in the village where the crime was perpetrated was acquainted with the deceased. The Magistrate, suspecting the Darogah to be guilty of roguery or inefficiency, informed him, that if he omitted to send in the perpetrator within ten days he was to consider himself as suspended and to present himself at his Court as soon as possible. Being an honest man the Darogah did present himself and stated that he had used all the justifiable means in his power to discover the murderers but without success. The Darogah was dismissed from his Appointment and a Mohurir of the Magistrate's Court was deputed forthwith to prosecute the inquiry, with the due intimation that if successful in obtaining the conviction of the guilty parties he should be appointed to the vacant Darogahship. He too was unsuccessful, but as such a chance of an appointment might never again occur, he offered a hundred Rupees reward to any one who would confess the crime. Strange as it may seem two applicants were speedily found, and to ensure the silence of both, the reward was to be divided between them. A story was immediately concocted and circumstances introduced into it by the wily Mohurir which would admit of corroboration by the inhabitants of the village. The confessions were duly made before and attested by competent persons ; the circumstances artfully introduced were corroborated by some respectable people; and the case, complete in all its parts, was transmitted together with the prisoners to the Magistrate, before whom they again repeated their confessions, the Mohurir informing them that until that was done they had not earned the promised reward.

Before the Sessions Court the Prisoners denied that they had made any confession at all, and stated that the heads of the village had written some papers which they had made them sign, but that they (the prisoners) were wholly innocent of the contents. To prove the statement they cited a number of witnesses whom it would be necessary to summon through their friend the Mohurir now installed in the office of Darogah, and who were by him to be properly instructed in the evidence they were to give, but all declared that they had heard the prisoners make the confession imputed to them, and were wholly ignorant of the charge made against the heads of the village. The prisoners were convicted and were sentenced to death by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, but on learning their fate made a fair statement of the roguery practised by them; and as very luckily for them they had chanced to be in confinement in the Civil Jail on the day on which the murder occurred, they obtained their acquittal.

If on the other hand the Darogah be unable to catch the real delinquents, and is too conscientious to resort to torture and perjury, he is ruined. Laughed at by the rural population around him for his scruples, branded as inefficient by the officers of Government, he keeps out of the way till his inefficiency is forgotten; and when "tried once more," his principles having been discarded, he is found to be a "very valuable public officer."

These Statements, as we have before remarked, we consider to be excellent, if rightly used, and as we have shewn the abuses they lead to we will state what we consider to be the right use of them. Their object, as we conceive, is to shew that each officer is doing his duty, and not only that, but how he is doing it. They are indeed the test of efficiency, but we would put less stress than is now put upon the figured part of them, and more upon the explanatory. If a Dacoity occured in the month of May, for instance, we would not have the Darogah or the Magistrate blamed, because the column of apprehensions is blank in that month, and also in June, or even in July; but we would have a full explanation of the measures taken towards the apprehension of the guilty parties, and if they appeared judicious, though unsuccessful, we would praise rather than blame, for success is not within the certain grasp of any one. We would not either blame a Magistrate or Darogah, as is now done, simply because it may appear that many prisoners are under trial either in jail or on bail, or many cases undisposed of, at the end of a month, quarter, or year; but we would have a full explanation of the reasons of delay, and if they are satisfactory, we would give as much credit to the officers before whom several cases are pending,

as we would to those who have disposed of all their cases. We would even look with suspicion upon those whose files were blank, and satisfy ourselves that their duties had been performed; that they were not blank for the sole view of obtaining praise as active and efficient officers.

One word more, and we have done. We notice that the Superintendent of Police is disposed to blame the Magistrates for not directing enquiries to be made into petty thefts and robberies, but were they to do so, the spirit of the laws would be violated. Our laws and our system of Government are in advance of the people, and it was this fact which led Lord W. Bentinck to pass the law forbidding the Police to investigate cases without a petition from the injured party. If they are satisfied to put up with their loss, the aggrieved parties argue, why should the Magistrate torment himself? If we saw any likelihood of getting the offender punished, of gratifying our revenge, we would ourselves come forward; but as this cannot be the case, why should we be subjected to the unnecessary oppression of a visitation of the Police? The object of having all crimes reported does not, and will not, for years to come present itself to their minds, and we hope to find the next report free from these remarks.

The Superintendent of Police also calls for a law to put down the Lattyal or Club system. But why? because he has overlooked the provisions of Section 21, Regulation 12 of 1807,—has disregarded the relation of servant and master. Let him enforce the first law which requires each person to register every description of guard,—for the Planters themselves call these Lattyal Guards maintained for the protection of their property,—and there will be no difficulty in enforcing the second.

It is not the passing of new laws or the voting of a larger expenditure that is chiefly necessary to render the Police efficient; what is mainly required, is, that the people be morally and religiously instructed, that existing laws be more efficiently administered, and existing expenditure be re-distributed and directed into the right channels. The remedies are within the hands of the Local Government, and if they are not applied, we at least have done our duty in calling its attention to them.

ART. VI.—1. *Statement submitted by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, relative to the Administration of Criminal Justice, in the Territories subject to the Government of Bengal, during the year* 1843.

2. *Statements submitted by the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, relative to the Administration of Civil Justice, in the Territories subject to the Government of Bengal, during the year* 1843.

THE ignorance which prevails in England, even among the educated classes of society, of the institutions by which the British administration is conducted in India among a hundred millions of people, has long been a subject both of surprise and regret. It appears scarcely credible, that, while the most accurate and minute information regarding the people and government of the United States is so generally diffused in England, though they have ceased to form an integral part of the Empire, the British Government in the East should be so little understood, while it still forms the brightest jewel of the British Crown. This ignorance, which has latterly been rendered the more palpable by the numerous allusions made to India by public writers at home, since the Cabul tragedy created an interest in the affairs of this country, it is not difficult to account for. Two generations have passed away since the mechanism of this government was rendered familiar to the public in England through the national interest which the trial of Hastings produced, and the matchless eloquence of those who conducted it. Just as that great event began to fade from general recollection, we were plunged into a war of unexampled magnitude, with the most formidable opponent we had ever encountered, which lasted for a quarter of a century, and so completely engrossed attention as to leave no room in the public mind for the affairs of a distant possession, which was moreover regarded rather as the estate of a close corporation than as a portion of the national domains. The abolition of the Company's monopoly, and the opening of India to the enterprize of all merchants, has latterly begun to draw a considerable share of public attention to its affairs. The establishment of a regular monthly communication by steam between the two countries has served to deepen the interest thus excited. But these excitements are too recent to have produced their full effect. It is too early to expect in the readers or editors of newspapers that acquaintance with Indian subjects which must be the growth of time. The editor of an English journal is also obliged to keep himself up to the level of the multiplied transac-

tions of the civilized world; and he has comparatively little leisure for the study of Indian topics. To add to his difficulty the information which he requires is scattered through numerous volumes, which he has no time to wade through. The great majority of the works, of which India is the subject, appear to be intended rather for the benefit of those who are familiar with it, than for the instruction of those who have almost every thing to learn.

The Government of India has now resumed the communication of public documents to the Indian public. The Reports of Committees appointed to investigate questions of general interest; the official returns made by the officers employed in the judicial, the fiscal, and the magisterial departments, together with the statements regarding the finances of the country, are again laid open unreservedly to public view. Government, having given the benefit of a liberal education to the Natives, no longer seeks to withhold from them that statistical information which may enable them to understand the condition and prospects of their own country. Nothing can be more honorable to the public authorities than this free communication of facts relative to the administration, which in many instances only serve to point out its defects; and nothing can be more calculated to give the people confidence in their Rulers, or satisfaction in the institutions under which they live. These papers give the most accurate data regarding the general government in all its branches, and furnish that information, which would in some measure meet the wants and wishes of those who are desirous of understanding Indian subjects. In the following pages we have therefore endeavoured to bring into one point of view, and in a condensed form, the details scattered through the various publications placed at the head of this article. We have sought to relieve the weariness inseparable from such dry details, by an occasional reference to the previous history of particular branches of the administration; and we have ventured to offer some remarks on those prospective improvements which appear both desirable and probable. But our main object has been to present a clear representation of the machinery of the Bengal Government, to explain to those to whom the subject is new, the various institutions which have been created and matured by British statesmen in India, for the security of life and property, the maintenance of individual rights, the preservation of the peace, as well as the sources of the public revenue, and the instrumentality by which it is collected.

At the last renewal of the Charter, the constitution of the Government of India was subjected to various modifications, some

of which were of the deepest importance, and have exercised no little influence on the character and popularity of the administration. The power of legislation was withdrawn from the Governor and Council at the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and lodged in the Legislative Council of India, which was at the same time vested with the most extensive authority. It was empowered to legislate for the Crown Courts, which had before this period been always independent of, and occasionally in opposition to, the Company's government. It was also entrusted with the delicate but necessary task of revising Acts of Parliament passed in reference to India, in every case in which they appeared to require modification. The Charter likewise placed the two minor Presidencies in a state of as complete subordination, on all political and financial questions, to the supreme Council as the Presidency of Fort William had been; and it gave that Council an invidious control over their expenditure, which has been a source of constant irritation. By its provisions the Presidency of Bengal was detached from the Government of India, and broken up into two divisions, those of Calcutta and Agra. The former embraced the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Cuttack; the latter, all the ceded and conquered provinces in the north-west; and these two divisions of the Presidency were to be administered, in the one case by a Lieutenant-Governor, in the other by a Governor,—generally the Governor-General without the aid of a Council, which, however, was continued in the Governments of Madras and Bombay. It is to the Government of Bengal, as defined by this partition, that our subsequent remarks have reference.

It embraces the provinces which were brought under our political control by the battle of Plassey, and the internal administration of which was transferred to us by the Imperial grant of the Dewanny in 1765. These are the provinces which formed the nucleus of that Empire which now stretches from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya, and the influence of which may be said to be commensurate with the limits of Asia. Bengal includes the provinces in which the people have been longest accustomed to our administration, and have been most fully able to judge of its merits and disadvantages. To Bengal and Behar was annexed in 1803, the province of Cuttack, which we wrested from the Mahrattas, half a century after they had conquered it from the Mahomedans. The provinces to which this paper refers are by far the most wealthy and productive in the whole empire. It is from the resources of the Gangetic valley alone that Government is furnished with any surplus funds; that it obtains the sinews of war, and is enabled to clear

off the debts it had contracted. Of the upper and lower division of this Valley, it is the lower, or that comprised in the Government of Bengal, which has been the mainstay of the public finances. Though it does not comprise more than a tenth of the territory subject to the British crown in India, it yields *two-fifths* of the revenue. The inhabitants are distinguished by their ingenuity, their industry, and their wealth. In no other portion of the empire, is so large a body of men to be found possessed of such extensive property, both landed and personal. Throughout these Provinces, the general Code of Laws and Regulations passed by successive Governments, from the year 1793, is in full operation. Hence they are usually designated the Regulation provinces, to distinguish them from certain other provinces more recently acquired, and lying on the confines, which are administered by officers selected generally from the ranks of the army for their acquaintance with the vernacular tongue, and their supposed aptitude for civil business. Into these non-Regulation provinces the Company's Regulations have not been introduced, owing to the rude and backward state of the inhabitants. The administration, however, is conducted in the spirit, and as far as possible after the model, of the Regulations; but a large discretion is left with the presiding officers to dispense with the letter of the law, whenever the claims of equity and justice seem to require it. These Provinces comprise Assam, Arracan, the Tenasserim Provinces, the tributary Mehals of Cuttack, the little districts of Cachar, the Hill station of Darjeeling, and the provinces lying to the South West of Bengal, and inhabited in part by the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, who possessed the land before the introduction of Hindooism, and have never received its yoke.

Besides this division of the Presidency into Regulation and non-Regulation Provinces, the public service is farther divided into two classes, the Covenanted and Uncovenanted. The former includes the Civil Servants appointed by the Court of Directors, who complete their studies at Hayleybury, and enter into *covenants* with the home Government. They are appointed generally to the Presidency of Fort William, and after passing an examination in the College of Fort William, are allotted by the Government of India to the Agra or the Bengal Division. The number employed in this latter division exceeds by about eighty-one those on the former establishment. Their number may now be taken at 447; and the entire amount of their allowances, at 78,67,475 Rs.—£786,747—rather less than an

average of £2000 sterling a-year. This sum, however, is unequally distributed among the whole body, as the following calculation will shew. In 1842

47	received	below	500 Rs.		
36	,,	from	500	to	1000 Rs.
64	,,	,,	1000	,,	1500
42	,,	,,	1500	,,	2000
51	,,	,,	2090	,,	2500
50	,,	,,	2500	,,	3000
28	,,	,,	3000	,,	3500
17	,,	,,	3500	,,	4000
20	,,	,,	4000	,,	4500
3	,,	,,	4500	,,	5000
1	received		8360		
1	,,	,,	10,450		

The Uncovenanted servants consist of those Europeans, East Indians and Natives who are engaged by the local Government without reference to the Court of Directors; and their allowances are fixed on a lower standard, as their responsibilities are, generally speaking, of an inferior class. The original appointment to the Civil Service is vested exclusively in the Directors; but after the arrival of a Civilian in India, and his introduction to the public service, his promotion depends entirely on the local Government; no instance is known of an interference by the Directors in the distribution of patronage among this body in India.

The executive Government of Bengal is administered by the Governor or Deputy-Governor, aided by One Secretary and two Under-Secretaries. The duties annexed to it embrace the entire control of the Civil, Magisterial, and Police branches of the administration; of the Land Revenues; of the Salt and Opium monopolies; of the Abkaree or Excise on Spirits; of the Eclesiastical, Marine, and Steam Departments, as well as that of Public Instruction and the Post Office. It is also charged with the management of the Ultra-Gangetic settlements of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore. With the Legislative, the Military and Political Departments it has no connection; they belong exclusively to the province of the general Government. The duties which are thus thrown on the Government of Bengal have been supposed to exceed those which devolve on the uniiylitGovernment of Madras and Bombay, in which the resp onsibted of deliberation is shared by two distinct Councils, and the labor of action is distributedamong seve usral burea

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In reference to the finances, however, the functions of the Bengal Government are strictly administrative. The funds collected through its instrumentality, are at the entire disposal of the Government of India, and are expended according to the arrangements laid down by it ; and which can be modified only by its authority. The Governor of Bengal can make no alteration in the allowances of the public servants; he cannot establish a new school, or augment the pay of a Darogah to the extent of a Rupee, without a vote of the Council of India. But in the internal management of the whole of the administration, the Governor of Bengal is unfettered by the necessity of any reference to the Government of India. The vast patronage of the Covenanted and Uncovenanted Service is at his absolute disposal; and in the exercise of discipline, any appeal from his decision lies to the Court of Directors and not to the Governor-General in Council. He is constrained, however, by the most stringent injunctions to forward every petition of appeal against his own proceedings to the Home authorities.

Although the Military department is altogether distinct from the Government of Bengal, this sketch of the administration would be incomplete if we were to abstain from all reference to it. It reflects the highest credit on our administration, that during the last forty years it has not been found necessary to call out the Military in aid of the Police in Bengal or Behar except in a single case, and this solitary instance of military interference arose out of the outrages of a body of fanatic Mahomedans under Teetoo Meer, and not from any resistance of fiscal exaction or official oppression. The number of troops at this time cantoned in the populous provinces of Bengal among twenty-eight millions of people does not exceed 11,000 Native troops and about 1500 Europeans. The tranquillity of the whole province of Cuttack is maintained by a single Regiment, and the removal of it would give the Commissioner little disquietude. The troops in Behar, English and Native, amount to about 9000; but this large number, so disproportionate to its size and population, is rendered necessary, not by the prevalence of any spirit of disaffection in that province, but by the large army of the Nepaul Government on its Northern frontier, and by the menacing attitude which that Court has occasionally assumed when the British empire in the East was supposed to be in danger. If no larger military force was maintained than was necessary to preserve internal peace and to overawe opposition, in the two provinces of Bengal and Behar, they would be found to yield a larger surplus revenue than any other country in the world. After paying for the costly machinery of a Europaen

Government, they would yield a nett income of four millions sterling a-year.

These provinces are divided into *twenty-nine* Zillahs; of which *nineteen* are in Bengal proper, in which Bengalee is the language of the cradle and the Court; *seven* in Behar, in which the Oordoo language prevails; and *three* in Cuttack, in which the Ooriya language is spoken. The usual Covenanted officers in a district are the Civil and Session Judge with a salary of 30,000 Rs. a-year; a Collector with 23,000 Rs. *per annum*, except in one or two districts in which the salary does not exceed 18,000 Rs.; the Magistrate, whose pay has recently been reduced, under specific orders from home, to 10,800 Rs. a-year: and a Civil Surgeon on a salary of 3600 annually. There are also in the various Zillahs *eleven* Joint-Magistrates and Deputy-Collectors on a salary of 8400 Rs. each; and the Covenanted Assistants, as soon as they are emancipated from College and begin their apprenticeship in the public service, receive 4800 Rs. In the districts of Dacca, Sylhet, and Chittagong, as well as in the three divisions of Cuttack, the office of Magistrate is united with that of Collector, and the officer receives a salary of from 24,000 to 28,000 Rs. These two offices are still united in Burdwan and West Beerbhoom, but the allowances are more limited. It should also be mentioned that, with the view of promoting the efficiency of the Police, and the convenience of the people, in *seven* instances smaller districts have been detached from those which were found to be unwieldy. The officer who presides in these minor districts is styled a Joint-Magistrate and Deputy-Collector, and his salary varies from 12,000 to 18,000 Rs. annually; but the administration of Civil Justice in them is subordinate to the districts from which they have been separated for the object of Criminal jurisdiction. These solitary stations, which are among those least coveted by the service, contain but two Covenanted officers, the Magistrate and the Doctor.

Before we proceed to detail the nature of those establishments through which the civil and criminal laws are administered, and the public revenue is collected, it appears advisable to glance at their origin and progression. For them we are originally indebted to the genius of Warren Hastings, to whose extraordinary merits as a statesman, adequate justice has never yet been rendered. Clive created the British Empire in the East; and Hastings created its institutions. In 1765, Clive obtained the grant of the Dewanny; which transferred to us all the powers of civil government through the three Soobahs. But, owing in some measure to his dread of the effects of a sudden and violent change, and in some measure also to his entire ignorance of the

state of the country, and of the mode in which the internal administration had been conducted, he left the management of the civil, criminal, and fiscal departments as he found them, in the hands of the Nabob's Ministers, and limited the duties of our Government to the receipt of revenue, and maintenance of order and quiet through its military power. This was that scheme of a double Government, forced on him by the exigency of the times, which has been repeated by his successors in other parts of India. without the same excuse, and given rise to such unexampled misery. By it, the power of oppression in its most terrific form is enstrusted to men, pre-eminent above all other Asiatics for the abuse of power, while the remotest chance of resistance is effectually taken from the people by the presence of our forces. The consequence of this double Government as established by Clive was, that civil justice was openly bought and sold; the roads were rendered impassable by highwaymen; the Company's exchequer was kept empty, and the most extensive alienations of the land revenue were unblushingly made by the natives entrusted with the collection of it, to the permanent injury of the public interests. After this flagitious and wasteful plan had been tried for four or five years, it was found impossible to carry on the Government any longer under it, and the Directors resolved to "stand forth as Duan;" that is, to take the management of the country into their own hands, and administer its affairs through their own servants. The accomplishment of this plan was entrusted to Warren Hastings, who was expected to reduce the chaos to order and efficiency. There was nothing in the history of other conquests which might serve him as a guide in this difficult and untrodden path. Never before had thirty millions of people been suddenly transferred to the dominion of any of the civilized nations of Europe, and he was called for the first time to create establishments for the collection of the revenue, and the administration of civil anderiminal justice, without any pattern. His own letters shew the difficulties which he experienced in the performance of this herculean task, from the want of local experience, from the inefficiency and opposition of a most refractory civil service, and the venality and villainy of his native agents. After seventy years of improvement, however, we still look back on the original model of our institutions, as it was formed by his creative genius, with surprise and admiration. Though all his arrangements have been modified by subsequent experience, to him belongs the glory of having given form and consistency to our civil polity in this country; nor should the gratitude due to Lord Cornwallis for the consolidation, nor to

Lord William Bentinck for the improvement, of our establishments, induce us to forget the praise we owe to Hastings for having originated them.

In 1793, Lord Cornwallis gave a fixed character to these establishments, and defined with the nicest accuracy the function of the different offices, their mutual connection, and their mode of operation; and his system was perpetuated, without any material alteration, for nearly forty years. The leading principle of his scheme was to work the administration almost exclusively by European agency. It contained no adequate provision for the employment of native talent in the government of the country. No scope was allowed for the aspirations or ambition of the native community. The duties committed to them were trifling in their nature; and the allowances granted to the highest native official were contemptible and unjust when viewed side by side with the colossal salaries of the Covenanted European service. In process of time, this unnatural system of government was found to be as inefficient as it was exasperating, it was felt that to exclude the natives systematically from all the higher departments of the public service, must be a source of constant dissatisfaction. It was perceived that our efforts to impart superior instruction to the upper classes of natives must be accompanied with provision for their official employment, or the movements of Government would be embarrassed by growing discontents. The truth was at length admitted that our administration must be nationalized and strengthened by the admission into the public service of those whom we had elevated in knowledge. The leading object of Lord William Bentinck's government, therefore, was the developement of native talent, and its adoption into the service of the state; and it is on this ground that the natives so justly regard his memory with affectionate veneration: and that his administration will be considered by the future and impartial historian as forming a most important era in our Indian history; the era of conquest—not indeed the conquest of the country, but of that which was perhaps more difficult the conquest of our own prejudices.

By the arrangements of Lord Cornwallis's government, the cognizance of the suits of the poor and the helpless, was entrusted—rather we should say abandoned—to a class of inefficient and ill-paid judges, though dignified with the high sounding title of 'Native Commissioners', generally called Moonsiffs. The system was subsequently expanded, and their jurisdiction and allowances were somewhat increased. A superior grade of officers styled Sudder Ameens was also instituted; but the

whole establishment down to Lord William Bentinck's time was a disgrace to our national character. These Native Judges were in the great majority of instances low-born, low-bred, ignorant and corrupt men, by whose venality the stream of justice was polluted. No adequate system of control was established over them, no prospects worth naming were held out for superior diligence and probity, and the whole institution was evidently one in which the public authorities took no manner of interest: the offspring of neglect, not the child of our affections.

In 1831, Lord William Bentinck introduced his improved system of judicial administration, which brought into requisition three grades of uncovenanted native East Indian, or European Judges. The system was at first found to work but indifferently. No men were available for these more important offices, but the old Moonsiffs and Sudder Ameens, who had obtained their appointments at the time when the service was treated with indifference, and whom increase of pay and responsibility was not likely to endow suddenly with increased ability and honesty. The new service, therefore, became unpopular with the natives. But his Lordship's successors in the government have cordially embraced his enlightened views, and used the most strenuous efforts to carry out and mature his plans. Great efforts have been made to improve the character and qualifications of the native Judges. The service has been made one of gradation, but not of seniority. The superior ranks are filled up successively from the most able and efficient men of the inferior grades. Every uncovenanted Judge must enter the service as a Moonsiff, and the prospect of promotion thus held out to those at the bottom of the ladder acts as a powerful stimulant to industry and exertion. The candidates for the office of Moonsiff are subjected to the test of a rigid examination, but no subsequent examination is required; promotion is determined by the relative estimation to which each officer has been enabled to raise himself. The consequence of these reforms has been to elevate the character, and we believe also to improve the honesty of the whole body. These appointments, which were for some time spurned by the higher classes of society, are now become an object of solicitation among some of the most distinguished families in the country; and the feeling of ambition which, under other circumstances, might have served to weaken our government, is now become one of the elements of its strength. With this improvement in the character of the uncovenanted bench, the enlargement of its jurisdiction has kept pace. Fifteen years ago, no suit above the value of 1,000 Rupees was entrusted to the cognizance of a Native Judge; at present

the original jurisdiction in all suits, whatever their amount, and whoever may be the parties, is confided to them, almost without exception. The duty of the Covenanted servant, the Civilian, is limited for the most part to the general control of the whole system of judicial administration, and the hearing of appeals.

Under this improved system each district is divided into a certain number of Moonsiffships. The Moonsiff's station is generally placed in the centre of a circle so as to meet the convenience of the people, and to bring justice as much as possible to every man's door. He is empowered to receive and try all suits of the value of 300 Rupees. He is also employed by the Judge in making local enquiries, and occasionally, though rarely, in the attachment and sale of property; this duty has latterly been entrusted to an officer especially appointed to it. There are two grades of Moonsiffs, the lowest of which receives 100 Rupees, the higher 150 Rupees monthly. This gradation is intended as a spur to zeal and industry, and also as the reward of long and faithful services; but the extent of the Moonsiff's power and jurisdiction are the same in both cases. These allowances, however, are manifestly too small for the position which the Moonsiff occupies in general society, and in our public institutions. They are not sufficient to secure honesty, or even to allow Government honestly to expect it. In India, a well paid functionary cannot always be depended upon for honesty; but an underpaid servant is sure, in the great majority of cases, to fall into the sin of venality. The Moonsiff is the poor man's judge; redress in ninety-nine cases of civil injustice out of a hundred, is given exclusively through the Moonsiff. Every Moonsiff ought, therefore, to be so well rewarded for his labours as to satisfy the poor suitor, that it is not necessary for him to pay for justice, that his judge may be enabled to live.

The grade above the Moonsiff is the Sudder Ameen; and he receives a salary of 250 Rupees a-month. He usually holds his Court at the station of the Civil Judge, who refers to him all suits to the value of 1000 Rupees. He is also an Assistant to the Magistrate. The propriety of perpetuating this office has been much questioned of late. Suits of large amount go before the grade of Judges immediately above the Sudder Ameen, while the greatest number of suits is instituted in the Courts below him. The tendency of public opinion is to the abolition of this office, and the transfer of its jurisdiction and allowances to the Moonsiffs.

Immediately above the Sudder Ameen is the Principle Sud-

der Ameen, whose allowances are 400 Rs. and, in a certain number of cases, 600 Rs. a-month. His jurisdiction originally extended only to suits of the value of from 1000 to 5000 Rs. and the regular appeal in such cases lay to the Civil Judge. Subsequently, however, the sphere of this officer's duties has been indefinitely extended, and he is empowered to receive suits of the very highest amount which the Civil Judge may make over to him. But in all suits above the value of 5000 Rs. the appeal lies to the Sudder Court, with whom the Principal Sudder Ameen corresponds direct. Latterly, these officers have been appointed Deputy-Magistrates in their respective districts, and entrusted with the full powers of a Magistrate. In the unavoidable absence of the Civil Judge, the Principal Sudder Ameen takes charge of the current duties of the office. He is thus entrusted with the most important legal functions and enjoys the highest official distinction in the district. The magnitude of the change which has been effected in the judicial service at this Presidency during the last fifteen years may be judged of from the fact, that the suits now entrusted to the cognizance of this Native Judge, were, before that time, confided to no officer under the rank of a Provincial Judge of Appeal, with an allowance in no instance of less than 3000 Rs. a-month.

The Civil and Session Judge is at the head of the whole establishment of Civil Justice in each district. He superintends and controls all the subordinate Courts, and is the channel of communications to and from the Sudder Court. He investigates a certain proportion of original suits of large amount, and, that he may become acquainted with the character and capabilities of the judicial officers of his district, is expected himself to hear and determine a sufficient number of appeals from them. It is therefore, of the last importance that he should be master of the general principles of jurisprudence, of the laws of evidence, of the Regulations of Government, and the practice of the Courts. It is indispensible that he should be familiar with the language used in the district. He ought in no respect to be inferior to the officers whom he controls, but in every respect their superior. In exact proportion as he is found deficient in these qualifications, the administration of justice throughout the district will be deteriorated, and the venal and withering influence of his Amlas, or Native officials, become predominant. It is to be lamented that so much is still wanting to perfect this branch of our Judicial institutions; and that the present structure of the Service affords so faint a prospect of improvement. Of those who are now becoming eligible to the office of Civil Judge, nearly the whole body had completed their studies before the

use of the vernacular tongue was introduced into the Courts of Bengal; their knowledge of it is therefore deplorably inefficient. Neither is there any immediate hope that the younger members of the service, with solitary exceptions, will at any time acquire a greater familiarity with the vernacular tongue, than was deemed sufficient to liberate them from the College of Fort William; and the College standard of philological qualification is many degrees below that which ought to constitute the official and working standard. The absence of any training for the administration of Civil Justice in the Civil Service is another subject of regret. The young Civilian, from the day of his entering on public duties to the day of his elevation to the Civil bench of a district, is employed exclusively in the discharge of fiscal or magisterial duties. He is not required to open a single volume on the subject of civil law; indeed, he has no leisure for a pursuit so unconnected with the duties of his office which require the appropriation of his whole time; and he will eventually be called to superintend the civil establishments of a whole district, filled with Uncovenanted Judges of great ability and long experience, with less knowledge of the laws and the practice of the Courts, than the Moonsiff whose decisions he is to revise.

From the decisions of the Civil Judge in original suits, and from those of the Principal Sudder Ameens in suits above 5,000 Rupees, an appeal lies to the Sudder Court. This arrangement grew out of the abolition of the old, heavy, lumbering institution of Judges of Appeal and Circuit, whose appointments were considered rather in the light of a reward for past services than as the commencement of new responsibilities. The Sudder Court has now ceased to enjoy any original jurisdiction, and its duties are confined to the hearing of appeals from the subordinate Courts. This is the Court of final appeal in this Presidency. A seat on its bench crowns the ambition of the judicial officer. Five or six Judges, according to the exigency of circumstances, preside in it. It is seldom reached till after twenty-four years of service. The allowances of the Judges are on the highest scale below a member of Council, and amount to 52,200 Rupees a-year. When an appeal comes from the lower Court before the Sudder, it is heard by a single Judge in the presence of the parties, or their Vakeels, or Counsel. If the decision of the Court below appears to be just and equitable, the Judge confirms it without more elaborate investigation. Till very recently, if he differed with the Lower Court he was required to send the case, with his opinion on it, to a second Judge. If the two Judges failed to agree in every point, the case went to a thind, and any discrepancy of opinion, however slight, was sufficient to send it

on to a fourth; and it sometimes became necessary to make the whole circuit of the bench before two of the judges could be found of one mind in every respect. It is needless to point out the inconvenience if not injustice of this arrangement. Happily, it has now been abolished by law, and if the Judge who takes up the appeal perceives a probability of his not concurring with the decree of the lower tribunal he calls a full bench of three Judges, before whom the case is once and for all heard, and decided by a majority of votes.

It is one of the greatest improvements of our modern system of judicial administration in Bengal, that only a single appeal is allowed on the merits of a case. Thus, from the decision of the Moonsiff and the Sudder Ameen, there is a single appeal to the Principal Sudder Ameen or the Civil Judge; from the original decision of these latter Courts, one appeal is allowed to to the Sudder Court. Those who are led to think that they have not met with substantive justice, thus enjoy the liberty of appeal to a higher and more impartial Court. In all these cases the decision of the appellate court is final, except in suits above the value of 10,000 Rupees. But a second, or special appeal is allowed to the Sudder Court, on points of law or usage or practice, having the force of law upon which there may be reasonable doubts. It was formerly usual to allow such special appeals to the Court immediately above that in which the decision appealed from was passed; but as the object of this second appeal is to preserve uniformity and consistency throughout the judicial system, it has been very properly decided that it shall lie only to the highest Court in the country. A party who objects to the application of a law or usage in a case which has gone against him, prefers his appeal on that specific ground to the Sudder Court; and the Judge is at liberty to reject the appeal at once if he supposes it untenable. If he deems it worthy of consideration, he records the specific points to be decided, and they are argued before a full bench of three judges, and disposed of by a plurality of voices.

Of the various modifications which have been introduced into our judical institutions during the last fifteen years, one main object has been to prevent the lingering of suits in the various Courts, and to give the suitors the blessing of an expeditious decision, even when it was found difficult to give them a cheap or perhaps an equitable decision. So far as the rapid disposal of cases is a national benefit, it has been in a great measure attained in the Company's Courts at this Presidency. The average duration of a suit in the Sudder Court in 1829 was *forty* months; in 1843, it was only *fifteen* months. In the

Zillah Courts, it has been reduced during this period from *thirty-six* months to *six months and a half*; in those of the Sudder Ameen, from *ten months* to *five months and a half*; and in those of the Moonsiff from *six months and a half* to *four and a half.*

From the decision of the Sudder Court, an appeal lies to Her Majesty's Privy Council, in all suits of which the value is £1000 and upwards. When these appeals were originally established half a century ago, the lowest limit of an appealable case was fixed at £5000. But within the last seven years, it has pleased our gracious Queen, with the advice of her Privy Council, to reduce the amount so as to enable any suitor with a case of £1000, to enjoy the benefit of an appeal to England. Whether this reduction was recommended to her Majesty with a view to the interests of the legal profession in England, or out of regard to the welfare of the subjects of the Crown in India, it is not for us to determine. In all such cases of appeal, the appellant is required to furnish security for the eventual payment of the English costs, before his case is made up for transmission to the cock pit. From a delicate regard to the supposed interests of Indian suitors, of which it would be difficult to find a parallel in any other age or country, the Home Authorities have constrained the Court of Directors to carry forward these suits at the public expense, whenever the parties themselves were unwilling or unable to proceed with them. During the last ten years the revenues of India have thus been saddled with an expense of nearly £130,000 for the management of suits which would otherwise have fallen through. The sum expended by the Company at home in bringing seventy cases to a hearing, has amounted to £152,826; of this £24,191 only have been recovered. The Government of India has therefore been obliged latterly to augment the demand for security of costs to £2300 in each case, as this sum is found to be the average charge on each suit heard and determined by the Privy Council;—and thus the benevolent design of the Queen's Ministers, to bring all suits of the value of £1000 within reach of the advocates and judges of England, has been in a great measure frustrated by the augmentation of the demand for security.

During sixty-five years after the establishment of Civil Courts in Bengal, all their proceedings were conducted and recorded in Persian, a language endeared to the Mahomedans by historical recollections, and which had become familiar to the Hindoos connected with the Courts by long habit. The absurdity of conducting the business of the Courts established for the convenience and benefit of the people in a language to which they were

total strangers, was for many years a topic of remonstrance and reproach. After a long, and, as usual, an arduous struggle, common sense gained the ascendant, and during the administration of Lord Auckland, the vernacular languages of the country were again introduced into the Courts, after six centuries of abeyance. In the Behar districts, therefore, trials are conducted and recorded in the Oordoo language; in the districts of Bengal proper, in the Bengalee language; in Orissa, in the Ooriya; and in Arracan and the Tenasserim provinces, in the Burmese. The population among which these languages are respectively current may be thus estimated; the Oordoo, among eight millions; the Bengalee, among twenty-eight; the Ooriya, among two millions; and the Burmese, among less than a million. From these various provinces, in which so great a diversity of language prevails, the Sudder Court is called to hear appeals; and when the proposal of restoring the use of the vernacular tongues was finally under consideration, it became a matter of anxious enquiry what should be adopted as the language of the Sudder or general Court of Appeal. Some proposed the use of English; others recommended the continuance of Persian; and there were some who went so far as to suggest that the appeal in each case should be conducted in the language of the original suit, but as no Judges were to be found who were equally versed in Oordoo, Bengalee, Ooriya and Burmese, it was resolved to adopt the Oordoo, as being a kind of *lingua franca* in India.

This measure has now had a fair trial for eight years, and the time appears to have arrived for a calm and dispassionate examination of the propriety of perpetuating it. Many substantial arguments have been brought against the continued use of Oordoo in a Court so peculiarly constituted as the Sudder. As we have already stated above, it is the indigenous language of scarcely a fifth of the population subject to the jurisdiction of this Court of Appeal; and its continued use in it cannot be supported on the same ground, which renders it a question of national justice, to employ the vernacular tongue in the courts of original jurisdiction, to which the great body of the people resort for the establishment of their civil rights and the redress of civil wrongs. But the native officers employed in the Sudder Court moreover, had been accustomed during the whole period of their official life to the use of Persian, to which the Oordoo bears even a greater resemblance than the Italian does to the Latin; and hence the Oordoo which they use is little else than Persian in an odd and unnatural dress; and is not written or spoken, and scarcely understood beyond this legal circle. It is

strictly the Court language, ill spoken on the bench, and ill understood by the audience. It seems to be devoid of the advantages connected both with the old Persian, and with the more modern and vernacular system.

In these circumstances it appears to be the dictate of reason to relinquish the use of this hybrid tongue, and to make the language of the Judges the language of the Court. The first duty of a Government is to employ the language which is familiar to the people in the Courts of Justice. When that is not practicable, the use of the mother tongue of the Judges ought to prevail. It is on no occasion the duty of Government to patronize a language, familiar neither to the bench nor to the community. It is certain that the best orientalist on the Sudder bench could express his sentiments with greater freedom and ease in English than in any eastern language. It would in no small degree serve to raise the dignity of the Court, which occupies so eminent a place in our institutions, if the opinions of the Judges were delivered in a tongue they could wield with perfect facility. To this it may possibly be objected that the admission of a foreign language into the highest Court of judicature, is, in fact, putting back the clock of national improvement; but the reply is obvious, that we have only a choice of difficulties. It is impossible to use any language in this Court which shall not be foreign to a large body of the suitors. The conventional language now used is as foreign to nine-tenths of the people, as English can be. Nor should it be forgotten that of the hundred and eighty-three thousand suits, which are annually instituted in these provinces, only four hundred and fifty are carried up in appeal to the Sudder Court; and that these cases are managed by legal agents, while the parties themselves continue for the most part to reside at their homes. To the suitors, therefore, it must be a matter of comparative indifference in what language their appeal cases are conducted. The introduction of English, moreover, would carry with it the advantage of affording suitable employment for many of those who have devoted their time to the acquisition of it, and whose knowledge of English is their chief stock in trade, that is, provided the introduction of English did not encrease the expense of suits. It would also raise the character and efficiency of the bar, which again would, as usual, produce an auspicious effect on the dignity of the bench, and the way would thus be paved for the amalgamation of the Supreme and Sudder Courts.

To complete the Statistics of the Civil Courts, it is necessary farther to remark, that the total number of suits instituted during the year 1843 amounted to 180,303. Of these the number

which came under the cognizance of the Civil Judges was 7169; of the Principal Sudder Ameens 26,060; and of the Sudder Ameens 10,500; and of the Moonsiffs, 136,574. Thus it appears that *three-fourths* in number of all the suits instituted throughout these provinces, are preferred to the Moonsiff. The amount or value of all the original suits and appeals instituted in 1843, was Rs. 4,66,71,106; or a little more than Four Millions and a half Sterling.

We now turn to the POLICE, which in large districts is entrusted to the charge of a Magistrate, and in smaller districts to a Joint-Magistrate. The whole country included in the Regulation Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Cuttack, is divided into *Four Hundred and Sixty-Nine* divisions, called Thannahs, at the head of each of which is a Darogah or Thannadar. These divisions are very unequal in size, some of them extending to a hundred, and others including as many as Eight Hundred square miles. The average population placed under the jurisdiction of each Darogah is about 80,000. The pay of this important officer was till recently limited to 25 Rupees a-month, though it was well known that this sum barely covered his travelling charges. The subject was often brought under the notice of Government; but, though it was never denied that his official salary was insufficient for his decent maintenance, and that he was driven by necessity to extortion and oppression for the improvement of his allowances, nothing could move Government to authorise an increase. Though Thirteen millions sterling could be spared for the Burmese war, and Eight or Ten for that in Affghanistan, it was found impossible to obtain any increase of the meagre sum of £16,600 which constituted the entire pay of the native police officers among Thirty-seven millions of people. It is only within two years that the fact was officially recognized, that to expect honesty or efficiency among these officers, while they continued to be so miserably remunerated, was utterly preposterous. Two superior grades were, therefore, established among the Darogahs to which superior pay was attached. Within the present year the Court of Directors have ordered a farther increase of their allowances. The pay of every Darogah has been doubled. Fifty have been raised to the first grade on 100 Rs. a-month; and a hundred to the second, on 75 Rs. To each Thannah, there is also attached a Mohurrir on 7 Rupees a-month, and a Jemadar on the same pay. The Mohurrir is the recorder of the Darogah's establishment, and the Jemadar, the Head Assistant; but they are both often deputed to make local enquiries, and enjoy nearly as much power and distinction as the Darogah himself. The establishment also includes from 10 to 25

Burkundazes or constables on a salary of 4 Rs. monthly. The whole number of the native constables throughout the Regulation Provinces amount to about 6,700.

The Darogah is responsible for the Police of his jurisdiction, and makes constant reports of every transaction of importance to the Magistrate to whom he is subordinate. By an enactment of Lord William Bentinck, the Darogah is forbidden to investigate cases of theft and burglary unattended with personal violence, except on the application of the injured party, or on the express injunction of the Magistrate. The object of this singular but necessary prohibition, was to diminish the extortions of this officer, whenever he could obtain scent of offences. The only defence for so anomalous a regulation, was that it prevented more evil than it occasioned. Under its operation, however, the great majority of crimes against property remain unreported and uninvestigated; and our police returns afford no criterion of the actual amount of crime in the Lower Provinces. When the Darogah receives information from the people, or through the village watchman, of the occurrence of a crime, he either proceeds to the spot himself, or deputes one of his subordinates, to make enquiries. He collects the evidence of guilt, takes the depositions of the inhabitants, apprehends the guilty who are pointed out to him, and, if the case appears to be of sufficient importance, sends the offenders and the witnesses on to the Magistrate, whose station is often sixty miles distant. But whether he adopts this course or not, he makes a full report of his own proceedings to his superior, who issues such orders as the case appears to call for. No small portion of the Magistrate's time is occupied in hearing and dictating replies to the Darogah's reports; but as he has no means of ascertaining the quantum of truth which they contain, his orders are quite as likely to be unjust as not. The Darogahs are expected to be active, intelligent and honest. For activity and intelligence, they can scarcely be matched by any similar body of men in the world; it is in the quality of honesty that they entirely fail. With very few exceptions they are notoriously venal, and utterly indifferent to the means by which their avarice is gratified. They are always understood to be at the command of the highest bidder. They would allow the most notorious offender to escape for a sufficient douceur. In the local investigations they make, their object is to discover, not the real offenders, but the most substantial men of the village or town, whom they fleece without mercy by the threat of sending them up as witnesses to the Magistrate's Court, where they are likely to be detained, without indemnification, for a long and inconvenient period. The Darogahs are the great terror of the

native community, who regard a visit from them with far more dread than a visit from the robber. But we have little right to complain of their venality. Where that vice originally existed in their minds,it has been matured rather than discouraged ; and where it was wanting, it may be said to have been implanted, by the defect of our institutions. We have entrusted them with extensive power, and rewarded them with the most shamefull parsimoniousness. We have established no adequate check on their misconduct; and we have given them no motives to honesty. At the same time, by the long—in some districts we could name, almost incredible—detention of witnesses at the Magistrate's Court, we have furnished the Darogah with the most effectual means of working upon the fears of the people, and turning them to his own sordid purposes.

The Magistrate of the District is the worst paid European functionary in it. Though it is evident that the welfare and the security of the great body of the people depend far more on his exertions than on that of any other Covenanted Civilian, his salary, which was never too large, has recently been cut down to 900 Rupees a-month. For nearly forty years, the offices of Civil Judge and Magistrate were unhappily united in the same person. Lord William Bentinck separated them, but fell into the equally fatal error of uniting the offices of Collector and Magistrate, for which he assigned many plausible reasons on his minutes, which experience has shewn to be fallacious. There must always be the strongest objection to any system which encumbers the Magistrate with duties which serve to impede the regularity and the rapidity of his movements as an officer of Police. But of the two junctions, that of the Collector and Magistrate appears to be more open to censure than that of the Civil Judge and Magistrate ; for it not only weakens his Magisterial usefulness, but imparts an odium to his office of Collector. The Collector of the Government revenue ought not to be the same individual who commands the awe of the people as the chief officer of Police. The two offices have now been separated in most districts ; and the separation will be complete on the occurrence of two or three vacancies. The great business of the Magistrate is to watch, to control, to check, to baffle his Darogahs ; to discover if possible the self-interest or dishonesty which lurks beneath their plausible reports ; and to prevent the abuse of their power without weakening their authority ; and for this purpose he has need of all the shrewdness, the vigilance, and the mistrust of Fouché. It is generally an unequal conflict, in which the Magistrate labors under every disadvantage, and is oftener foiled than victorious. If he is

gentle and confiding, the Darogahs have it all their own way in their respective circles; if he is particularly strict and severe, the Darogah imagines that his own tenure of office is insecure, and endeavours to make hay while the sun shines. It is the great defect of our system that there is no intermediate agency between the Magistrate and the Darogah.

The Magistrate or Joint-Magistrate investigates the cases sent up to him by the Darogah, or preferred to him direct by the parties. His power extends to the infliction of three years' imprisonment with irons. If the case, however, should appear to require a heavier punishment, he commits the prisoner for trial to the Session Judge. Here we must pause for a moment to notice the great improvement in the administration of criminal law, which has been introduced within the last fifteen years. In 1793, it was provided that the Judges of Circuit should make a tour through their respective districts, and hold a general jail delivery twice every year. At the end of forty years it was discovered that these far-between visits of the Criminal Judge gave no little impunity to crime, by rendering every man averse to commit the folly of preferring information which might lead to his long detention as a witness. Then came the office of Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, one of Lord William Bentinck's own inventions; and the Sessions were directed to be held four times a year by this officer. But improvement once begun, repudiates finality; the Commissioner was soon relieved from his Magisterial functions and confined to revenue duties, and the Civil Judge was made the Session Judge, and ordered to hold a monthly jail delivery, though in fact he may be said to be constantly sitting. The Assistants and Deputies of the Magistrate have also progressive powers conferred on them in proportion to their standing in the service and their official experience, from imprisonment for one month to the infliction of the same extent of punishment as the Magistrate himself. The Principal Sudder Ameens, the Sudder Ameens, and the Law Officers of the Courts, are also invested with Magisterial functions in cases of minor guilt. The control of the Jail is entrusted to the Magistrate, under the superintendence of the executive Government.

One of the peculiarities of our judicial system in India is the right of appeal in all cases, civil, criminal and fiscal; and though it is founded on the most laudable feelings, and is designed to correct harsh or hasty judgments, and to give the community the most ample and perfect justice, it is felt to have been carried to a degree of excess in the case of criminal offences, which increases rather than discourages crime. An appeal is allowed in every

instance to the superior Magisterial authorities. The most trivial cases are not exempt from the operation of this rule. According to law, no officer can pass a sentence for petty offences, such as abusive language, calumny, inconsiderable assaults or affrays; no Magistrate or Assistant-Magistrate can sentence a culprit for petty thefts, unattended with aggravating circumstances, but the offender has his right of appeal to a higher authority. The appeal from the orders of those who are subordinate to the Magistrate lies to that officer; and from the sentence of the Magistrate himself to the Sessions Judge. When such an appeal is likely to issue in a reversal, or even in a postponement of punishment or a simple annoyance to the Magistrate it is not to be supposed that a culprit, especially if wealthy or a creature of the wealthy, will resist the temptation of preferring one. In every instance in which the Sessions Judge and the Magistrate are known to be on unfriendly terms—and the interference of the one with the other through the appeal system makes it almost impossible for them long to maintain friendly feelings towards each other—these appeals are multiplied to a degree which seriously affects the authority of the Magistrate, and makes him heartily sick of his post. Generally speaking the frequency of appeals in trivial cases, by the uncertainty which it creates, tends to diminish the terror of the law and to give encouragement to vice, while at the same time it loads the files of the Courts with useless documents, and distracts the attention of the officers charged with the preservation of the peace. A revision of this part of our system is imperatively demanded by the interests of society. A large number of those cases which are now open to appeal ought to be finally disposed of by the subordinate authorities; and the whole system of the criminal Courts ought to be simplified and rendered more energetic.

The Sessions Judge receives appeals from the sentences passed by the Magistrate and by his Assistants, and tries those important cases which are committed to the Sessions. He is assisted by a Mahomedan Law Officer, who is almost the last remnant of the system originally adopted when we took the administration into our own hands seventy years ago. The Sessions Judge may also try cases with the assistance of Assessors, or of a Jury; but the great majority of cases are investigated by him with the assistance of the Mahomedan Law Officer, as the following statement will shew.

The cases decided in 1843, with the aid of the Law Officer, were	930
„ „ of a Jury, ...	215
„ „ of Assessors, ...	86

It should be remarked that the number of cases in which sentence was passed contrary to the opinion of the Assessors was 4; of the Jury, 23; of the Law officer, 106. When the Law officer and the Judge concur in opinion as to the guilt of the prisoner, sentence is at once passed, except it be for imprisonment exceeding fourteen years. When they differ, the whole record is transmitted to the Sudder Nizamut Court, with an English abstract of the case. If the case be not a capital one, it is decided by the judgment of a single Judge. The records of capital cases are perused by two Judges, and also by the Cazy-ool-coozat, or the chief Mahomedan law officer of the Sudder Nizamut Court. Sentence of death always requires the concurrent opinion of two Judges. The Sudder Court or Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and the Sudder Nizamut Court, are the same Court, in which the same Judges preside. When employed on Civil suits, it is styled the Sudder Dewanny; when investigating Criminal suits, the Sudder Nizamut Court.

To complete the Criminal statistics of the Lower Provinces, we have farther to remark that the total number of persons in confinement at the beginning of 1843, or arrested during that year, was 85,319; that of these, 36,310 were acquitted; viz. 20,020 by the Magisterial authorities, and no fewer than 16,290 by the Police Darogahs without any investigation by the Magistrate. These Native officers, so ill paid and so venal, are actually found to have arrested and liberated this almost incredible number of people of their own accord, and without even the knowledge of their superiors. Here is a vast field for official oppression and illegal gain. No one acquainted with the native character can believe that the liberation of these individuals was not in most cases obtained by bribery, or that the confinement of the remainder was not the result in a great measure of unsuccessful attempts to extort money. This power is so extremely liable to be abused, that it requires to be watched with the utmost vigilance, and controlled by other machinery than we now possess. To forbid the exercise of it would paralyze the authority of the Darogahs, the only officers on whom we are obliged to depend for the maintenance of order, and the repression of crime. We require a number of Assistant or Deputy-Magistrates, not idly congregated at the chief station of the district, but distributed over the country as an intermediate agency for the supervision of the Darogahs, and the protection of the people. Such an arrangement has at length received the sanction of the public authorities. While these pages are passing through the press, the determination of Government to remodel the Magisterial establishments has been announced. It is resolved that a large number

of Uncovenanted Deputy-Magistrates shall be gradually appointed, each of whom is to be placed in the centre of three or four thannahs, the immediate control of which will be entrusted to him. Bungalows are to be built for his *cutchery*, or court, and for his own residence; and he will thus become the permanent local superintendent of the circle allotted to him. Of all the recent improvements in the public administration, perhaps there is not one which will more effectually conduce to the comfort and security of the people, or so effectually reform our Police institutions.

The entire number of cases brought before the Magistrates and their subordinate officers in the year alluded to amounted to..... 40,654

Of these there were decided by the		Magistrates, ...	21,362
„	„	the Joint-Magistrates, ...	6,182
„	„	the Assistant-Magistrates, ...	4,218
„	„	the Principal Sudder Ameens, ...	2,346
„	„	the Sudder Ameens, ...	2,476
„	„	the Law officers, ...	4,070

And on the average there were two offenders involved in each case. The number of persons under trial, in the beginning of 1843, and committed during the year for trial to the Sessions Judge, was 4,270. Thus, the proportion of offenders tried and sentenced by the Magistrate and his Assistants, as compared with those whose cases were referred to the Judge was as 20 to 1. The number of prisoners who received their sentence from the highest Criminal Court, the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut, was 371: of these 41 were sentenced to death; 61 to transportation; and 11 to imprisonment for life, and the remainder for shorter periods. The whole number of prisoners in confinement, among a population of thirty-eight millions—including 1,760 who had been transported beyond seas—was 24,810.

The general control of the Police in the Lower Provinces is vested in an officer styled the Superintendent of Police, with a salary of 42,000 Rupees a-year, besides large travelling allowances. He corresponds on the one hand with the executive Government, and on the other with the Magistrates, whom he furnishes with instructions for the suppression of crime, the apprehension of offenders, and the general execution of the duties entrusted to them. He is required to visit the districts included in his jurisdiction periodically, and to examine the mode in which police duties has been discharged. He interferes not with the judicial branch of the Magistrate's duties. He makes an annual report of his proceedings, which includes his observations on the state of the country, the increase or decrease

of crime, and the success or failure of the Magistrates. His jurisdiction does not embrace the non-Regulation provinces such as Assam, Arracan, &c.; and the district of Cuttack, with its three magistracies, is left in all matters of Police under control of the Commissioner; an arrangement recommended as much by the geographical position of that province, as by the peculiarity of its language.

Besides the Regular Police establishment of Government, the strength of which, including Darogahs and their snbordinates and the Constables, may be estimated at 8,200 men, there is a large body of village chowkeedars, whose numbers have been estimated at *one hundred and seventy thousand;* and we cannot better describe their functions, their character, and their utility than by quoting the strong, but perfectly sober and correct language of the Minute written by Mr. Halliday in 1838, and printed among the Police documents. "Theoretically, these chowkeedars are appointed, paid, removed and controlled by the village communities, subject at the same time to an incompatible control, by the Government Police, and through them by the Magistrates. Practically, they are sometimes controlled by the Thannah officers, oftener by the villages, frequently by neither. For all practical purposes of police properly so called, they are absolutely useless. Here we have a force of about a hundred and seventy thousand men taken, by a custom which so long as the name of village chowkeedar exists, will be immutable, from the lowest and vilest and most despised classes; drawing annually from the people in legitimate wages, not to mention irregular modes of taxation, upwards of 60 lakhs of Rupees; under no practical control but that of irresponsible and ignorant communities, of whom they are by turns, the petty tyrants and the slaves, thieves by caste and habit and connections; totally disconnected from the general system of Police; unorganized, depraved, 'worse than useless.'

The Revenues of the Presidency of Bengal are derived from six sources,—the Land Revenue; the Monopoly of Opium; the Monopoly of Salt; the Stamps; the Excise on Spirits and intoxicating drugs; and the Customs. The Land Revenue is by far the most considerable as well as the most stable branch of income. The reader scarcely requires to be reminded of the perpetual settlement of Lord Cornwallis in 1793, by which Government pledged itself not to increase the public demand on the land at any future period. This measure was hailed at the time, and for some years after continued to be lauded as, one of the noblest instances of financial wisdom and disinterestedness on record. Subsequent experience has brought the innumerable

defects and anomalies of that hasty arrangement to light, and induced the Court of Directors to resolve that they will never again allow their own hands or those of their successors to be tied up in this manner. No one will deny that the uncertainty of land tenures at that period, and the fluctuating nature of the rent demanded of the landholders, was fatal to every hope of improvement, and that without some radical change of system, the comfort of the agricultural community, and the revenues of the state would have been equally injured. It was necessary to establish a fixed rent, and to give long leases, but it was not necessary to give perpetual leases on an unalterable rent. There is on the contrary every reason to believe that this was one of the most injudicious measures ever adopted by our Government. The land revenue was fixed for ever, at a time when the capabilities of the land were unknown, and the extent of estates unascertained, and two-thirds of Bengal was a jungle. The most tempting opportunities were afforded for the exercise of fraud and collusion between the Zemindars and native officers of the Collectors: and colossal fortunes were made at the expense of the state. There have been large fortunes amassed in solitary instances since that time, Sir David Ochterlony's moonshee is reputed to have made Eighty lakhs of Rupees out of his influence with his master; but no such general opportunity of fortune-making as that which occurred in the days of the perpetual settlement, has turned up since. One Collector's Dewan is known to have received a bonus of a lakh of Rs. for striking out a cypher, and reducing the annual rent of an estate from tens of thousands to thousands. The burden of taxation was unequally distributed on the land. When the Collector's officers were well bribed, estates were assessed at a low rent; in other cases, the annual demand was screwed up too tightly to stand. The settlement was of course binding only on one party; that is, on the Government. It established the maximum which Government was at liberty to demand, but not the maximum which the landlord was obliged to pay. In every case of over-assessment, the landlord threw back his estate on the hands of Government; and there was no power in the state to compel him or any one else to pay the high rate fixed on it, for a continuance. The rent in all such cases was lowered, and thus the permanent settlement, so far as the interests of Government were concerned, was very speedily broken up. It was imprudent to limit the income of the state to the revenue of only one-third of the land. As the Government in its haste to promulgate this measure dispensed with all definition of boundaries, it is now too late to ascertain what extent of land was

included in the original engagement, with the view of drawing a revenue from the rest. It was a final measure, by which immediate relief was purchased at the price of much prospective evil, and any attempt to alter or modify or recast it would be deemed a breach of national faith.

The revenue being thus unalterably fixed, the Zemindars who hold their lands directly of Government, and pay their revenue immediately into the public treasury, are required to make four quarterly payments. The days of payment are fixed by the Board—hereafter described—and are announced in so great a variety of ways that it is impossible for any Zemindar to plead ignorance of them. He knows to a farthing the sum he is required to pay ; and to a minute, the time within which it must be paid. Should he fail to make good his payments by sunset of the last day of grace, his estate reverts to the State. It is advertised for sale during the next month, and eventually sold to the highest bidder. That a fair price may be obtained for the estate, it is now directed to be advertised in the official gazettes before the day of sale during a sufficient time to attract purchasers. This sale law, is confessedly a very stringent, and by some is considered even an unjust, enactment. It is deemed unnecessarily severe to confiscate a man's whole estate because he fails to pay up a single instalment of revenue that may not exceed a twentieth of its value. But it must be remembered that it is the least stringent, and the very mildest of all the provisions by which the punctual payment of the land revenue has been enforced in this country. By the Mahommedan rulers, the defaulting landlord was subject to personal chastisement and torture, and often dragged through a pond filled with intolerable ordure, which was termed 'paradise' by way of derision. In the far famed code of 1793, when the present land tenures were created, and the conditions of payment were first imposed, it was ordained, that if the monthly instalment remained unpaid after it had been demanded, the Collector should positively cause the defaulter to be immured in jail. Those rigorous laws which made default a criminal act, and punished it like any other felony, have been repealed, and the punctual payment is enforced on the principle that the land is for ever hypothecated to Government for the public rent, and that if the landlord fails to pay it within a stipulated period, the mortgagee forecloses the mortgage, and enters on possession of the estate.

The Collector presides over the fiscal administration of each district. He is usually aided by a Covenanted Assistant, who is also Assistant to the Magistrate ; and he has one or more Deputies under him, of the Uncovenanted branch of the service,

who are generally Natives. His primary business is to receive the public revenue, to keep the public accounts, and to advertise and sell the estates which may have fallen into arrears. As the sums to be paid into his treasury are defined, it would appear at first as though his duty was a very easy one; but although men are not wanting who contrive to limit their official labours to two hours a day without incurring even a reprimand, the duties of a Collector are by no means light. If an estate is exposed to sale and there are no bidders, it is bought in for Government and the whole management of it devolves upon the Collector. Estates which escheat to the state, and estates held under attachment by order of the Courts, are placed under his control, as well as those which belong to minor, female, or insane Zemindars. This officer is thus brought into contact with a great variety of interests and a large body of native tenants, and his engagements are frequently both arduous and perplexing. Even when the estates are farmed out, or entrusted to a native agent, the Collector is responsible for the sufficiency of the security and the integrity of the management. In many of these estates, it becomes necessary to measure the lands, and resettle the rent with the ryots, and this increases in no small degree the demand on the Collector's activity and circumspection.

It should also be noticed, that at the time of the perpetual settlement, all those lands which were held rent free, upon fictitious or invalid tenures, were reserved for future inquiry. This laborious and invidious duty, had been bequeathed in succession by one Governor General to another; but ten years ago Government determined to enter upon these enquiries in good earnest, and to remove the disquietude which the uncertainty of tenures created, and bring the matter to an early and final decision. An establishment of officers was therefore appointed to this especial duty, consisting of Special Deputy-Collectors to resume and assess free lands, and Special Commissioners to revise their decisions. The enquiry has been vigorously prosecuted at an expense of about 80 lakhs of Rupees, and it has terminated in adding a permanent revenue of 30 lakhs of Rupees, or 300,000*l.* to the public rent-roll. The special establishment has now been withdrawn, and the examination of the remaining claims of Government has been transferred to the Collector. This forms an addition to his usual duties. To him is also entrusted the duty of securing the right of Government to the revenue of the alluvial lands which are so constantly thrown up in our muddy rivers; and of deciding the numerous and conflicting claims connected with these lands.

The division of estates is also an additional weight on the Collector's shoulders. The rent of all estates was fixed in the lump at the period of the perpetual settlement. A Zemindaree, for instance, of indefinite extent, and containing an unascertained number of villages, was assessed at a given sum. But it is manifest that the estate cannot always remain in all its entireness. The family of the original proprietor has of course multiplied through two or three generations, and its members become at length too numerous to live together in harmony. They demand a division of the property; and this duty of partition falls within the province of the Collector, and he is required to superintend the allotment of the gross revenue upon each individual portion of the land, according to its extent, its situation, and its advantages. The same task is also imposed on him when a portion of an estate is ordered to be sold by a decree of any Court; and in either case his task is one of no easy performance. The natives employed in making the division, and distributing the revenue, are always open to the bribes of the parties; and there is too often reason to fear lest good land should be under assessed, and inferior land over assessed in this distribution, in which case the less valuable land would soon be thrown back on the hands of Government, and eventually admitted to pay a lower rent. Thus the permanent revenues of the state are always exposed to jeopardy on every division of an estate. These difficulties ought, if possible, to be anticipated and met in a bold and decisive spirit. Every estate ought to be surveyed and measured by a body of scientific officers; the lands attached to each village should be separately assessed, so as to bear an equitable proportion to the rent originally fixed on the whole estate; and permanent boundary marks ought to be established, which shall facilitate the identification of the lands. This would be an incomparable boon to the country. It would enable the landholder to dispose of a part of his lands on the pressure of circumstances, in order to save the remainder. It would admit of overgrown families breaking up without discord or litigation; and it would enable Government, instead of selling the whole of a man's estates for the arrears of a single quarter, to mark off and sell a quantity proportionate to the arrears, and leave the defaulter in possession of the rest. But for this great and expensive, though incomparably useful measure, the Government is not as yet prepared. Neither would the Zemindars fail to throw every obstacle in its way, from a dread lest it should be intended as a preliminary step to the resumption of those extensive tracts which they enjoy beyond the boundaries of their original estates.

The Collector is also entrusted with the exercise of judicial

powers. The cases submitted to his adjudication involve to an immense extent the interests and comfort of the most numerous and the poorest class, in this agricultural country. "To afford remedy in all cases of dispute, which may arise regarding attachment of crops, undue exaction, distraint, replevin, and other matters connected with the realization of rent, is the province of the Collector." He is the judge of all matters in dispute between landlord and tenant, and the investigation of them is conducted in the form prescribed for summary suits, that is by the simplest and least expensive process. From his summary decisions, an appeal lies to the regular Civil Courts; so that a native Moonsiff is competent to alter, or reverse the decision pronounced in such cases by a Covenanted Collector. The Collector is also vender of stamps in his district,---a duty which involves more pecuniary responsibility than labor, and for the negligent discharge of which Collectors have sometimes been called on to refund large sums, which has been lost to the state through the villany of their native subordinates.

The Collector is controlled in every movement by the Revenue Commissioner of the division in which his district is included. This office was created by Lord William Bentinck, but doubts have begun to be entertained whether it might not be dispensed with. In the Regulation Provinces, which embrace thirty-two districts, there are seven Commissioners; of whom one has the duties of only two, and another those of six districts entrusted to him. The salary of a Commissioner is 35,000 Rs. a-year, with an allowance of 3,000 Rs. for travelling expenses. He receives periodical returns of all the business transacted by the Collectors; he hears all appeals from their decisions, and exercises a constant and minute control over all their proceedings. He also visits his districts periodically. The Commissioners are in their turn subject to the orders of the Sudder Board of Revenue permanently stationed in Calcutta, and consisting of two of the ablest, wisest, and most experienced revenue officers in the service. All the reports of the Commissioners are made to the Board, through whom they receive their instructions. The separate functions of the Board and the Commissioner are so clearly defined in a code of bye laws, that they seldom overstep their respective provinces. In the most numerous class of cases the Commissioner has the liberty of independent action. In cases of importance and intricacy he consults the Board. But it is the principle of this institution that the Board should enjoy a general controlling superintendence over all the commissioner's acts and deeds. They may, therefore, send for any of his orders, and deal with them as they please.

The powers which the Sudder Board may exercise without reference to the Executive Government of Bengal are also very clearly defined. In the largest class of cases, no such reference is at all necessary; and the revenue administration of the country moves on smoothly and regularly under the superintendence of the Board through the local agency of the Commissioners. The Board are required to furnish periodical statements of the financial results of their operations, and in any new emergency, or any case of peculiar importance, are expected to consult the Governor of Bengal before orders are issued. All cases, in which the members happen to disagree are also referred to the decision of the Government of Bengal; and as the Board, consists of only two members, and they are not always free from the infirmities of our common nature, this office of arbitration is sometimes any thing but a sinecure. The salary of each member of the Sudder Board is 52,000 Rs. a-year, and that of their Secretary 30,000 Rs.

Next in importance to the Land Revenue of Bengal is that derived from the Monopoly of Opium. This branch of revenue is under the management of Two Opium Agents, the one stationed at Patna, and the other at Ghazeepore; both of whom however, are subordinate to the Government of Bengal, though this latter station lies in the North West Provinces. Their salaries are 42,000 Rupees a-year. The Ghazeepore Agency includes the operations in seven; that of Patna, in nine districts, in which the poppy is grown, and the drug manufactured. They are aided by the local ageney of Sub-Deputy-Agents, who belong to the Uncovenanted branch of the service, and receive in salary and commission, sums varying from 300 to 900 Rupees a-month. The Collectors of land revenue are styled Deputy-Agents in their respective districts; but their office is nominal, and is limited to the transmission of communications between the Assistants and the Agents. Generally speaking, therefore, the whole business of the department is transacted by the Agents themselves, through the instrumentality of their Sub-Deputies. It consists in making advances to the agriculturists for the cultivation of the Opium, in guarding against surreptitious production and smuggling, and in the careful preparation of the Opium till it is lodged in the central godowns at Patna and Ghazeepore. There it is purified and fitted for the market under the direction of the Agent, and despatched to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium in Calcuta, to whom, under the immediate direction of the executive Government, the general superintendence of the Opium Revenue, is entrusted. By the Board it is sold at certain fixed periods by auction, through one of the auction establishments of the city of Calcutta, to the

merchants and speculators, upon condition of their transporting it beyond seas.

A chest of Opium, containing two maunds, costs the Government 350 Rupees. The average selling price last year was between 13 and 1400 Rupees the chest. The net revenue derived from this department in Bengal in 1843-44 was 1,87,00,000 Rupees, not far short of Two millions sterling. This is the largest amount of revenue which the Government of India has ever obtained from this article. Owing to the troubles which arose in China on the confiscation of 20,000 chests by the Commissioner Lin, the price of the drug fell in Calcutta to such an extent that in 1839-40, the Government profit on the monopoly was reduced to Rs. 32,37,000—£323,000. During the war which the confiscation brought on, it was generally supposed that the Opium revenue would never recover the blow it had received, and that the eventual result of hostilities must be fatal to the profits both of Government and of the merchants. But since the re-establishment of pacific relations with China, the Opium trade has become more extensive and flourishing than ever, and the arrangements which at present exist for the disposal of the drug in the vicinity of the Consular ports, but far from the eye of the Consul, are more complete and efficient and less liable to interruption than they have been at any previous period, since the trade originally began. But the continuance of this golden traffic is entirely dependent on the Chinese Government. No effort of its preventive service, can, it is true, exclude the introduction of an article which is profitable to the merchants and agreeable to the people, along a coast of a thousand miles, with a hundred inlets. But the day the Chinese Cabinet alters its tactics, and, submitting to inevitable necessity, legalizes the introduction and the consumption of the drug, the sun of Opium revenue and profit sets for ever. As soon as the Chinese Government can make up its mind to permit the use of the article, it will soon appear more advantageous to allow of its cultivation than to import it at a heavy cost from abroad; and the spirited and indefatigable Chinese agriculturists will not be long in producing as good an article as that which is imported, and at a much cheaper rate.

The other Monopoly of Government is the article of Salt. It is managed by Salt Agents, of whom there are four in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and three in the district of Cuttack, where they are also the Collectors of the land revenue. At the commencement of each Salt season the Agent makes advances to the contractors, called Molungees, who engage to deliver a specific quantity of the article. It is the business of the Agent

to see that the Salt is of good quality, and that no quantity is manufactured in excess of the contract, for the purpose of smuggling. He has a large establishment of natives employed under him in preventing illicit manufacture, but they too often encourage it for their own gains. These inferior agents are miserably underpaid, and are constantly in collusion with the contractors. Situations in the Salt department are prized beyond all other appointments by the natives, because the opportunities of unlawful gain are numerous, while the chance of detection is small. The efforts of the Agent to secure for Government all the Salt manufactured in the districts of Lower Bengal are therefore but very partially successful, and there is every reason to believe that a quantity equal to a fourth of that which Government disposes of, finds its way into the country through a variety of channels which it is impossible to dam up. The Salt thus manufactured for the state is stored at certain established depots, on which the merchant receives an order, after he has paid the price of it into the public treasury. The Salt of the Cuttack districts is conveyed to Calcutta by sea at the public expense, and stored for sale at the great Salt Golah at Sulkea, which is always under the charge of a Covenanted servant. The Madras Salt brought up from the Coromandel Coast at the public expense is also deposited at that place. The salary of the highest Salt Agent is 42,000 Rupees a-year; one continues to enjoy 36,000 Rupees, but the two remaining agencies have been reduced to 30,000 Rupees annually. The principle of selection for these Agencies under the old system, was that a Civilian good for nothing else would still do for a Salt Agent; and the idea was believed and unfortunately acted on that a monopoly which yielded a million and a half sterling, would bear a good deal of wasteful negligence. Latterly, however, it has been the determination of Government to select men of intelligence and vigor for this department; and the saving of three or four lakhs of Rupees in the Salt Revenue by judicious care and economy, is now considered as important an object as the saving of an equal amount in the Abkaree or Stamp Department.

The maund of Salt stands Government in a Rupee, and it sells on an average from the public depots, at 4 Rupees. The net revenue derived from Salt under the Government of Bengal, including the duty on imported salt, may be taken on an average at 1,50,00,000 Rupees, or a Million and-a-half sterling. The importation of the article from other ports in India, but chiefly from Bombay, is a new event in the history of the salt revenue. Nine years ago, the importation did not exceed 2,84,000

maunds; in the past official year it rose to 9,67,000 maunds, and this without any diminution of the production or sale of our domestic salt. It is manifest, therefere, that an additional quantity of salt to the extent of a fifth of the old supply has been introduced into the country, and, notwithstanding the supposed prejudice of caste against sea imported salt, has been consumed by the people. The assertion so frequently reiterated by some of the most intelligent Salt officers, that the supply furnished in 1830 of 52,00,000 was fully adequate to the necessities of the country, has thus been disproved; and it is indisputably shewn that the native community requires a larger provision of this article than the Salt works of the Company have been in the habit of furnishing. There can be little doubt, moreover, that the price at which the Salt is at present sold is unreasonably and inconveniently high for a poor population. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the experience acquired in England of the effect of taxation on consumption, will prove inapplicable to this country, or that a reduction of the price of salt will not lead to an increase in the sale of the article. The present Government of Bengal has resolved to try the experiment of a reduction of prices. Within the last four months, the salt in store has been advertised for sale at much less than the old prices, with the avowed intention of reducing the price still lower, if it should be found that the increase of the consumption keeps pace with the process of reduction. It is devoutly to be wished that the trial may succeed, and that in a few years the same revenue which is now realized, may be obtained from the consumption of double the quantity of salt.

The revenue of the Customs has been derived during the last ten years, from the duty on sea-borne commerce alone. Before this period, our Government had continued to adopt the barbarous policy of eastern rulers, and draw a revenue from duties imposed on the transit of goods and merchandize through the interior of the country. Under that system, every individual was obliged to pay duty on his merchandize at the nearest Custom House, and to obtain a *rowanah*, or pass, in which the quantity and value of the goods were inserted. This pass he was obliged to produce at the various guard-houses planted along the line of traffic, and which were under the superintendence of native officials called Darogahs, who were directed to compare the goods with the Pass, and to countersign it, if no discrepancy was discovered. This duty could not be conscientiously performed without landing the goods at each station, and thus subjecting them to repeated detention. As usual, the merchant purchased the forbearance of the Darogah, and the liberation

of his goods at a high price; and the post of the Custom Darogahs thus became a sure passport to fortune. The interruption which this system inflicted on the commerce of the country produced indignant remonstrances, and Government was at length convinced that the revenue produced by the Transit duties was a poor compensation for the injury they inflicted on the public interests. While the subject was under deliberation in the Council of India, Mr. Ross, the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, suddenly—and as it was said without sufficient authority—abolished them throughout the North-West Provinces, and this rendered their abolition throughout the entire Presidency indispensably necessary. To compensate for this sacrifice of revenue, the export and import tariff were revised, and additional duties were established on some of the most important articles of commerce. Since this period, the receipts of the Calcutta Custom House from sea-borne commerce have been steadily on the increase; and the revenue derived from import and export duties—exclusive of the duty on the importation of Salt—is greater than the sum formerly obtained from these duties and the Transit duties, put together. In the last year of the Transit duties, the united income was, 27,54,000 Rupees. In the year 1843-44, the collections at the Port of Calcutta from sea customs alone were 32,50,000 Rupees.

At the head of the Department is the Collector, with a Salary of 36,000 Rupees a-year, who is aided by one Covenanted and a numerous staff of Uncovenanted Assistants. There is also a large body of Preventive officers, who are divided into five classes, and receive allowances varying from 200 Rupees to 100 Rupees a month. An officer of this class is placed on every vessel, soon after she has entered the river, and remains on board till she takes her departure, to guard against all smuggling. Altogether, the expenses of the Customs establishment at the Port of Calcutta is 6,76,631 Rupees, or about thirteen per cent. of the gross collections on Merchandize and Salt. There are also Custom Houses at Chittagong and Balasore, under the control of the Collectors of land Revenue, but the traffic of those ports, once so important, has dwindled down to a trifle, and the revenue is very insignificant.

The ABKAREE, or excise on Spirituous Liquors, has recently been established as a separate department. The collection of this branch of the Revenue was formerly left with the Collectors of the land Revenue, and yielded an income, after deducting expenses, of 18,31,000 Rupees in 1829-30. But the Collectors became increasingly indifferent to the prosperity of a branch of the revenue which was never very popular,

or their time was latterly too much occupied with additional duties; and thus the management of the liquor department was abandoned to their native officers. These soon established a good understanding with the licensed venders, and for a sufficient consideration connived at illicit distillation. The public revenue fell off, and drunkenness was increased by the cheaper rate at which spirits, which paid little or no duty, were sold. The revenue reached the lowest point of depression in 1837-38, when it did not exceed 14,00,000 Rupees. Soon after, Government resolved to reform the whole department. A commissioner of Abkaree was appointed over a certain number of districts, in each of which an Uncovenanted Assistant was placed upon a salary of 300 Rupees a-month. Very stringent rules were passed to prevent the manufacture or sale of illicit spirits. A system of supervision was established, which effectually interrupted the trade of the smuggler, and gradually revived the drooping revenue. The progress of recovery, however, has been slow. The latest published accounts of this deparment, do not extend farther than to the official year 1841-42. The gross collections had then been increased Three lacs above the minimum year; but the expense of the new establishment exceeded that of the former staff by two lacs of Rupees; the nett gain, therefore, under the new arrangement, was little above One lac of Rupees. This improvement, however, appeared so gratifying to the Court of Directors that they directed a second Commissionorship to be establisned, and ten districts, lying in the eastern division of Bengal, to be placed under his control. With their usual regard to economy, however, they fixed the pay of the new Commissioner at 30,000 Rs. instead of 36,000 Rs. which the first Commissioner enjoys. An allowance to the extent of 3000 Rs. a year is also made for his travelling expenses.

The Revenue obtained from the STAMPS forms an important item in the public accounts. It is under the immediate management of a Superintendent of the Covenanted branch of the service, who receives an allowance of 24,000 Rs. a-year. Although every individual is at liberty to send a document to the Stamp office to receive the legal stamp on paying the amount of duty, by far the greater portion of the revenue is raised by the sale of slips of paper, manufactured in England with a distinctive water-mark, and which, after having received the impression of the Stamp, are sold to the community in town and country. The Collector of each district is, as we have already stated, the great stamp vender within his jurisdiction. He is periodically supplied with paper from the central office in Calcutta, and disposes of it either through the treasurer of his establishment, or an

officer appointed to this especial duty, called the Stamp Darogah, for whose integrity he is responsible, and through whose dishonesty he has often been obliged to make good heavy deficiencies. The Stamps are of two kinds; those on which the various transactions of the community are required to be written; and judicial stamps. In the year 1841-42, the value of the stamps sold in the country amounted to 21,92,375 Rs.; of these, only 10,29,738 Rs. were judicial stamps. The sum of 1,58,736 was also raised from the sale of stamps in Calcutta, and these may be considered as belonging to the class of documentary stamps. The expense of the Stamp establishments and of the paper furnished by Government, may be taken at 1,40,000 Rs. a-year, leaving a clear surplus revenue of about 22 lakhs of Rs. or 220,000*l.* annually. These judicial stamps were justly reprobated by Mr. Macaulay, in one of the most powerful of the minutes which he left on the records of the Supreme Council. It is scarcely an excuse for this stamp tax—though it is, in fact, the only defence of which it is susceptible---that it is milder than that which was imposed by the Mahomedans. Under their administration, *one-fourth* the amount of every sum decreed by the Courts, was paid as a tax to the coffers of the state. One of the first acts of our Government, when it began to legislate for Bengal in 1772, was to abolish this tax. At the same time, however, "to curb and restrain trivial, groundless complaints," the Court was authoriaed to inflict corporal punishment to the extent of twenty strokes of the ratan, or a fine of five Rupees on the litigious delinquent. This devise against idle litigation appears to have gradually fallen into abeyance. In 1795, however, it became necessary to take some steps to deter individuals from "instituting vexatious claims, or from refusing to satisfy just demands," and it was resolved to levy a fee on the institution of suits. Two years after, it occurred to Government that this institution fee might also be made "eventually to add to the public resources," and the fees were accordingly increased; and at length, in 1814, the present system of judicial taxation by means of a stamp on law papers, was brought to maturity. It is a source of constant vexation to the suitor, who is obliged at every stage of his cause to have recourse to the stamp vender; at the same time, the charge for stamps forms no small portion of the expense of a cause. The rules which have been established to regulate the value of the stamp paper to be used on each occasion, and to provide for the general protection of this branch of the revenue, are numerous and complicated, and if the exchequer could dispense with the money, it would certainly conduce to the public interests if the time now idly wasted by the public officers in mastering the

intricacies of the stamp system, was devoted to the study o more important subjects.

These various Departments of the Salt, Opium, Customs, Excise, and Stamps, are under the general control of a Board in Calcutta, which consists of two members with a Salary of 52,200 Rs. each, and a Secretary at 30,000 Rs. a-year, but in all cases of doubt and intricacy, reference is made to the executive Government of Bengal.

The Marine which was one of the most important departments of Government, when Calcutta was a great Factory, and the Civilians Junior and Senior Merchants, has been gradually dwindling away in importance. It has no longer the magnificent commercial navy of the East India Company to look after. The Accountant-General or a Member of the Board of Revenue or of Trade is no longer deputed to Sagor or Diamond Harbour to dispatch the Indiamen; and the Naval Store-keeper is no longer as important a personage as a Secretary to Government. Its duties are now confined to the management of sea-going steamers—the majority of them having been transferred to Bombay—and of the river steamers which ply between Calcutta and Allahabad; and the superintendence of the Harbour and Pilot establishment of Calcutta. The river steamers were established by Lord William Bentinck, about ten years ago, and have been useful in the transportation of public stores and munitions of war; and advantageous to the public finances in the conveyance of passengers and freight. From these last duties Government is likely to be relieved at an early period by the two public Companies established last year for inland Steam Navigation, who may shortly be expected to take over these duties; after which the vessels of the state will probably be devoted exclusively to the conveyance of troops and public stores.

The most important duties of the Marine department refer to the Pilotage of the Port, which, unlike the system which prevails in England, is exclusively a Government establishment. The appointments to this service are exclusively vested in the Court of Directors. They send out a certain number of well-educated youths every year, who are appointed, on their arrival, to the grade of Volunteers, and rise in succession to the rank of Second and First Mates, Masters and Branches. It is highly to the credit of the Court that a large proportion of the youths thus appointed from home consists of the sons of the Pilots who have honourably worn out their lives, or have met with a premature death, in the public service. The whole strength of the establishment consists of about a hundred and fifty individuals, who would be found utterly inadequate to the wants of the port, but

for the assistance afforded to the progress of vessels by the various Steam Tugs in the river. With the exception of individual cases of delinquency and incapacity, not very frequent, this service may be said to possess the first body of Pilots in the world; men who combine, in no small degree, the feelings of the gentleman with the hardihood of the sailor and the skill of scientific seamen. During the greater part of the year they are exposed in their Pilot vessels anchored on the edge of Sagor Sands to as boisterous and perilous a sea as ever tries the nerves of seamen ---to the swell of the Bay of Bengal urged on by the monsoon. From this unpleasant post they are relieved only to undertake the more anxious task of conveying vessels through the ever shifting channels of an uncertain and treacherous river. Although the number of accidents is great, the only wonder is that they are not greater. The whole establishment is under the control of a Superintendent of Marine, with a Salary of 36,000 Rs. a-year, a Secretary at 1000 Rs., a Master Attendant at 24,000 Rs., aud a succession of assistants. Six pilot vessels, built after the most approved model, and capable of buffeting any weather, are attached to the service, two or three of which are constantly cruising about the Pilot station at the Sand Heads, either taking pilots out of the out-ward bound vessels, or putting them on board vessels as they make the port. Every ship pays the Marine Department for its pilotage up and down the river, and for the use of the moorings ; but the receipts of this department do not cover its expenditure. In the last year which the Report of the Finance Committee embraces, the expenditure of the Marine Department is put down at Rs. 23,86,882, and the receipts at 8,13,828 Rs. leaving a clear charge on the public revenues of nearly *Sixteen* lacs of Rupees annually.

The department of the COINAGE is under the Superintendent of the Mint in Calcutta. All the provincial mints which formerly existed have been gradually abolished, and the coinage for the whole country is concentrated in one vast establishment in Calcutta. The Metropolitan Mint machinery is the most efficient, and perhaps the most magnificent in the world. Including the erection of the buildings, it has cost Government 30 lakhs of Rupees, £300,000, and can with ease mint all the coin required for the whole of British India. The Report of the Finance Committee, to which we have had frequent occasion to allude, gives us the information that, including interest at five per cent. on the block of the mint, the whole of the charge during the last thirteen years, has amounted to Rupees 58,67,235 ; and that the current receipts from a seignorage of one per cent. on Gold coin, and two per cent. on Silver coin, and sixteen per cent. on Copper coin, and from some other minor sources of income

have amounted to Rupees 54,82,614. According to this calculation the current receipts have exceeded the expenditure by Rupees 3,84,621. But in addition to this sum, the clear net profit to the state from the Copper coinage, arising from the difference between the invoice price of copper and its value of coin, has been Fifteen lakhs and a-half of Rupees.

The Post Office Department is under the superintendence of a Covenanted servant, the Post-Master-General, who receives a salary of from 18,000 to 24,000 Rs. annually. He is assisted by one Deputy, on whom the greater part of the work devolves, and who receives 8,400 Rs. a year. The other assistants in the office are mere clerks. The Post offices in the interior are placed under the charge of Deputy Post-Masters. At some stations, the Collector performs this duty ex-officio ; at others, it is entrusted to the Civil Surgeon, as a Military officer, with an additional salary of 50 Rupees a month. This allowance is of course inadequate to the duty and responsibility of the post, and the Post-Master-General experiences no little difficulty in securing the efficiency of the department in the interior of the country. The low remuneration and consequent inefficieney of the subordinate Post Offices, is a source of constant vexation to the public, and a standing reproach to Government. It has been affirmed that the Post Office department does not cover its expenses, but as it was not subjected to the revision of the Committee of Finance, there is no data for this assertion. Some years back the Post-Offices in the North West provinces were entirely separated from the General Post Office in Calcutta, to the no small advantage of those provinces. A recent notification from the Agra Post Master informs us that the expenses of his department have been 5,27,000 Rs. a year, and the receipts only 5,31,000 Rs. It is just possible that the same proportion between receipts and disbursements may prevail in the Calcutta Post Office.

Having thus endeavoured to give a sketch of the various departments in the Regulation Provinces of Bengal and Behar, and the mode in which public business is conducted in them, we shall briefly revert to the management of the Non-Regulation Provinces. Over each of these provinces there is placed a commissioner, generally a Military officer, on a salary of 30,000 Rupees a year, who exercises all the functions of a Commissioner of Revenue, and a Judge of Civil appeals, who acts as Superintendent of Police, and presides at the Criminal Sessions. Each district in the provinces is entrusted to a Principal-Assistant, likewise a Military officer on a salary of 12,000 Rupees a year, who is Judge, Magistrate and Collector within his circle. There are also Junior Assistants on 500, and occasionally on 750 Rupees a month, who act as deputies to the Principal

Assistant. There are also Uncovenanted functionaries in these provinces, who correspond in point of office and salary with the Moonsiffs, the Sudder Ameens, Principal Sudder Ameens, and Deputy-Collectors of the Regulation provinces.

The whole country of ASSAM forms one of the four non-Regulation provinces. It was conquered from the Burmese about twenty years ago. It extends from Gowhatty, on the eastern limit of Bengal, to Suddiya, in the west, through the whole length of the vale of the Berhampooter, and is supposed to contain a population of one Million, on an area of 24,000 square miles. The country has been improved in no small degree since it came under British rule; and if the efforts now in progress for the cultivation of the Tea plant should be eventually successful, a great impulse will be given to its prosperity. The Commissioner, with an allowance of 30,000 Rupees a year, has his head-quarters at Gowhatty, and is assisted by a Deputy Commissioner on 18,000 Rs., who relieves his superior of the great bulk of his judicial duties, and assists him generally in the performance of his other functions. There are four Principal Assistants in Lower Assam, stationed respectively at Nowgong, Gowhatty, Goalpara, and Durrung; and two officers of the same class in Upper Assam, at Deebroogur and Seebsagur. There are only three Junior Assistants in the province.

The Agency on the SOUTH WEST FRONTIER was established in 1833, by the separation of parts of the districts of Ramgur, the Jungle Mehals, and Midnapore, from the Regulation provinces. It comprises a vast extent of territory, and is generally calculated to embrace more than 100,000 square miles. The number of inhabitants has been estimated at three millions, of whom a considerable number are pure Hindoos, who have been little contaminated by Mahomedan associations, and use a language supposed to be pure Hindee, with little mixture of Persian or Arabic. The rest of the population consists of the aboriginal tribes who live in a state of primitive simplicity, and who, amidst all the political changes to which India has been subject, have maintained their original creed. It is from these districts that the supplies of Hill Coolies for the Mauritius have been chiefly furnished. The Commissioner has his head-quarters at Kissenpore; a modern town which grew up chiefly during the incumbency of Major Wilkinson,—as indeed the name would indicate; the first syllable of his name have been thrown out by a barbarous abbreviation.—There is a Deputy-Commissioner at 18,000 Rs. a year; there are two Principal Assistants at 12,000 Rs. annually; and two first-class Assistants at 9600 Rs.; and a second-class Assistant at 6000 Rs. a-year. Some years ago this country was the seat of an

insurrection, which was put down by a military force. Since that period, perfect tranquillity has reigned in the province; there has been no outbreak; and there is no improvement. It is the least flourishing and the least promising of all the non-Regulation provinces, though its climate is highly salubrious, and its natural resources are abundant.

ARRACAN is also governed by a Commissioner, under whom are four Senior Assistants on 12,000 Rs. a year, stationed at Akyab, Sandoway, Kyook Phoo, and Ramree, and three Junior Assistants on half that salary. Although this province abuts on the kingdom of Burmah, from which it was wrested during the late war, and a Burmese army might at any time pour down upon it through the Aeng Pass, so little apprehension is entertained of any such invasion, that the military force stationed in the province is adapted only for the support of the police. Of all the possessions acquired from the Burmese, this province exhibits the greatest degree of improvement and prosperity. Under a judicious system of administration, it has become the granary of the Bay of Bengal, and exports between 60 and 70,000 tons of its own grain. The entire area of the country does not exceed 16,000 square miles, and the inhabitants are estimated at 250,000; but this number is daily on the increase, and there can be little doubt that if there should be no check on the prosperity of this province, it will in a few years become one of the most productive and populous under this Government.

The TENASSERIM Provinces enjoy the services of a Commissioner, two principal Assistants, stationed at Moulmein and Tavoy, and a Junior Assistant at Mergui. The disproportion between the superficial area and population of this province is very remarkable. The area is about 30,000 square miles, while the number of inhabitants does not exceed 125,000. Of all the non-Regulation Provinces, it contains the smallest amount of population, and the smallest body of Civil functionaries. The great staple of the province is the Teak with which its forests abound. The facility which this timber affords for ship-building has been improved by several enterprizing Europeans; and many vessels have been constructed since the province came into our possession at the close of the last Burmese war. Moulmein, which is the chief district of the Tenasserim Provinces, contains a considerable number of European mercantile establishments; yet, as compared with Assam and Arracan, the province appears backward; both its popnlation and its prosperity is stationary.

On our North East frontier, lying to the south of Assam, are the COSSIA HILLS and the little district of CACHAR. In the former our sovereignty is in a great measure nominal. At the

chief station, that of Cherra-Poonjee, there is a small detachment of the Sylhet Light Infantry to maintain the peace; though since the mountaineers have been accustomed to our administration they have felt no wish to subvert it, and would now regard our removal from among them a great calamity. Cherra-Poonjee is a Sanatarium, which would have been much more resorted to than it has been, but for the excessive rain with which it is deluged, and the difficulty of access to it. The civil and criminal administration is entrusted to the Political Agent, but we have no civil stations within the range of hills. The Coal of Cherra is the finest yet discovered in India. In fact, it is the only coal with which a Steamer can venture to sea, and there is every prospect that the mines will be worked with spirit at no very distant period. This will give a new importance, and a fresh impulse of improvement to these Hills. The small district of Cachar, lying on the north east frontier of the Sylhet district, is under the management of a Military officer on a salary of 12,000 Rupees a year, who, as in other cases, combines the functions of Judge, Magistrate and Collector. In revenue matters, he is subordinate to the Commissioner of Revenue at Dacca, and in Judicial matters, to the Civil and Sessions Judge of Sylhet.

The TRIBUTARY MEHALS of Cuttack, comprise a large extent of territory, stretching to the West of that district, governed by its own rude chiefs, and placed under the immediate control of the Commissioner of the Province and his Assistants.

The city of CALCUTTA, is comprised within the limits of the Ditch which was dug a century ago, on the first Mahratta irruption into Bengal, and hence its inhabitants are often styled Ditchers, as the citizens of London are called Cockneys. It is governed entirely by English law, administered in the Supreme Court of Judicature, to which three Judges are appointed by the Crown, of whom the chief receives £8000 a year, and the two Puisne Judges £6000 annually. The statute laws by which its decisions are guided are those which were passed by Parliament before the year 1727; those which Parliament has subsequently extended by special provisions to this country, and the laws which the Legislative Council of India has enacted for its guidance, since the power of legislating for all courts throughout India was entrusted to that body. It has its establishment of judicial officers, its Master, Prothonotary, Clerk, &c. to whom the executive Government of Bengal gives fixed salaries, in lieu of the fees, which are collected and carried to its credit. The Court enjoys a Common law, an Equity, an Ecclesiastical, an Admiralty, and a Bankrupt jurisdiction. Those functions which in England are divided among different Courts are here exercised in one Court and by the same Judges. The course of justice is

dilatory and expensive, and even the Natives, with all their national fondness for litigation, have endeavoured rather to avoid the Supreme Court. There is also a Court of Requests in Calcutta for the adjudication of suits to the extent of 400 Rs. Till within the last few years this Court entertained and decided suits for debt of all sorts, within this pecuniary limit; and as its procedure was rapid and inexpensive, it occupied a very useful position in our institutions, and was enabled to dispense justice in a great variety of cases, in which it would have been impossible for the parties to resort to the Supreme Court. But, four or five years ago, it was unfortunately discovered by an acute lawyer, that the jurisdiction of this Court did not legally extend beyond the cognizance of simple debts, which formed but a very small and unimportant portion of its business. The question was brought before the Supreme Court, judicially, when it was decided that the Court of Requests had exceeded its jurisdiction. Since that period it has rejected all suits except those for simple debts, and thus, a large body of suitors have been cut off from all access to justice; for the costliness of the Supreme Court forbids their appealing to it. The Court of Requests formerly enjoyed the services of three Commissioners; but in consequence of the contraction of its functions, and the discussions which arose thereupon, one vacancy has not been filled up. The Senior Commissioner receives a salary of 1400 Rs., the Junior Commissioner of 1200 Rs. a-month. The latter is a Native gentleman, Baboo Russomoy Dutt, whose decisions afford general satisfaction.

The Police of Calcutta is under the control of a Chief Magistrate, with a Salary of 36,000 Rs. and a Superintendent of Police on an allowance of 18,000 Rs. a year, with a regular establishment of Assistants and Constables, European and Native. There are also three Magistrates, the one on a Salary of 2072 Rupees per mensem, the second on 1200; and the third on 1000 Rs. a month. The Senior Magistrate is the venerable Mr. Blacquiere, the contemporary and literary associate of Sir W. Jones, who, at an octogenarian age, still attends to his duties with a degree of assiduity and success which, in an exhausting climate like that of India, appears a miracle.

The Ecclesiastical Establishment attached to the Presidency of Bengal, includes those chaplains which the Supreme Government of India may place at its disposal. The Bishop, with a salary of 45,977 Rupees a-year, presides over the diocese, assisted by an Archdeacon, who, in addition to his pay of Senior Chaplain, receives an extra allowance of 3,200 Rupees a-year. Of the entire number of Chaplains, the first sixteen rank as Seniors, and receive, 9,600 Rupees a-year and the rest as

Junior Chaplains on 6,000 Rs. The period for passing through the inferior grade is about eight years. The two Senior Chaplains are moreover attached to the Cathedral, and divide 25,214 Rupees between them. The number of Chaplains attached to the division of the Bengal Presidency is twenty-five. In all matters connected with doctrine and eccelesiastical discipline, they are under the direction of their Diocesan, but their position in our local institutions is that of military Chaplains. A senior Chaplain ranks as a Major, a junior takes rank with a Captain, and their retiring allowances are regulated by this military distinction. The Court of Directors have invariably refused to recognize them as standing in the relation of an incumbent to a parish at home. The allotment of their stations, therefore, rests exclusively with the political authorities of the country, who have the same power to transfer a Chaplain from one station to another, as they have to send a Colonel from one Regiment to another.

There are also two Presbyterian Clergymen on the public establishment, of whom the senior receives 13,513 Rupees, and the junior 9,600 Rupees a year.

It only remains to bring into one point of view the receipts and disbursements of the various departments into which the Government of Bengal is divided; and thus to present the reader with a comprehensive survey of its finances. For these items, we are indebted to the labors of the Financial Committee appointed by Lord Ellenborough, consisting of Mr. Millett, Mr. Davidson, and Mr. Dorin. Their report is equally remarkable for its elaborate details, its just discrimination, and its minute accuracy, and is unquestionably the most useful and important financial document ever presented to Government. It furnishes the model for all future reports on this subject, and thus abridges the labors of all future Committees. From their report we extract the following particulars of the income and expenditure of the year 1841-42, the last year embraced by their researches:

	Receipts.	Charges.
Judicial Department	4,78,046	52,85,300
The Land Revenue	4,10,56,039	51,81,813
The Stamps	23,51,112	1,38,285
The Salt Department	1,93,29,224	54,23,376
The Opium Department	1,38,26,480	57,87,689
The Mint	6,04,021	5,48,662
The Customs	51,89,324	6,76.631
The Marine	8,13,828	23,86,882
Total Co.'s Rs.	8,36,48,074	2,54,28,638

This statement does not include the Establishments in Assam, Arracan, Tenasserim, and Cachar; but these provinces afford no surplus revenue; the income is barely sufficient, for the

maintenance of internal peace, and external security. Neither does it include the Ecclesiastical and Post Office departments, the pensions and charitable allowances, the expense of the various schools of learning, or the miscellaneous general civil expenditure at home or in India; nor the receipts and charges connected with the Supreme Court, the Court of Requests, or the Police of Calcutta. Unfortunately these minor departments of expense were not included within the circle of research prescribed for the Finance Committee; and as that body has been dissolved, there is no hope of obtaining for them the same patient and careful investigation which has been so happily bestowed on the larger branches of the public expenditure. We are left therefore to conjecture their amount; and we think we fall within the mark, by stating that fifty lacs of Rupees will cover the charges incurred in all these departments. Adding this sum to the expenditure acknowledged by the Committee, we have 3,04,28,638 Rupees, or a little more than three millions sterling, to deduct from the rent Roll of the state, amounting to Rs. 8,36,48,074, and we have therefore a surplus revenue, of five millions sterling to meet the political and military charges of Government.

This is a highly satisfactory result of our administration. In the most palmy days of the Moosulman government, at the beginning of the last century, under the enlightened rule of the great Moorshed Kooly Khan, when the largest amount of revenue was obtained with the least oppression of the people, the income of Bengal and Behar did not exceed two millions and a quarter sterling. The same provinces now yield the British Government more than eight millions sterling. If this augmentation of the public revenue had been accompanied with the encreased depression of the country; if the upper classes had become more impoverished, and the lower classes more wretched in proportion as the public exchequer had been replenished, the survey we have now taken of the finances would supply matter for humiliation and regret, instead of matter of exultation. But there is nothing in the apparent condition of native Society in our day as compared with any history—or tradition of its state under the ablest Mahomedan rulers, which could lead us to conclude that the country has been injured by our taxation. The salt tax presses more heavily on the comfort of the poor than under the previous dynasty; and that which is a necessary of life has in too many instances become a costly, and almost unattainable luxury; but, with this exception, there is every reason to believe that the encreased revenue now obtained from the country is raised with less of general or individual inconvenience than the smaller revenue of Moorshed Kooly Khan, even though the burden of taxation has been encreased to the rate of *three shilling and six pence* a head.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Miscellaneous East India Papers, ordered by the House of Commons,* 1813.

2. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, with Appendices,* 1832.

3. *Holwell's Historical Events, Parts II and III.*

4. *The Despatches, &c. of the Marquess Wellesley, Vol. II.* 1837.

5. *Institutes of Manu, translated by Sir William Jones. New Edition.*

THE subject of native education is one, which, from its pre-eminent importance, it is our purpose successively to discuss in its varied bearings and relationships. The present series of papers may, therefore, be considered as altogether of a preparatory character. When the philanthropist casts his eye over the vast realm now subjected to British sway, he cannot but be deeply affected at the degraded and prostrate condition of its teeming inhabitants. As various measures for their amelioration present themselves to his view, he cannot but reflect, that, as intelligence and virtue have ever proved the grand *conservative* principles of society, so must the impartation of superior intelligence and moral virtue alone be fraught with *restorative* energy, in the case of a society that has practically slidden away from the dominion of both. Good Government and good laws will doubtless ever prove most powerful, if not indispensable, auxiliaries. But, what can such government and laws avail, when the great masses of the people, from lack of intelligence, are unable to appreciate their excellence, and from a destitution of virtue, are equally disinclined to a willing and cheerful obedience? Education, therefore, a sound, wholesome, and well regulated education—as the mightiest instrument of intelligence and virtue,—soon forces itself on the meditative spirit, as a power of the first magnitude, and challenges unto itself a foremost position in the clustering series of ameliorative measures.

In further pondering on this theme, and with special reference to the adoption of plans of practical usefulness, the ques-

tion naturally suggests itself, What, in this respect, have the natives done for themselves? In other words, what is the actually existing condition of indigenous education? To this important question we endeavoured, in a former number,* to furnish a satisfactory reply. From data of incontrovertible accuracy, the entire subject of native instruction was reviewed, both in regard to its *quantity* and *quality*, its *extent* and *distribution*. To that article we now refer the reader for the amplest details, exhibitive of the *execrable nature* of the *quality* of indigenous instruction, throughout every department, whether elementary or learned. The entire system, both as to subject-matter and discipline, was shewn to be singularly fitted, not to invigorate but to paralyse the mental powers—not to purify and regulate but to deprave and mis-direct the moral energies. Moreover, it was fully shewn, that, had the system been as unexceptionable in its character and tendencies, as it is notoriously the reverse, it is fearfully inadequate in its *extent* and *distribution*. By a process of fair and legitimate induction, it was shewn that in "the most highly cultured district visited by the government commissioner, only 16 per cent. of the teachable or school-going population do actually receive *any kind or degree* of instruction at all; and in the least cultured district visited, only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. receive any kind or degree of instruction;—while the *aggregate average* for *all* the districts is no more than $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.—leaving $92\frac{1}{4}$ of every 100 children of the teachable age, *wholly destitute of all kinds and degrees of instruction whatsoever!*" By a similar process, it was also fully shewn, with respect to the *adult* population, that "the *aggregate average* for *all* the districts is no more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—leaving $94\frac{1}{2}$ of every 100 adults *wholly destitute of all kinds and degrees of instruction whatsoever?*" The conclusion, then, appeared inevitable, that the aggregate amount of educational destitution in this land is utterly appalling.

Omitting, for the present, all notice of the operations of Missionary and other Charitable Societies, the next question which naturally presents itself to the anxious mind, is, What has the British government, with its unrivalled power and ample revenues, achieved for the educational improvement of the people? To the answer of this question, as preliminary to more general discussions, we now apply ourselves—beginning with the *early or exclusively oriental*† *period of government education.*

* See No. IV. Art. I.

† By the term "oriental," as employed in these dissertations, is to be understood "*learned* orientalism," as contradistinguished from *vernacular* teaching. The abbreviated form of "oriental" is generally used, simply to prevent circumlocution.

The *first* institution for Native Education, established by the British Government in the presidency of Bengal, was the MADRISSA or MUHAMMADAN COLLEGE of Calcutta, in the year 1781. The request of several Muhammadans of distinction originated the idea of such an undertaking; to Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, belonged the whole credit or discredit of its accomplishment. With a munificence characteristic of the man, he provided for the intended College a building at his own expense. The sum, however, amounting to about *six thousand pounds*, was subsequently refunded to him by the Company. At his earnest recommendation also, lands were assigned by the Government, for the support of the institution, of the estimated value of about *three thousand* pounds annually.

What then, it may be asked, were the specific ends proposed by the Governor-General, in founding such an institution?—to introduce an improved literature and science, and thereby gradually rectify the errors, assuage the bigotry, and improve the character of the Mussalman population? Nothing of the kind. The only languages to be taught were the Arabic and Persian languages. The only subjects to be studied, were those already contained in Arabic and Persian works. Natural philosophy; theology; law; astronomy; geometry; arithmetic; logic; rhetoric; oratory; grammar;—all these were to be inculcated, not as re-cast and re-created in European moulds, but as elaborated in the mint of an antiquated and effete orientalism: while it was especially provided that every Sunday should be set apart for purifications and religious worship. By the adoption of such a course, the Governor, actuated merely by views of secular or political expediency, hoped, by gratifying their national tastes and predilections, to conciliate the haughty and obdurate followers of the prophet—mitigate their prejudices against those who had supplanted them in the sovereignty of these Indian realms—and contribute to the more successful administration of public affairs, by training up a superiorly qualified class of native officers, more especially, for the courts of justice.

In order to humour, if not flatter the pride of the Mussalmen, a member of their own community, Mahomed Moiz-u-din, was appointed superior and guardian of the Institution. In this officer was "vested the immediate management of all the affairs of the Madrissa and administration of its revenues. He was directed to deliver in to the Committee of Revenue, monthly statements of the number of students actually maintained on the establishment with their names and salaries. A member of the Committee of Revenue was authorized and

enjoined, once in every three months or oftener, to visit the Madrissa, in order to see that the building was kept in proper repair, and that in all other respects the efficiency of the institution was maintained. The principal officer of the native courts of law was also instructed, that whenever vacancies should arise in the Foujdary courts, they should be filled from the students of the Madrissa, upon the production of certificates from the superior, that the individuals nominated by him were duly qualified for their respective appointments."

From such a system of management and superintendence what could be expected? A genuine Asiaticised Maulavi in full charge of the revenual and educational affairs of an extensive institution! In those days, however, the real nature of such a being was not sufficiently understood. Experience had not yet shed its revealing light upon it. The mind was filled with gorgeous visions of the literary stars which blazed from the horizon to the zenith, in the days of the Caliphate. And who could tell, whether from these southern latitudes a constellation might not emerge, which in splendour would outdazzle and eclipse the hitherto unrivalled glories of the more northern skies of Bagdat and of Ghizni? These, alas, were dreams more worthy of the speculative and amusing philosophists of Laputa than of sober statesmen at the head of a great and still increasing empire. And, what was the result? In 1788, grievous complaints were lodged with the government of "great misconduct and mismanagement on the part of the superior?" The new Governor-General, Sir John Shore, then undertook the general reformation of the institution. What remedy did he propose? The most ineffective that could well be devised. The interior management was simply transferred from the former superior, who was found so incompetent and unworthy of trust, to another Maulavi, Mujid-u-din, the head preceptor. It was but an escape from the stagnant marsh into a swampy bog—as putrescent as it was stagnant. Three years had scarce elapsed, when in 1791, the institution was again discovered to be "in a state of disorder, and some of the students to be persons of most depraved characters." This disgraceful state of things being attributed to "the neglect of duty on the part of Mujid-u-din," he was removed from his situation. Surely experience will have succeeded in conveying its significant lesson now! No. Another branch is to be lopped off from the corrupt tree; but to the root of the tree itself the felling axe must not be laid. The mismanaging Maulavi is simply removed; and another of the same incorrigible race duly appointed in his stead! At

length, however, the distemper appearing to prove incurable, it was resolved that the future government of the institution should be in the hands of "a committee of superintendence, consisting of the acting president of the Board of Revenue, the Persian translator to government, and the preparer of reports, who were directed to meet at the Madrissa once in every two months, or oftener if required; to see that the several persons there performed their duties, and to control all the expenses of the establishment; also to frame regulations, subject to the confirmation of government." For a time, while the subject was recommended by all the attractions of novelty, the appointment of this Committee appeared to infuse something like new life and vigor into the somewhat rectified and partially re-modelled administration of affairs. But there was no reform, no attempted improvement in the *internal discipline, the modes of teaching,* or *the subject-matter of the studies.* All, all of these still presented, and were studiously designed to present, *the hue, aspect, and substance of a pure, unmixed, undiluted orientalism,—cast and fashioned in the most genuine Arabic mould!*

The *next* institution for native education established by the British government, was the Sanskrit College of Benares. It was originally projected in 1791, by Jonathan Duncan, Esq., then the British Resident at Benares, the holy city of the Hindus. The expense for the first year was limited to *fourteen* thousand rupees; but on the year following, it was augmented to *twenty* thousand; at which amount it has continued down to the present time. It was designed and expected to accomplish for the Hindus those ends of policy which the Calcutta Madrissa was intended to achieve for the Mussalman population. To prevent, however, any possible mistake on this important head, we shall here quote the authoritative summary furnished by Mr. Fisher from the official documents deposited in the archives of government:—

"The object of this institution was *the preservation and cultivation of the laws, literature and* RELIGION of the Hindus (and more particularly their laws) in their sacred city; a measure which it was conceived would be equally advantageous to the natives, and honourable to the British government among them.

"The establishment originally consisted of a head-pundit or rector, eight professors; nine students who enjoyed salaries; with book-keepers, writers, peons, &c. The Governor-General was constituted visitor, and the resident his deputy. Besides the scholars on the foundation, and a certain number of poor children who were to receive instruction gratis, the institution was open to all persons who were willing to pay for instruction: the teachers and students to hold their places during the pleasure of the visitor. *All*

the professors, except the professor of medicine, to be *Brahmans.* The Brahmans to have preference in succession to the office of rector, or to professorships. Four examinations in the year to be held before the resident. Each professor to compose annually for the use of his students, a lecture on his respective science. Examinations into the *most sacred branches of knowledge* to be made by a committee of Brahmans. Courses of study to be prepared by the professors. *The internal discipline to be in all respects conformable to the Dharma Shastra, in the chapter on education.*

"The prescribed course of study in this college to comprehend,—*Theology; ritual;* medicine, botany; music; mechanic arts; grammar, prosody, and sacred lexicography; mathematics; metaphysics; logic; law; history; ethics; philosophy and poetry."

And while the entire staple or subject-matter of instruction in the new institution was to consist of the antiquated errors and impieties which ages of dominant heathenism had accumulated in the reservoirs of Sanskrit lore, it is worthy of special note that even "the internal discipline was to be *in all respects* conformable to the Dharma Shastra, in the chapter on education."

The inquisitive reader may be curious to know the nature and character of an educational discipline, which, towards the latter end of last century, commanded the reverence, as it obtained the official sanction, of the supreme government of British India. Turning to the Dharma Shastra, to the chapter on education, we there find the entire system of discipline duly prescribed, on an authority, which every sincere Hindu must believe to be infallible and divine. Like every thing else connected with the Hindu ceremonial, it descends into minutenesses that cast over the whole the air of a ludicrous puerility.

Amongst other things it is ordained that the Brahmanical student must wear for his mantle, the hide of a black antelope, common deer, or goat, with lower vests of woven *sana.* His girdle must be made of *munja,* in a triple cord, smooth and soft; but if the *munja* be not procurable, the zone must be formed of the grass *cusa.* His sacrificial thread must be made of cotton, so as to be put on over his head, in three strings. He must carry a staff of *vilva* or *Palasa;* which must be of such length as to reach his hair, straight, without fracture, of a handsome appearance, not likely to terrify men, with its bark perfect, unhurt by fire.

Thus provided with his leathern mantle, girdle, sacrificial thread, and staff, the student, standing opposite to the sun, must next thrice walk round the fire from left to right, and perform, according to law, the ceremony of asking food. His first petition, prefaced with the respectful word *Chavati,* must be addressed to his mother, or sister, or mother's whole sister, or some other female who will not disgrace him. Having collected as

much of the desired food as he has occasion for, and presented it without guile to his preceptor, he is then to eat some of it, being duly purified. If he seek long life, he should eat with his face to the east; if exalted fame, to the south; if prosperity, to the west; if truth and its reward, to the north.

He must beware of giving any man what he leaves; and of eating any thing between morning and evening: he must also beware of eating too much, and of going any whither with a remnant of his food unswallowed.

Before and after meals, as well as on many other occasions, the student must carefully perform his ablutions. This is to be done with the pure part of his hand, which is under the root of the thumb, and with water neither hot nor frothy, standing in a lonely place, and turning to the east or to the north. He is first to sip water thrice; then twice wipe his mouth; and lastly, sprinkle with water the six hollow parts of his head, or his eyes, ears, and nostrils.

Thus clad, fed, and purified, the student is so far prepared for the instructions of his preceptor. But there are still other essential preliminaries. At the beginning and end of the lecture, he must, with crossed hands, always clasp the feet of his tutor, touching the left foot with his left, and the right, with his right. He must also, at the commencement and close of a lecture on the Veda, always pronounce to himself the syllable *om;* for, unless the syllable *om* precede, his learning will slip away from him; and, unless it follow, nothing will be long retained. But the utterance of a syllable endowed with a quality so mysterious, and yet so utilitarian, must not be lightly gone about. No! If the student have sitten on culms of *cusa* with their points towards the east, and be purified by rubbing that holy grass on both his hands, and be farther prepared by three suppressions of breath, each equal in time to five short vowels, he may then fitly pronounce *om!* Thus prepared he may next commence his reading; taking special care, however, that he read with both his hands closed. And this is called scriptural homage.

Another essential part of the student's discipline consists in the periodical repetition, after the prescribed form, of the ineffable text, called the *gayatri.* At the morning twilight, in particular, he is to stand repeating it until he see the sun; and at evening twilight, he is to repeat it sitting, until the stars distinctly appear. The due utterance of it is attended with the removal of sin and the cleansing from all impurities.

Day by day, having bathed and being purified, he is to offer fresh water to the Gods, the Sages, and the Manes; to shew

respect to the images of the deities, and bring wood for the oblation of fire. He is to abstain from honey, from flesh meat, from perfumes, from chaplets of flowers, from sweet vegetable juices, from all sweet substances turned acid, from injury to animated beings, from unguents for his limbs, from black powder for his eyes, from wearing sandals and carrying an umbrella, from dancing, and from vocal and instrumental music. He is daily to carry water-pots, flowers, cow-dung, fresh earth and *cusa* grass, as much as may be useful, to his preceptor. He is constantly to sleep alone, and on a low bed.

The student is daily to perform the duty of a religious mendicant, and to receive his food by begging;—being careful to receive none from persons deficient in performing the sacrifices and other duties which the Vedas ordain, or from cousins of his preceptor, of from his own cousins, or from other kinsmen by the father's or the mother's side. Daily too, must be bring logs of wood from a distance, and placing them in the open air, make an oblation to fire without remissness.

In the presence of his preceptor, the student must always eat less, and wear a coarser mantle with worse appendages. He must rise before and go to rest after his tutor. He must not answer his teacher's orders, or converse with him, reclining on a bed, nor sitting, nor eating, nor standing, nor with an averted face. He must both answer and converse, if his preceptor sit, standing up; if he stand, advancing toward him; if he advance, meeting him; if he run, hastening after him; if his face be averted, going round to front him, from left to right; if he be at a little distance, approaching him; if reclined, bending to him; and if he stand ever so far off, running toward him. He must never pronounce the mere name of his tutor, even in his absence; nor ever mimic his gait, his speech, or his manner. By censuring his preceptor, though justly, he will, in the next birth, become an ass; by falsely defaming him, a dog; by using his goods without leave, a small worm; by envying his merit, a larger insect or reptile. He must not sit with his preceptor to the leeward, or to the windward of him. But he may sit with his teacher in a carriage drawn by bulls, horses, or camels; on a terrace, on a pavement of stones, or on a mat of woven grass; on a rock, on a wooden bench, or in a boat! *

But enough. These specimens will suffice to indicate the distinguishing *spirit* of the internal discipline to which the students, all of the Brahmanical order, must in all respects conform. The subjects taught were worthy of the discipline, and

* See Institutes of Manu.

the discipline worthy of the subjects taught. Between these there was a perfect harmony—a fitting congruity;—both being essentially Oriental, and therefore essentially formalistic and heathenish in their character. So that here was another College launched into being, under the auspices of British authorities, for the exclusive inculcation of a *pure, unmixed, undiluted orientalism*, in its varied *unimproved* forms of Science and Literature, Philosophy and Theology, Medicine and Law—as cast and fashioned in the *most genuine Sanskrit mould!*

While two of the mightiest anti-christian systems that ever scourged the earth or shed a baleful influence on the immortal destinies of man, were thus rising into new life and vigour under the fostering patronage of nominal British Christians in the east, the small but chosen and faithful band of worthies, who had survived the general paralysis of Protestant evangelical Christianity in the west, were striving to break down the barriers, and let in a stream of living waters on India's chafed and thirsty soil. The leaders, who signalized themselves in this noble enterprize, were Mr. Charles Grant, father of the present Lord Glenelg, and the celebrated Mr. Wilberforce. As the subject of renewing the East India Company's Charter was to come before the Imperial Legislature in 1793, the former of these gentlemen, in the preceding year, prepared an elaborate treatise for the special private perusal of the President of the Board of Control, then the Right Hon'ble Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, and the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. In this most able dissertation, the author presents a luminous view of British Territorial Administration in the East—of the state of society among the Hindu subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals—and of the causes which have produced the present situation and character of the Hindus. These discussions he follows up by a special inquiry into the measures which might be adopted by Great Britain for the improvement of the condition of her Asiatic subjects. Amongst other measures he pleads most earnestly, argumentatively, and eloquently, for the introduction of sound European knowledge, and especially, the elevating truths of the Christian faith. And after having repelled the arguments of his opponents, and successfully exposed their wretched fallacies, he thus concludes in a strain, at once calm, dignified, and solemn:—

"He (the author) will not allow himself to believe, that when so many noble and beneficial ends may be served by our possession of an empire in the East, we shall content ourselves with the meanest and the least, and for the

sake of this, frustrate all the rest. He trusts we shall dare to do justice, liberal justice, and be persuaded, that this principle will carry us to greater heights of prosperity, than the precautions of a selfish policy. Future events are inscrutable to the keenest speculation, but the path of duty is open, the time present is ours. By planting our language, our knowledge, our opinions, and our religion, in our Asiatic territories, we shall put a great work beyond the reach of contingencies; we shall probably have wedded the inhabitants of these territories to this country; but at any rate, we shall have done an act of strict duty to them, and a lasting service to mankind.

In considering the affairs of the world as under the control of the Supreme Disposer, and those distant territories, as by strange events, providentially put into our hands, is it not reasonable, is it not necessary that we might diffuse among their inhabitants, long sunk in darkness, vice, and misery, the light and the benign influences of truth, the blessings of well-regulated society, the improvements and the comforts of active industry? And that in prudently and sincerely endeavouring to answer these ends, we may not only humbly hope for some measure of the same success which usually attended serious and rational attempts, for the propagation of that pure and sublime religion which comes from God, but best secure the protection of his providential government, of which we now see such awful marks in the events of the world.

In every progressive step of this work, we shall also serve the original design with which we visited India, that design still so important to this country;—the extension of our commerce. Why is it that so few of our manufactures and commodities are vended there? Not merely because the taste of the people is not generally formed to the use of them, but because they have not the means of purchasing them. The proposed improvements would introduce both. As it is, our woollens, our manufactures in iron, copper, and steel, our clocks, watches, and toys of different kinds, our glass-ware, and various other articles, are admired there, and would sell in great quantities if the people were rich enough to buy them. Let invention be once awakened among them, let them be roused to improvements at home, let them be led by industry to multiply, as they may exceedingly, the exchangeable productions of their country, let them acquire relish for the ingenious exertions of the human mind in Europe, for the beauties and refinements, endlessly diversified, of European art and science, and we shall hence obtain for ourselves the supply of four and twenty millions of distant subjects. How greatly will our country be thus aided in rising still superior to all her difficulties; and how stable, as well as unrivalled, may we hope our commerce will be, when we thus rear it on right principles and make it the means of their extension? It might be too sanguine to form into a wish an idea most pleasing and desirable in itself, that our religion and our knowledge might be diffused over other dark portions of the globe, where nature has been more kind than human institutions.—This is the noblest species of conquest; and wherever, we may venture to say, our principles and language are introduced, our commerce will follow.

To rest in the present state of things, or to determine that the situation of our Asiatic subjects, and our connection with them, are such as they ought to be for all time to come, seems too daring a conclusion: and if a change, a great change be necessary, no reason can be assigned for its commencement at any future period, which will not equally, nay, more strongly recommend its commencement now. To say, that things may be left to their own course, or that our European settlements may prove a sufficient nursery of moral and religious instruction for the natives, will be, in effect, to declare, that there shall be no alteration, at least, no effectual and safe one.

The Muhammadans, living for centuries intermixed in great numbers with the Hindus, produced no radical change in their character, not merely because they rendered themselves disagreeable to their subjects, but because they left those subjects, during that whole period, as uninstructed in effectual points as they found them. We are called rather to imitate the Roman Conquerors, who civilized and improved the nations whom they subdued, and we are called to this, not only by the obvious wisdom which directed their policy, but by local circumstances, as well as by sounder principles and higher motives than they possessed.

The examples also of modern European nations pass in review before us. We are the fourth of those who have possessed an Indian empire. That of the Portuguese, though acquired by romantic bravery, was unsystematic and rapacious; the short one of the French was the meteor of a vain ambition; the Dutch acted upon the principle of a selfish commercial policy; and these, under which they apparently flourished for a time, have been the cause of their decline and fall. None of these nations sought to establish themselves in the affections of their acquired subjects, or to assimilate them to their manners; and those subjects, far from supporting them, rejoiced in their defeat. Some attempts they made to instruct the natives, which had their use; but sordid views overwhelmed their effects. It remains for us to shew how we shall be distinguished from these nations in the history of mankind; whether conquest shall have been in our hands, the means, not merely of displaying a government, unequalled in India for administrative justice, kindness, and moderation; not merely of encreasing the security of the subject and prosperity of the country, but of advancing social happiness, of meliorating the moral state of men, and of extending a superior light, further than the Roman eagle ever flew.

If the novelty, the impracticability, the danger of the proposed scheme be urged against it, these objections cannot all be consistent; and the last, which is the only one that could have weight, presupposes success. In success would be our safety, not our danger. Our danger must lie in pursuing, from ungenerous ends, a course contracted and illiberal; but in following an opposite course, in communicating light, knowledge, and improvement, we shall obey the dictates of duty, of philanthropy, and of policy. We shall take the most rational means to remove inherent, great disorders, to attach the Hindu people to ourselves, to ensure the safety of our possessions, to enhance continually their value to us, to raise a fair and durable monument to the glory of this country, and to encrease the happiness of the human race.*

* An original copy of this most masterly performance, as printed for the use of the Court of Directors and of private connections—the presentation gift of the author, 3d June 1822, to Sir Henry Blosset one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, Calcutta—has fallen into the hands of the present writer. At the commencement, there are two MSS. pages, in the handwriting of the venerable author, which, as they pourtray the origin, object, and success of the work, we may here transfer entire:—"This tract was originally undertaken in the year 1792, with a view to conciliate the Indian authorities of that time, in favour of admitting into the new charter, then about to the granted to the India Company, a clause authorizing the promulgation of Christianity by European Protestant Missionaries among the subjects of Great Britain in the East. The task was attempted at the earnest desire of some respected friends without the least previous intention or preparation, and it was hastened through, lest it should be too late for its object. It was communicated in manuscript to the late Lord Melville, then President of the Board of Controul, and might have a little contributed to induce him to agree to certain resolutions introduced in the House of Commons early in 1793, recognizing the duty of this country to communicate moral and religious instruction to the Natives of its Asiatic dominions; but subsequent measures, taken by persons hostile to the dissemination of Christianity in these dominions, prevented the insertion of any such clause in the

The services rendered by Mr. Wilberforce were of a more public character—though aided and implemented throughout by the invaluable private exertions of his untiring friend Mr. Grant. Respecting the intellectual and moral improvement of our Asiatic fellow-subjects, a spirit of lethargy had seized, and a deep indifference had settled down upon the national mind. From this torpor and unconcern he now strove to awaken it. But the chief arena for this battle of disinterested philanthropy, was the Commons House of Parliament. There, on the 14th May, 1793, he brought forward the momentous subject in the form of a series of resolutions.* These were at first

charter. The subject however had began to attract some notice, and the writer thinking it particularly his duty, from his local acquaintance with India, and his becoming a member of the Court of Directors of the India Company, to advocate this cause, he, in the year 1797, laid his tract, in a measure corrected and enlarged, before that body. But the Court did not take the subject of it into any formal consideration. The opposition which had before appeared in that quarter still continued, and manifested itself against some private Missionary attempts which had been commenced, as well as in some publications which those attempts had produced. This tract, therefore, though it had been seen by various individuals, remained dormant in the India House till the year 1813, when on the occasion of another renewal of the Company's Charter, and another attempt (which ended more successfully) to introduce into it the principle of communicating moral and religious light to our Asiatic subjects, it was called for among many other documents by the House of Commons, and thence acquired somewhat more of publicity. But in the course of twenty years which had elapsed from the time it was first penned, many treatises had been published in favor of promulgating the Gospel in the East—treatises written when the subject had received a more general consideration, and with the advantage of much additional knowledge of the state and people of India. To render this thing at all worthy of the public attention, it required in the writer's opinion to be wholly recast, and adapted to existing circumstances; and having had some thought of this sort, he had collected many new materials, but a variety of other engrossing affairs, during a succession of years, superseded all such ideas. And now at the end of thirty years it can be only the partiality of a few kind friends that can view so obsolete a performance as in any degree interesting; but at the desire of one of these, to whom it is not easy to refuse any thing, this copy, one of the number originally printed for the use of the India House and of private connections, is confided to the candour of Sir Henry Blosset, with best wishes for his health and happiness by the writer."

* As these Resolutions may not be known to many of our readers we shall here insert them entire:—

"And whereas such measures ought to be adopted for the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement:

Be it therefore further enacted, that the said Court of Directors shall be and are hereby empowered and required to appoint and send out, from time to time, a sufficient number of fit and proper persons for carrying into effect the purposes aforesaid, by acting as schoolmasters, missionaries, or otherwise; every such person, before he is so appointed or sent out, having produced to the said Court of Directors a satisfactory testimonial or certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London for the time being, or from the Society in London for the promotion of Christian Knowledge, or from the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, of his sufficiency for these purposes.

And be it further enacted, that the said Court of Directors are hereby empowered and required to give directions to the governments of the respective presidencies in India, to settle the destination and to provide for the necessary and decent maintainance of the persons so to be sent out as aforesaid; and also to direct the said

more favourably received than could well have been anticipated. They were agreed to in committee, and entered on the Journals of the House; Mr. Dundas having promised his official support. Speedily, however, was the craven note of alarm sounded in the Council Chambers of Leadenhall Street. The Directors met. After deliberation, the proposed clauses were "strongly reprobated." Such opposition in those days carried with it a preponderant weight. The effect, accordingly, was soon seen "in the altered tone which Mr. Dundas assumed." But the hero of the Slave Trade Abolition was not to be daunted. He strenuously maintained his ground to the last. At the same time, his public appearances and appeals were characterized by the greatest moderation and sobriety. "It is not meant," argued he, "to break up by violence existing institutions, and force our faith on the natives of India, but gravely, silently, and systematically to prepare the way for the gradual diffusion of religious truth. Fraud and violence are directly repugnant to the genius and spirit of our holy faith, and would frustrate all attempts for its diffusion. To reject this measure would be to declare to the world that we are friends to Christianity, not because it is a revelation from heaven, nor even because it is conducive to the happiness of man, but only because it is the established religion of this country. In India we take equal care of Hinduism; our enlarged minds disdain the narrow prejudices of the contracted vulgar; like the ancient philosophers, we are led by the considerations of expediency to profess the popular faith, but we are happy in an opportunity

governments to consider of and adopt such other measures according to their discretion, as may appear to them most conducive to the ends aforesaid.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, that if any person so sent out as aforesaid shall at any time prove to be of immoral life and conversation, or shall be grossly negligent or remiss in the discharge of the duties of the station to which he shall have been so appointed, or shall engage, directly or indirectly, in any trade whatsoever, or shall accept of and hold any office or employment, public or private, other than that to which he shall have been so appointed, the governments of the respective presidencies shall be and they are hereby required to remove him from his employment, and send him back to Great Britain; and the act of government in so doing shall be final and conclusive, and shall not be examinable in any court of law whatsoever.

And that due means of religious worship and instruction may also be provided for all persons of the Protestant communion in the service or under the protection of the said company; Be it enacted that the said Court of Directors shall be and are hereby empowered and required, from time to time to send out and maintain in their several principal garrisons and factories, a sufficient number and supply of fit and proper ministers; and also to take and maintain a chaplain on board every ship in the service or employment of the said Company, being of the burthen of 700 tons or upwards: and that every charter-party to be entered into by the said Company for any ship of the burthen aforesaid, or any greater burthen, shall contain an express stipulation for the said Company to nominate and send on board such ship a chaplain for the purposes aforesaid, at their nomination and expense. Provided always, that no such minister or chaplain shall be so appointed or sent out until he shall first have been approved of by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London for the time being."

of shewing that we disbelieve it in our hearts and despise it in our judgments. Beware how this opinion goes abroad." All his pleadings and remonstrances, however, eventually failed. The star of the India House was completely in the ascendant; and a "disastrous twilight" must now he shed for another quarter of a century over half the eastern nations. "My clauses," says he, "thrown out—Dundas most false and double; but, poor fellow! much to be pitied." And again, "The East India Directors and Proprietors have triumphed—all my clauses were struck out on the *third* reading of the Bill, (with Dundas' consent!! this is *honour*) and our territories in Hindustan, twenty (now a hundred and twenty) millions of people included, are left in the undisturbed and peaceable possession, and committed to the providential protection of—Brahma!" *

Thus closed the eighteenth century on our growing empire in Asia. How strangely contrasted with the scenes exhibited in Europe at the same point and crisis of cotemporaneous history! While in the west, the hurricane of revolution was sweeping with resistless energy over the fairest of its regions —shattering and rooting out the stablest of its institutions, social, civil, and religious—and threatening speedily to engulph, in its whirling eddies, alike the forms of antiquated error, the goodliest fruitage of surviving sacredness, and the noblest monuments of eternal truth;—in the east, the mantle of a worse than mediæval night was fast settling down, in all the sullenness of a gathering gloom—while the hoary spirit of an unchanging conservatism, under the rising star of British ascendancy, was fast reviving and re-animating the shrunken forms of those ghostly systems of impiety, superstition, and error, which for ages had overshadowed these orient realms with their darkening and malignant blight.

A contrast so strange—a phenomenon so singular—may well excite surprise. How are we to account for it? How came the spirit of a wild and rampant destructionism in the west to be transmuted into the spirit of a blind unthinking conservatism in the east? How came men, bearing the Christian name, and still professing allegiance to the Divine Founder of Christianity, so willingly to lend themselves as instruments in upholding and perpetuating systems so irreconcilably repugnant to the entire genius, scope, and end of the Christian faith?

Something of a palliative character may be alleged on the

* See Wilberforce's Life, by his Sons, vol. ii.

score *of a comparative ignorance of the real nature, workings and tendencies of these Anti-christian systems.* The repositories, in which they had long been locked up and concealed from the gaze of the European world, had not then been so searchingly explored, nor their contents so thoroughly excavated and laid bare, as they have been since by a succession of the profoundest investigators. Inacquaintance with their real nature, and inexperience of their practical value, had led to an enormous over-estimate of the intrinsic importance of these oriental treasures. And the veil of a huge but fascinating illusion having once overspread the eyes of men, the removal of it could not be expected to be the work of a day, nor, in the end, could the spell be broken but with extreme reluctance, nor the enchantment give way to aught but the overpowering glare of light and truth.

Much also of a palliative character may be attributed to the *sincere but timorous and mistaken spirit of a temporizing political expediency.* So long as the British were mere subjects without a fragment of sovereign power, they theoretically recognized to a certain extent the duty of imparting instruction to the natives,* not only in secular knowledge, but in the saving truths of Revelation. But no sooner had the subject-merchants found themselves, in the evolutions of a mysterious providence, metamorphosed into sovereign princes, than their views of responsibility and duty underwent a total revolution. Nor was this change of sentiment confined to the singular race of "Nabobs," or "Old Indians" alone,—of men, who had sunk the manliness of the European character in the effeminacy of the Asiatic—depositing what little of Christianity they ever possessed, at the shrine of a rampant heathenism—exchanging the comprehensive maxims of an enlightened policy for the contracted dotages of Oriental despotism—and merging the austerity of once purer morals into the sanctities of the Zenana. No!—these altered views were taken up and affiliated by all the leading statesmen of the day. Deadened, under the blight of an epidemic rationalism, in their own sense of duty towards the God of heaven, they became blind or indifferent to the dis-

* The following extract from the charter granted in 1698, by William III. will furnish authoritative evidence of this fact:—

"And we do hereby further will and appoint, that the said Company, hereby established, and their successors, shall constantly maintain one minister in every garrison and superior factory, which the same Company or their successors shall have in the said East Indies, or other the parts within the limits aforesaid, &c."

"And we do further will and appoint, that *all* such ministers as shall be sent to reside in India, as aforesaid, shall *be obliged to learn, within one year after their arrival, the Portuguese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos, that shall be the servants or slaves of the Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant religion, &c.*"

charge of their highest duties towards their fellow men. Filled with aversion, distaste, or positive enmity towards the spiritualities of the Christian faith, they instinctively concluded that all other men must be surcharged with similar antipathies. The Divine exhortation, "Seek ye *first* the kindgom of God and his righteousness, and all other things shall be added unto you," being, in the alembic of their carnalized affections, transmuted into this other and contrary maxim, "Seek ye *first* the kingdoms of this world, with their riches and honours, glory and power, and let all other things connected with the kingdom of God and his righteousness provide for themselves"—why should they strive to press on the reluctant inclinations of others what they had decided on repudiating for themselves? To do so would be not merely to act inconsistently with their own personal convictions and practices, but to provoke opposition and thereby endanger the stability of their rising empire! Thus replenished with hollow misgivings, fears, and alarms—the growth and offspring mainly of hearts, whose faithlessness to the interests of eternity rendered them oblivious of the best interests of time—they beheld, or idly dreamt they beheld, these misgivings, fears, and alarms reflected back upon them, as apparitions, in the shadow of every cloud; or heard, or idly dreamt they heard them echoed, as ghostly sounds, in the rustling of every leaf, and murmured in the whisperings of every breeze. In the moral and religious enlightenment of the natives, and especially their conversion to the Christian faith, were discerned all the seeds of future peril, anarchy, and ruin! These time-serving sentiments at length found a formal and authoritative utterance. In a manifesto signed by a Governor-General of India, and all the members of his Supreme Council, we find these words:—"While the British Government in India continued to be a subordinate power, the efforts of——— in the work of conversion, were not likely to excite among the natives of India any apprehensions either of the disposition or the power of the British Government to impair the stability of the prevailing systems of religion. In the present ascendancy of the British power in India, however, the natives may naturally be led to apprehend that the augmented efforts of ——— exercised under the immediate protection of the Government, are supported and encouraged by its authority. They may be induced to imagine that the possession of unrivalled power, of a dominion extending over a great proportion of the continent of Hindustan, and of an ascendant influence or controul over all the primary states of India, may suggest the accomplishment of an object, which the comparative inferiority of our power and

influence hitherto excluded from the contemplation of Government,—the gradual substitution of its religion for the actual religion of its subjects. Under these circumstances, therefore, the labours of ———— are calculated in a far greater degree to excite alarm among our native subjects than they were at any former period of time." True,—all very true—cordially responds the Right Honorable the President of the Board of Controul, backed by the whole body of his fellow Commissioners, and the Honorable the Court of Directors. True—all most true, sagacious, prudent, and just.—" The paramount power which we now possess in India, undoubtedly demands from us additional caution upon this subject ; it imposes upon us the necessity, as well as strengthens our obligation, to protect the natives in the free and undisturbed profession of their religious opinions ; and to take care that they are neither harassed nor irritated by any premature or over-zealous attempts to convert them to Christianity." And thus, on the lowest views of a narrow, worldly, self-aggrandizing expediency, all knowledge is denied of that sovereign panacea which its all-wise and all-gracious Author designed for " the healing of the nations !"

Besides the palliatives to be found in the comparative ignorance of the oriental systems, and the natural but mistaken views of political expediency, much also may be fairly attributed to *the predominant spirit and tendencies of the age.* True, the effects or results exhibited on the stage of the Eastern world were not merely, to outward appearance, diverse from but actually opposed, in their essential nature and character, to those exhibited on the stage of the Western. But a narrower scrutiny may suffice to shew that, however apparently diverse or even opposite, such effects may have resulted from varied modifications of one and the same generic cause.

The Reformation,—by letting in the streams of ancient classic Literature, in all their beauty and grandeur, on regions of intellect that had become exhausted under the threadbare entities and quiddities of scholastic disputation, and the insipid legends and alliterations of monkish lore,—had given a new direction to the literary taste of Europe, imparted a mighty impulse to its latent genius, and rendered the soil of its reason, intelligence, and fancy, prolific of the noblest growths. But two centuries of incessant and widely diffusive labour had done for the classics all that could well be done, and extracted out of them all that could well be extracted. All ancient manuscripts had been collated, digested, classified and arranged. All the various readings had been accurately determined. Grammars, dictionaries, annotations, and commentaries without number

had been composed. The orthography, etymology, syntax and prosody, of almost every single word and sentence, with the punctuation, accents and digammas, had been discussed to very weariness, and elaborately settled. The claims and pretensions, merits and demerits, beauties and sublimities of the different authors had formed the studies of ten thousand schools, and the themes of ten thousand thousand dissertations,—till every subject had become trodden and bare as the most frequented thoroughfares of a great metropolis, and as scarped and unproductive of new fruits, as the calcined cliffs of the Arabian desert. Under the incumbent weight of such endless monotonies and repetitions, the universal mind had become wearied; under the unceasing flow of such unvaried sweetnesses, the universal taste had become satiated and palled. The universal soul of Europe seemed to sigh for something new, something fresh, something original, something exciting,—to awaken its drowsed feelings, whet its blunted curiosity, and stimulate its jaded appetite. Now, when any sentiment or idea, however dimly perceived, any want or longing, however vaguely felt, becomes general, all-pervading, some master spirit or spirits usually appear—at once the products of their age and the producents of its permanent character—to give such sentiment or idea, such want or longing, as its organs and representatives, a clear and definite expression. Once clearly and definitely expressed, myriads of minds instantly recognize it as an embodiment of what they themselves had obscurely perceived, or felt, or longed for; myriads of voices are ready eagerly and joyously to shout, Amen.

Such, we doubt not, was one ingredient at least in the real secret of the fatal and unparalleled success which attended the writings of Rousseau and his literary associates. Deeply imbued with the spirit, and sighing under the felt wants of his age, this child of passion and creature of impulse burst through all time-honoured and merely conventional restraints. Themes and modes of treatment, long stale and hacknied, he totally eschewed. His own heart being stirred up from its lowest depths, the effusions of a glowing yet morbid sensibility were poured forth, in impetuous torrents, over an arid and thirsty soil.

Never apparently did more turbid or pellucid streams unite in swelling the volume of the same current. Gushes of noble and generous enthusiasm, interchanged with jets of moody and sullen misanthropy; the coldness and gloom of a dismal scepticism, ever and anon contrasted with the warmth and radiancy of a sentimental pietism; the throes and pangs of general

humanity agonzing in hopeless travail, heard dolefully to resound amid dreams and visions of the indefinite perfectibility of man; nature now mantling with the glow and ardour of love, and peopled with the forms of ideal beauty, and then groaning beneath the influence of some malignant energy that converts her into a tomb for the scattered wrecks of things that were; the wildest ravings of infuriate passion, shaded and soberized by the reflections of a calm and emotionless reason; the most egregious and pernicious fallacies, holding fond dalliance with long established but neglected truths; the most stirring appeals, fitted to arouse ingenuous and enkindle sensitive natures, commingled with addresses to all that is low, degrading, and debasing in the propensities of a corrupt society;—such, such was the strangely mixed and chaotic character of the effusions of the man, who, saturated with the spirit and wants of his age, boldly rose to give them articulate utterance, and was, in consequence, indolatrously hailed us a beacon and luminary, not of that age only, but of all future epochs. But, wild, extravagant and incongruous as they were, they came streaming forth, over a dry and parched land, with such an imposing air of freshness and novelty, arrayed in the drapery of such an enchanting eloquence, and resplendent with the corruscations of such a sparkling genius, as to captivate and entrance half the nations.

Now, men of education and literary accomplishments, imbued in different degrees with the peculiar spirit and wants of their age, had gone forth to India, but unendowed with those commanding powers that could distinctly articulate their own thoughts and feelings, or create for themselves new schools of literature and philosophy to supersede the old. Here, however, was the very turning point, or rubicon, which determined their future destinies. What Rousseau and his co-adjutors achieved, by the emanations of original genius, for the literary republics of the West, the European adventurers on the plains of India found already achieved for them by the poets and sages of that gorgeous land. When the portals which, for unknown centuries, had guarded the entrance to these flowery realms, were thrown wide open, it seemed like the revealing of new gardens of delight,—the discovery of new and more glorious worlds. It seemed as if the fountains of the great deep of an unfathomable antiquity had been broken up,—disclosing pearls of inestimable price. It seemed as if the primeval sources, whence had welled forth such copious rills of story and heroic song—of language, philosophy, and science—among the western nations, had been unsealed. It seemed as if the innermost

shrine of all ancient heathen wisdom, with its recondite lore and mystic symbolisms, had been at length unveiled.

On the minds of the first discoverers and explorers, wearied and worn out with the stale and improverished forms of occidentalism, and panting for the excitements of novelty, all this operated with a vertiginous and intoxicating effect. The whole seemed so new, so fresh, so original, so unlike all the antiquated types and models of the West, that the mind was at once aroused and enraptured. The very wildness, grotesqueness, and extravagance of these ancient compositions, yea, even their very monstrousness, had inexpressible charms; since these rare and unique qualities only tended to call into vigorous play the inventiveness of ingenuity, in fabricating an enormous machinery of symbols, allegories, and hieroglyphs, for the purpose of illustrating the obscure, illumining the dark, expounding the unintelligible, verifying the fabulous, and reconciling the contradictory. Under the delirium of these earlier ecstacies, men were found who seriously could declare, that the Iliad and Odyssey were wholly out-dazzled, by the Ramayana of Valmiki and Mahabharat of Vyasa—that many of the grandest scenes in Milton's Paradise Lost were too gross and ludicrous, and many of its sublimest passages "conceits truly diabolical," as compared with the consistent incidents and stupendous imagery of these and other giants of Indian song!—that the philosophies of Greece and Rome were tame and puerile, superficial and unsatisfactory, compared with the profound mysticisms and uninterpolated speculations of Gautama and other orient sages! No wonder, though, under the predominant influence of such erroneous yet bewitching and fondly cherished impressions, orientalism, in all its forms and manifestations, became the idol of the politic statesman, the all-engrossing object of pursuit to the learned, the principal theme of investigation to their societies, and the main staple of instruction in all their colleges and schools.

And what was true of the long prevailing literature of Europe, appeared substantially true of its long established religion. The latter, towards the middle of last century, became practically effete and decrepit like the former. The mighty impulse of the Lutheran Reformation had gradually diminished in its intensity; the advancing waves of a triumphant Protestantism, first rolling heavily, then became sluggish,—next stationary,—and last of all recessive, before the resuscitated, revivified, and rapidly encroaching power of its old antagonist—an unchanged and unchanging Popery. And what was the natural if not inevitable result? As the shadows of a baleful superstition,

with its thousand senseless and irksome mummeries, began to thicken over Romish and re-romanized lands, the oppressed and manacled spirit of man sighed for emancipation. Then, faithful to the law of manifestation when the spirit of the era is ripe for expression, appeared Voltaire and his myrmidons, as the organs and spokesmen of the restless and atheistic spirit of the age. They opened their mouths in ridicule, in sarcasm, in scorn, in blasphemy against the Lord and his Anointed. But their speech was brilliant; and, lost in the glare of its brilliancy, multitudes rapturously responded in shouts of applause. The leaders persevered; and, as they persevered, they increased in brilliancy and strength. Their wit was like the winged lightning; and their eloquence like the rolling thunder. Theirs was scarcely a campaign at all; it was a continued march and triumph. Before them the hierarchies and the bulwarks of a giant superstition melted away; institutions, consolidated by the lapse of ages, vanished out of view; and the cities of the nations fell.

In Protestant countries the effects were considerably modified. There, the relics and memorials of a debasing idolatry nad long been swept away. But the spirit, at whose rebuke the legions of Apostate Rome had fled, began to abate in its inherent efficacy and force. Under the combined assault of adverse influences, from without and from within, its very life-blood was gradually drained off. The fountain-heads of spiritual Christianity became congealed. The streams of living water, as they flowed from the sanctuary, were frozen over. The entire head and heart of a regenerated and regenerative Protestantism came to be encrusted with the hoar of a cold and chilling rationalism. But, though the life and the spirit became extinct, the name, the form, the profession remained the same. The creed and confession and articles, the liturgies and litanies and homilies, were unchanged; but the animating breath had departed. Men did not, in general, renounce the profession of religion. On the contrary, they studiously fostered the semblance of respect for it. But it was no longer religion properly so called—the true religion revealed from heaven—the religion of the everlasting God. No, it was rather a kind of natural or poetical religionism. Yea more, men still called themselves Christians, and orthodox Protestant Christians too. But their Christianity was not the vital energetic Christianity of the Bible, but a mongrel mutilated Christianity of their own;—a misnamed Christianity, which, under the varied designations of Socinianism, Unitarianism, and such-like, was only a system of heartless, lifeless, soulless, spiritless Deism;—

a Christianity, in short, which, while it carefully retained possession of the venerable name, as carefully excluded from it all the peculiarities of the Christian faith—all the distinctive doctrines of an incarnate but crucified Redeemer.

Under the freezing influence of such a system, the professed minister and ambassador of the Living God, could heartily exchange the most flattering courtesies and compliments with the avowed blasphemer and enemy of his Lord and Master. Such an example being openly set by many of the chief shepherds, what could be expected, from the ordinary members of their flocks, but a total indifference to the stable land-marks between right and wrong—a total oblivion of those sanctions and laws by which the Eternal had fenced in the Ark of the Covenant, with its treasures of grace and affecting symbols of a consummated redemption?

And if such was the conduct of shepherds and people, *at home*, what could be anticipated of those who went forth, solely in quest of secular riches and honours and power, to *foreign* lands? Cut off and severed from the hallowed restraints and associations of all Christian Institutions; fraught with the spirit of rationalistic indifferentism which distinguished their times; and thrown freely adrift on the swelling tide of anti-religious circumstances;—what could be expected less than that they should be prepared to cast the veil of their spurious liberalism over the wildest aberrations of unassisted reason,—to regard with favour and preference the dogmata of a philosophy, whose deformities had not yet been fully revealed—or even attempt to force into a seemingly friendly alliance, systems of truth and error, as mutually repugnant as fire and water, light and darkness?

And do not the recorded representations of actual historic fact admirably tally with such anticipations? As in the laboratories of Brahmanism, the literary aspirants from the West found, to their surprize and joy, a ready made Literature, which saved them the trouble of attempting to frame one for themselves, so, in the same mysterious recesses, then first disclosed to view, did the men of cold rationalizing spirit discover a ready made system of Religion, which saved them the necessity of forcing, or fabricating, or compounding one for themselves, either out of the works of Nature, or the Revelations of the Bible. In the apparent monotheism, but real pantheism of the Vedas, then ill understood, they discerned or fancied they discerned a scheme which promised to harmonize with those congenial tastes and predilections, which, in their own native land, would instinctively have led them to swell the ranks of Socinian, Unitarian, or Neologistic Rationalism.

One or two examples may suffice at once to establish our assertion and illustrate our meaning.

Mr. Charles Wilkins, Senior Merchant in the service of the Honorable the East India Company, having translated the *Bhagavat Gita*, an episodical extract from the Mahabharat, one of the great heroic poems of the Hindus, submitted a copy of the manuscript to Warren Hastings, at his own special request, when Governor of Bengal. The Governor took up the subject with all the warmth of enthusiasm which characterized his liberal patronage of Oriental Literature and Science. In 1784, amid the distractions of his own Council and the convulsions of empire, he found leisure to pen a lengthened and elaborate recommendation of the work, addressed to the chairman of the Court of Directors, in which he described it as "a very curious specimen of the Literature, the Mythology, and the Morality of the ancient Hindus." Apart altogether from the antiquity of the original—the veneration in which it has been held by a succession of admiring sages, and the influence which it has exercised over the national mind of India,—the varied and grotesque nature of its contents must ever render it "one of the greatest curiosities ever presented to the literary world." It is perhaps one of the strangest and most incoherent medleys of physics and metaphysics, philosophy and mythology, Unitarianism and Pantheism, which it has ever entered the imagination of man to conceive. As a picture of the human mind, in one of its dreamiest moods of half-wakeful reverie and high soaring mysticism—lost and bewildered in its unaided search into the abysses of abstract being, and the destinies of the universe—it is not only curious but invaluable. For its incongruities the translator finds or frames an apology in the supposition, that its principal design might have been "to unite all the prevailing modes of worship of those days." The Governor, with his naturally fine taste and acute discernment, felt how hard a task he had undertaken in attempting to reconcile the *savans* of the West to a poem, so wholly different, in its structure, style and substance, from any of those models which the classic genius of Greece and Rome had raised, and whole centuries of imitation and applause had served to consecrate. Accordingly, he earnestly deprecates the application of any tests founded on such unperishable standards.

"Might I," says he, "an unlettered man, venture to prescribe bounds to the latitude of criticism, I should exclude, in estimating the merit of such a production, all rules drawn from the ancient or modern literature of Europe, all references to such sentiments or manners as are become the standards of propriety for opinion and action in our own modes of life, and equally

all appeals to our revealed tenets of religion, and moral duty. I should exclude them, as by no means applicable to the language, sentiments, manners, or morality appertaining to a system of society with which we have been for ages unconnected, and of an antiquity preceding even the efforts of civilization in our own quarter of the globe, which, in respect to the general diffusion and common participation of arts and sciences, may be now considered as one community. I would exact from every reader the allowance of obscurity, absurdity, barbarous habits, and a perverted morality. Where the reverse appears, I would have him receive it (to use a familiar phrase) as so much clear gain, and allow it a merit proportioned to the disappointment of a different expectation. In effect, without bespeaking this kind of indulgence, I could hardly venture to persist in my recommendation of this production for public notice."

Who, after such candid and sweeping statements, with others of similar purport and tendency, could expect to find the same author, in the same recommendatory preface, coolly asserting that, in a poem so strongly characterized by himself, few passages could be found in any way calculated to "shock either our religious faith or moral sentiments?"—And, as if this were not enough, a few pages farther on, in terms still more explicit and in a tone still more emphatic, he thus expresses himself;—"With the deductions, or rather qualifications, which I have thus premised, I hesitate not to pronounce the *Gita* a performance of great originality; of a sublimity of conception, reasoning, and diction, almost unequalled; and a single exception, among all the known religions of mankind, of a theology accurately corresponding with that of the Christian dispensation, and most powerfully illustrating its fundamental doctrines!" Strange indeed!—A system, which, in order to be appreciated, demands from every reader "the allowance of obscurity, absurdity, barbarous habits, and a perverted morality"—a system, whose merits can only be estimated by excluding all reference to "the standards of propriety for opinion and action in our own modes of life, and equally all appeals to our revealed tenets of religion and moral duty;"—in other words, a system, not merely incompatible with Christianity in its minor details, but absolutely antagonistic to it in every one of its essential facts and fundamental principles—a system, which, were it only to prevail, would not merely dismantle this fair out-spreading tree of life, whose very leaves are for the healing of the nations, of its richest blossoms and ripest fruits, but lop off its branches altogether, yea, hew it down to the ground, and tear it up by the very roots —such a system, the "single exception, among all the known religions of mankind, of a theology accurately corresponding with that of the Christian dispensation and most powerfully illustrating its fundamental doctrines!!" That, from an otherwise clear-sighted and vigorous mind such a judgment should

have emanated respecting two systems, not merely mutually repulsive but mutually destructive of each other, must prove how little the author could have been acquainted with the genuine character and leading objects of either; and more especially how little he was enabled to appreciate the Divine origin, scope, and ends of the Christian faith. It was a deliverance thoroughly consonant with the prevailing tone of that eventful epoch. It was the cold, lifeless, faithless, rationalistic spirit of the eighteenth century finding suitable expression and embodiment through one of its organs and representatives, in the person of a British Governor-General, on the banks of the Ganges!

But, perhaps, the most perfect type and model of the rationalizing spirit of a fallen and degenerate Protestantism may be found in the writings of Mr. Holwell, who variously distinguished himself in the days of Clive. Boldly does he at once strike the key note, saying, that "candid minds will not despise or condemn the different ways by which they (the people of different countries) approach the Deity; but revere it still as *a divine worship*, though they may *piously lament it deviates so much from their own.*" Respecting "all the systems of theology broached to mankind," and "claiming descent from God," he still more emphatically adds, "God forbid we should doubt of, or impeach the divine origin of any of them!" But, the *two* most perfect revelations of the divine mind, according to him, are the Christian Scriptures and the original Hindu Shastras, designated by him, the "Chartah Bhade Shastah of Bramah." The latter, in his judgment contains "all the great primitive truths in their original purity that constituted the first and universal religion." He does not hesitate, therefore, to pronounce it as the great standard of "the unerring original faith." In this view of the case, the Christian Scriptures consist of nothing but a republication of the primitive faith delivered by Bramah. "The doctrines of Christ and Bramah," says he, "are one and the same;" they "mutually support each other;" while "the authenticity and divine origin of both" cannot be called in question. He consequently "confesses himself to be amazed that we should so readily believe the people of Hindustan a race of stupid idolaters;" and his avowed endeavour is "to extricate them in some degree from the gross aburdities we have conceived of them!"

What, then, it may be asked, are the leading tenets of the "Bramah Shastah," which are thus said to synchronize so perfectly with the fundamental principles of the Christian faith? By converting every mythological puerility, absurdity and

apparent impiety, into a mystic symbol, emblem, or hieroglyph, the key of whose meaning he drew forth from his own fertile imagination, he has constructed and elaborately illustrated a system, professedly deduced from "the Shastah," of which the following are the principal or salient points:—The great creator having called into being, hosts of pure and sinless angelic natures, multitudes of these subsequently rebelled and fell. They were expelled from the heavenly regions, and doomed to eternal punishment. At the intercession, however, of the faithful remaining bands, the Supreme God was at length inclined to mercy, and to soften the rigor of their sentence, by instituting "*a course only of punishment, purgation and purification;*" through which, by due submission, all of them might ultimately work out a restoration to the seats they had lost by their disobedience. "Birmah" was then commissioned to descend to the banished delinquents to signify unto them the mercy and determination of their creator. The present visible universe was next formed solely for the residence, sustenance, and imprisonment of these apostate angels. For their more immediate or closer confinement, mortal organized bodies were framed. Through these mortal forms, in the various regions of purification, they are doomed to undergo a long series of transmigrations, as well for purposes of purgation as of punishment—the human form being the last and chief state of trial and probation. To the apostate angels liberty has been given to pervade the universe; while permission has been granted to the faithful angelic beings to counteract them. From this it follows, that all the souls or spirits which have ever animated mortal forms, whether human, brutal, or vegetable, have been none other than "delinquent angels, in a state of punishment and probation, for a lapse from innocence, in a pre-existent state"—and that "the souls or spirits, of every human or other organized mortal body, *now* inhabiting this globe, and all the regions of the material universe, are precisely the remainder of the unpurified angels, who fell from their obedience in heaven, and that still stand out in contempt of their creator."

From this Holwellian modification of Brahmanism, other conclusions follow of a still more startling character, but quite naturally and in perfect consistency with the genius of the system. That sages and statesmen have in different ages and countries appeared, who, as compared with the generality of mankind, might be deno minated wise and virtuous, is undoubted. Who, then, were these? Hear Mr. Holwell. They are, says he, "the heavenly angelic faithful (or unfallen)

beings, who, by divine permission, have, from pure benevolence, at different times appeared on this earthly region under various mortal forms and names, and have proved themselves under the various characters of Kings, Generals, Philosophers, Lawgivers, and Prophets, shining examples to their former brethren, the delinquent and apostate angels, of stupendous courage, fortitude, purity, and piety." Yea more, to prevent any dubiety or mistake as to his meaning, Mr. Holwell, from these generalities descends to particulars, and amongst other singular phenomena of the metempsychosis, discloses the previously unheard-of fact, that Moses, the Hebrew Lawgiver, was not only "well acquainted with the doctrines of Birmah," but was "himself the very identical spirit, selected and deputed in an earlier age, to deliver those truths free from allegory, under the style and title of Birmah!"—Nor, do the wondrous revelations of the metempsychosis stop here. What will the sober reader of his Bible think of the following marvellous identity?—"It is," says our author, "no violence to faith, if we believe that Birmah and Christ is one and the same individual celestial being, the first begotten of the Father, who has most probably appeared at *different* periods of time, in *distant* parts of the earth, under *various* mortal forms of humanity and other denominations: thus we may very rationally conceive, that it was by the mouth of Christ, styled Birmah by the easterns, that God delivered the great primitive truths to man at his creation, as infallible guides for his conduct and *restoration!*" No wonder, though the writer, in his fanciful and profane speculations, felt some misgivings at the possible reception of impieties such as these. Hence his anticipatory caveat. "Tender consciences," says he, "have no cause of alarm from our reviving the consideration of a doctrine (the metempsychosis) which in the most early known ages was followed by at least four-fifths (!) of the inhabitants of the earth; the more especially as we hope to prove, that this doctrine is not repugnant to the doctrines of Christianity!" And again,—"all these original tenets and principles are confirmed by our own similar Christian doctrines and belief!"

But, how is a coincidence so startling made to assume the semblance of a reality? First, by throwing the air of an exciting romanticism over the doctrines and practices of the faith of Bramah. In the revolutions of this mental Kaleidoscope, the atrocious rite of Sati, or widow-burning, presents the aspect of "a voluntary act of glory, piety, and fortitude," which cannot be witnessed without "awe and reverence;" since the women, "if viewed in a just light, act upon heroic as well as

rational and pious principles." The transcendent verities of the Christian faith, on the other hand, are coolly and unceremoniously thrown aside. Seen through the refrigerative medium of rationalism they appear only as the "extravagant rhapsodies" of heated minds, or the unscrupulous inventions of a designing priesthood. The simplest theoretic narrative resolves itself into mythos or allegory. The Mosaic account of the creation and fall of man is not to be taken in a literal sense; it is "typical only of another and much greater event, viz., the fall of the angelic hosts, to which man has a much nearer relation than is commonly imagined." Adam tempted by Eve is "Satan, in his original glory, tempted by evil, the associate of his bosom." The serpent "represents the insidious arguments and wiles of Satan, to engage the angelic tribes to become associates in his revolt and rebellion." Paradise "marks the beauty of the original earth; and the garden of Eden is only the symbol of heaven." The banishment of Adam and Eve from Eden denotes "the banishment of Satan and his confederates from the heavenly regions." The "curse of sorrow, labour, and death entailed upon Adam and Eve, figuratively shew forth the original sentence, doom, and punishment of the apostate angels." The "personages which Moses calls by the names of Abel and Cain, are obviously types of good and evil, virtue and vice." In a word, "as to the actors Moses employs, under the denominations of Adam, Eve, Cain, and Abel, it is plain they never had any real personal existence; it is therefore evident that the creation of man, according to the Scripture of Bramah, is the only real and original one!"—No wonder though the author should again be seized with huge misgivings, and should, in such strains as the following, earnestly deprecate the anticipated indignation of the Christian reader:—"God forbid," exclaims he, in the consciousness of his righteous desert, "God forbid it should be thought, from the tenor of these our disquisitions, that, with Hobbes, Tindal, Bolingbroke, and others, our intent is to sap the foundation, or injure the root of Christianity. Candor and benevolence avert from us so uncharitable and ill-grounded an imputation. On the contrary, our sole aim is to *restore* its purity and vigour, by having those luxuriant injurious branches and shoots lopped off and pruned, which have so obviously obstructed, stinted, and prevented its natural, universal growth and progress!" Sensible that he had laid himself quite open to the censure and imputation of Deism, he simply replies,—"We pronounce that a man may, with strict propriety, be an *orthodox Christian Deist;* that is,

that he may, *consistently*, have a firm faith *in the unity of the Godhead, and in the pure and original doctrines of Christ.* In this sense alone we glory in avowing ourself—A CHRISTIAN DEIST." Now, what is all this, but the rationalizing Demi-infidel spirit of the spurious Protestantism of the eighteenth century—which allegorised the histories of theBible into the endless caprices of an unbridled fancy,—explained away its miracles into artful, or timely, or accidental combinations of secondary causes,—revived and gave fresh strength to the Pelagian, Arian, and Unitarian heresies,—and finally, while in words professing to honour it, strove to lop away from Christianity itself all those doctrines which constitute its ineffable glory—reducing it into the shrivelled form of wretched and superficial philosophism, that left man without an atonement for sin or any rational hope of deliverance—the sport of fancy and the victim of delusion—without a God and without a Saviour;—what is it all, but one and the self-same spirit, living and acting through the annalist Holwell, as one of its chosen organs and representatives, on the plains of Bengal?*

* Even the devout and all accomplished Sir W. Jones was not proof against the contagious influence of his age. His conduct but too clearly shewed that, in many respects, he succumbed to its spirit. His eulogium on the excellence and sublimity of the Bible has been often quoted. "I have," says he, "regularly and attentively read the Holy Scriptures, and am of opinion that this volume, independent of its divine origin, contains more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, and more pure morality, more important history and finer strains of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected in the same compass, from all other books that were ever composed in any age or nation. The antiquity of these compositions no man doubts, and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground of belief that they were genuine predictions, and consequently inspired." Who would suppose that the individual who penned so glowing and yet so just a panegyric of the inspired word of the one Living and True God, could, in order to please his Heathen Pandit or Teacher, be "accustomed to study the Shastras, with the image of a Hindu God placed on his table?"

His elaborate versions of idolatrous hymns, rendered apparently *con amore*, and with exquisite but misapplied taste, drew forth the gentle but severe rebuke of Foster in his celebrated Essays.

"I could not," says he, "help feeling a degree of regret, in reading lately the memoirs of the admirable and estimable Sir William Jones. Some of his researches in Asia have no doubt incidentally served the cause of religion; but did he think the last possible direct service had been rendered to Christianity, that his accomplished mind was left at leisure for hymns to the Hindu Gods? Was not this a violation even of the neutrality, and an offence not only against the Gospel, but against theism also? I know what may be said about personification, license of poetry and so on; but should not a worshipper of God hold himself under a solemn obligation to abjure all tolerance of even poetical figures that can seriously seem, in any way whatever, to recognize the Pagan divinities or abominations, as the prophets of Jehovah would have called them? What would Elijah have said to such an employment of talents? It would have availed little to have told him, that these divinities were only personifications (with their appropriate respresentative idols) of objects in nature, of elements, or of abstractions. He would have sternly replied—And was not Baal, whose prophet I destroyed, the same?"

Again, the great work or institutes of Manu, the reputed Divine Law-giver of the Hindus, Jones pourtrays as follows:—"It is," says he, "a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed limited by law, but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though with mutual checks; it is filled with strange conceits in metaphysics and natural philosophy, with idle superstitions,

But enough. In founding colleges for the exclusive inculcation of the Arabic and Sanskrit systems in their aboriginal and unmodified forms; in holding up the torch of a smoky and expiring Orientalism to shed additional light on the improved Literature

and with a scheme of theology most obscurely figurative, and consequently liable to dangerous misconception; it abounds with minute and childish formalities, with ceremonies generally absurd and often ridiculous; the punishments are partial and fanciful; for some crimes, dreadfully cruel, for others reprehensibly slight; and the very morals, though rigid enough on the whole, are in one or two instances (as in the case of light oaths and of pious perjury) unaccountably relaxed."

All this is most just and well deserved. But, as if to make some reparation for such faithfulness and plain speaking, the author next proceeds, with little regard to consistency, to declare that "*a spirit of sublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, and of amiable tenderness to all creatures pervades the work*—that the style of it has a certain austere majesty, that sounds like the language of legislation, and *extorts a respectful awe*—that the sentiments of independence on all beings but God (sentiments indicative of something more than stoical pride) are *truly noble, &c.*"

The great orientalist, however, expresses himself with moderation compared with the Revd. Mr. Maurice, a Christian Divine, whose great work on the Indian Antiquities is interspersed with ecstacies like the following:—

"At one time, arrayed in all the giant terrors of superstition, she (the ancient religion of India) appears, like a sable and vindictive Demon from Naraka, to stalk in desolating fury over the continent of India, brandishing an uplifted scourge and clanking an iron chain, while after her are borne a band of famished jogies, stretched on the wheels of torture and languishing in various attitudes of penance. Her tone is high and menacing, her footsteps are marked with blood, and her edicts are stamped with the characters of death. At another time, she wears the similitude of *a beautiful and radiant Cherub from Heaven*, bearing on her persuasive lips the accents of pardon and peace, and on her silken wings benefaction and blessing. Now, reserved and stately, she delights in pompous sacrifices and splendid oblations: she exults to see her altars decorated with brocade, and her images glittering with jewels; a numerous train of priests, gorgeously arrayed, officiating in her temples, and wafting around, from golden censors, the richest odours of the east. Again, she assumes a rustic garb, and arrays her aspect in festive smiles: she mingles in the jocund train of dancing girls that surround her altar, and will accept none but the simplest oblations, fruits, flowers, and honey."

Again:

"Mr. Forbes of Stanmore-hill in his elegant museum of Indian rarities, numbers two of the bells that have been used in devotion by the Brahmans. They are great curiosities, and one of them in particular appears to be of very high antiquity, in form very much resembling the cup of the lotus; and the tune of it is uncommonly soft and melodious. I could not avoid being deeply affected with the sound of an instrument which had been actually employed to kindle the flame of that superstition, which I have attempted so extensively to unfold. My transported thoughts travelled back to the remote period, when the Brahman religion blazed forth in all its splendour in the caverns of Elephanta. I was, for a moment, entranced, and caught the ardour of enthusiasm. A tribe of venerable priests arrayed in flowing stoles, and decorated with high tiaras, seemed assembled around me; the mystic song of initiation vibrated in my ear; I breathed an air fragrant with the richest perfumes, and contemplated the deity in the fire that symbolized him!"

Once more: "It was, then, in periods when the solar worship, in this part of Asia, flourished in the zenith of its glory, that these caverns were scooped out of the native rock, with that indefatigable labour and with that persevering patience which devotion could alone have inspired, and which the hopes of eternal reward could alone have supported. It was in these solemn retreats of religion and philosophy that the contemplative and absorbed soul approached nearest to the perfection of the divine nature; it was here that the bright emblem of the divinity beamed forth a lustre insupportably resplendent and powerful, but particularly at that awful season when the world was deprived of the blessing of the living solar orb, and when nature lay buried in profound silence and in midnight darkness. If, as Mr. Hamilton informs us, from ocular survey, no less than a hundred lamps were preserved incessantly burning before the idol Juggernath, how many thousand must have been lighted up in the extensive caverns of Salsette and Elephanta? It is probable, that in the day time the Brahmans mounted the eminences of their

and Science of Europe ; in applying the standards of a dreamy metaphysics and barbarous mythology, in order to re-model Christianity itself, or supersede it altogether ;—the men of the eighteenth century acted quite in accordance with the spirit of their country and age. This is the best apology which we can frame for them ; and being the best, we feel bound in candour to make it. They did what was wrong—utterly, inexcusably wrong—dishonoring to the God of heaven and ruinous to the souls of men. But they did no worse than was fully sanctioned by the age in which their lot was cast, and of which they may be considered merely as the vicarious organs. It is seldom quite fair, and often altogether unjust, to judge of the leaders of public opinion—the visible actors on the stage of time—apart and isolated by themselves. Viewed in this way, wholly irrespective of the circumstances by which they are surrounded, and from which they have derived their peculiar nurture and training, they are apt to be denounced as pre-eminent in guilt ; whereas, they may be no more guilty in the sight of omniscience than the thousands and myriards who have fanned them into existence and power by the hosannahs of their applause—the thousands and the myriads, whose spirit and principles are faithfully mirrored forth in words and proceedings that may be winged with pestilence and death. Such men, then, however justly obnoxious to censure, cannot be regarded as exclusively so. In condemning them, we must pronounce sentence of condemnation on the age, from whose lowest depths they have been thrown up, high above the surface, merely to indicate the nature and direction of the current. But if, in our day, any should be found, whether among the governors or governed, still treading in the footsteps of the men of the eighteenth century, and slavishly and doggedly imitating their fatal example, the same apology cannot be framed or plied in their behalf. While the conduct of the former may, so far, be palliated, from having been strictly consonant with the rationalistic spirit and heathenish leanings of their age, the conduct of the latter, should any such be found, must be unsparingly reprobated, as being in direct contravention to the rectified tone and improved spirit of theirs.

rocks, and paid their devotions on the summits of the loftiest mountains. They ascended the heights of Salsette, as the Egyptian priests of old ascended the apex of the pyramids, to adore the sun, and to make astronomical observations. Imagination cannot avoid kindling at the scene, and it is difficult to refrain from rushing into the enthusiasm of poetry, while we take a review of the probable splendour and magnificence of this ancient species of devotion." Are these the words of a Christian divine, on the rehearsal of idolatries which have been pronounced an "abomination" by the God of heaven! Alas for poor humanity!

As the eighteenth century closed, so the nineteenth opened, with the tide of orientalism in full flow, and with a corresponding recession of the waters of a living Christianity. True it is, that, subsequent to the volcanic burst of the French Revolution which bestrewed the European world with the burning scoriæ and ashes of anarchy and atheism, a counter-current began to set in from the west. But, as in the physical world, a body in motion acquires a momentum that will carry it, with even accelerated speed, beyond the point at which the original motive force has ceased to act, or is partially suspended by the operation of an opposing influence; so does it often happen in the moral world too. It was so in the instance more immediately under review. New influences were beginning to spring up, in divers places and in various forms, calculated ultimately to counteract the workings of the fearfully anti-social anti-christian spirit of the eighteenth century. But the general mind had every where acquired such a momentum of force in the direction of evil, that it could not, all at once, or even speedily be arrested. Beyond the boundary line which separated the two centuries it still continued, in the face of a growing resistance, to advance in its wild career of error and of wrong.

A sagacious and far-seeing mind, like the Marquis Wellesley's, could, from its lofty watch-tower, discern something of the real nature and out-gate of past and present tendencies. Standing as he did on the very point of confluence of both centuries, he could not but acknowledge that the naked horrors in which the dominant spirit of the one had found its fitting developement, imposed on the friends of religion and social order the necessity of endeavouring to introduce a better spirit for regulalating and controlling the destinies of the other. Still, as early imbibed and long cherished prejudices can never be shaken off in a day, even *his* views were but partial and beclouded. One thing he did see clearly enough in a general way, viz. that the permanence of the British Government in India depended on its ability to command an unfailing supply, in every department of the state, of European officers "attached, by regular instruction and disciplined habits, to the principles of morality* good order, and subordination." And he seems to have been aware that, *without religion*, there can be no sound and solid basis for morality. "It cannot," says he, "be denied that, during the convulsions with which the doctrine of the French Revolu-

* Even Warren Hastings, when addressing the Chairman of the Court of Directors, could give expression to the following sentiment:—"And you, sir, will believe me, when I assure you, that it is on the *virtue*, not the abilities of their servants, that the Company must rely for the permanency of their dominion."

tion have agitated the continent of Europe, erroneous principles of the same dangerous tendency had reached the minds of some individuals in the Civil and Military Service of the Company in India; and the state as well of political as of *religious* opinions, had been in some degree unsettled. The progress of this mischief would at all times be aided by the defective and irregular education of the writers and cadets; an institution, tending to fix and establish sound and correct principles of *religion* and government in their minds at an early period of life, is the best security which can be provided for the stability of the British power in India." "Their early habits should be so formed, as to establish in their minds such solid foundations of industry, prudence, integrity, and *religion*, as should effectually guard them against those temptations and corruptions with which the nature of this climate, and the peculiar depravity of the people of India, will surround and assail them in every station, especially upon their first arrival in India. The early discipline of the service should be calculated to counteract the defects of the climate and the vices of the people, and to form a natural barrier against habitual indolence, dissipation and licentious indulgence." It was, therefore, with a view to the formation of sound *moral* and *religious* habits among the European servants of the Company, as much as for the cultivation of all branches of professional or useful knowledge,* that the Marquis projected his

* It is well known that, amongst other studies, that of oriental languages, both learned and vernacular, formed a principal part of the course pursued in Fort William College. In this, the noble Marquis showed his discernment and good sense. For whom was the College instituted? For the *European* servants of the Company? For what duties was the education, therein imparted, designed to fit them? Hear the Marquis himself:—"To dispense justice," says he, "to millions of people of various languages, manners, usages and religions, to administer a vast and complicated system of revenue throughout districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe, to maintain civil order in one of the most populous and litigious regions of the world;—these are now the duties of the larger proportion of the Civil servants of the Company." "They are required to discharge the functions of Magistrates, Judges, Ambassadors, and Governors of provinces, in all the complicated and extensive relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations, and under peculiar circumstances, which greatly enhance the solemnity of any public obligation, and aggravate the difficulty of every public charge." Such being the arduous and varied character of the duties, the Marquis proceeded to argue with resistless force, that "their studies, the discipline of their character, their habits of life, their manners and morals should be so ordered and regulated as to establish a just conformity between their personal consideration, and the dignity and importance of their public stations, and to maintain a sufficient correspondence between their qualifications and their duties." Besides, therefore, studies of a more technical and professional description, the Marquis concluded, that the education of the young civilians should be founded in "a general knowledge of those branches of literature and science which form the basis of the education of persons distined to similar occupations in Europe," and more particularly "in the general principles of ethics, civil jurisprudence, the law of nations, and general history, &c." To this foundation should be added "*an intimate acquaintance with the history, manners, and customs of the people of India, with the Muhammadan and Hindu codes of law and religion*, and with the political and commercial interests and

celebrated College of Fort William. Within this narrow circle, however, his educational views,—enlarged and enlightened as they undoubtedly were, far beyond the general standard of his age,—appeared to be circumscribed. And in the establishment of this College—though itself a lasting monument of his capacious mind and comprehensive policy—his educational measures seemed to terminate. Towards the reform or improvement of institutions for the education of the natives, he does not appear to have attempted or even suggested or proposed any measure whatsoever. The Sanskrit and the Arabic Colleges, originated or sanctioned by his predecessors, he found enveloped in the thickest shade of the night of by-gone ages; and he left them as he found them. He, who so clearly saw and acknowledged the necessity of forming the manners of Europeans, and "fixing their principles on the solid foundations of *virtue* and *religion*," meaning *Christianity*, could yet complacently regard and perpetuate the short-sighted and cruel policy that withheld such inestimable advantages from the great mass of the people of this land. The labours of "prudent Missionaries," wholly unconnected with the State, he could tolerate or encourage; he could even patronize the translation of the sacred Scriptures into the eastern tongues; but this was the utmost length to which he would or could go, in consistency with his views of public duty, and state policy. His own words, in concluding a speech delivered in 1813, in the House of Lords, were, that "he had thought it his duty to have the Scriptures translated into the languages of the east, and to give the *learned natives, employed in the translation*, the advantages of access to the sacred fountains of divine truth: he thought that a *Christian* Governor could not have done less, and knew that a *British* Governor ought not to do more."

But, even this slight and moderate concession, which, so far as it went, evidently partook of the improved tone and better spirit of the in-coming age, seemed too much for some of his more immediate successors. With minds of more slender grasp

relations of Great Britain in Asia." And how could the latter indispensible branches of knowledge, and practical information be obtained, or the varied duties, previously enumerated, be satisfactorily discharged, except by the acquisition and use of the *native languages, learned and vernacular?* Hence the mastering of these languages became a grand object of enlightened administrative policy. But, surely, it was *one thing* to constrain the *civil* servants of the Company to acquire such languages, in order the better to enable *them* to administer, with credit to themselves and advantage to the people, the complicated affairs of a great empire; and *quite another thing*, to *restrict* the *natives of the soil* to the acquisition of *their own learned languages and of the subject-matter contained in them*, AS THE SOLE AND EXCLUSIVE MATERIELLE OF A SUPERIOR EDUCATION! This latter, however, it must be remembered, was the grand aim and object *exclusively* designed in the original establishment of the *Muhammadan* and *Sanskrit* Colleges!

and less liberated from the epidemic craze of the eighteenth century, they came to this land brimful of its peculiar prejudices and antipathies. Pent up, like smouldering combustibles, for a season, these at length burst forth in ignition and fury. The alarming discovery, in the purlieus of Calcutta, of a petty tract exposing the Muhammadan imposture, operated as the match which lighted the train that led to the violent explosion.

Towards the close of 1807, a pamphlet printed in the Persian language at the Missionary press, Serampore, fell into the hands of one of the Secretaries of the British Government. It was in the form of an "address to all persons professing the Muhammadan religion." It contained a brief statement of gospel truth, while it depicted in plain but strong terms the character of Muhammad and his sanguinary faith: but not in terms plainer or stronger than justice demanded, and historic truth fully warranted. The *only* effect which it had on the Mussalmen themselves, was, that it led to the request, on the part of a Mogul merchant, that one of their learned men "should prepare an answer to it!" Any proceeding more absolutely harmless, or one less calculated to disturb the public peace, could scarcely be conceived. But it was enough to put the whole Council Chamber into a state of combustion and uproar. As a purely *preliminary* measure, the Danish Governor of Serampore was promptly solicited to "interpose his authority to prohibit the issue of any more copies of the pamphlet, or of any publications of a similar description." It was also suggested that the Missionaries should "be required to deliver up all the remaining copies of the pamphlet in question." And farther still, his excellency of Serampore, was distinctly apprized of "the necessity of ascertaining from the Missionaries, to what extent, and in what manner, the pamphlet had been circulated, with a view to enable them (the Governor-General and his fellow Councillors) to counteract its dangerous effects in those places, within the limits of their authority or influence, to which it might have been conveyed."

With these requests the Danish Governor instantly complied. The issue of any more of the pamphlets was prohibited by him. All the printed copies, remaining in the hands of the Missionaries, amounting to 1700, out of 2000, were delivered up and transmitted to the Supreme Council at Fort William; while a stringent order was issued to prevent the printing or circulating of any works of a similar character in future.

Was this sufficient? No. The British Government next issued an order prohibiting the Missionaries from printing *any books* "directed to the object of converting the natives to

Christianity." On this, the operations of the Serampore press were suspended, and "the translation of the Bible and the New Testament forbidden," until the Danish Governor obtained from the British Governor-General an *official* answer to the question, "Whether the circulation of the Bible in the Bengali language was to be included in his lordship's prohibition?" The reply of the Governor-General in Council was the following:—"We are not aware of any objection to the promulgation of the Scriptures in the Bengali language, unaccompanied by any comments on the religions of the country." That is, as a cotemporary remarked, "the English Government were not aware that there was any objection to the publication of the Bible, yet they were not certain." At all events, it must have "no comments on the religion of the country:" that is, it must not be said of the Bible—"this is the word of the true God, and more worthy of belief than the Vedas of Brahma:" nor must "any illustration of its truth be noticed with reference to Hindu doctrines."

Nor did the interference of the British Government stop even here. In spite of the solemn assurances of the Danish Governor on his part, and of the Missionaries on theirs, that the minutest wishes of the Supreme Government would be scrupulously attended to, the fears of the latter were not yet appeased. In the excited apprehensions of its members, the phantoms conjured up by their own imagination were mistaken for realities, and sober realities confounded with exaggerated phantoms. A new sacrifice must therefore be demanded to exorcise, if possible, the spectral apparition of their own idle fears. The next requisition, accordingly, was, that the Missionary printing press should be removed from Serampore altogether, and transferred to Calcutta, so as to come under the direct and immediate control of the local authorities there. Against the execution of this most uncalled-for and arbitrary decree, the Missionaries, in a long and able memorial, thick set with arguments and facts, earnestly but respectfully remonstrated. In this, they were powerfully seconded by the simultaneous remonstrances of the Danish Governor, who now began to feel that the honor and sovereignty of Denmark, of which he was the delegated repository, were deeply involved in the issue. On a re-consideration of the whole case, the British Government at length determined, though apparently with extreme reluctance, to revoke the noxious order for the removal of the press from Serampore to Calcutta,—declaring that they did so chiefly "under the influence of a desire to conform to the wishes of the Danish Government." The act of revocation, however, was coupled with the stringent and neutralizing condition, that all works

"intended for circulation, within the British territories, should be submitted to the inspection of the officers of Government, previously to their publication." Such a measure was declared to be essential towards preventing the public safety and tranquillity from being exposed to hazard. The Missionaries had no alternative but to submit—solemnly engaging to render a prompt and unqualified compliance.

The *chief* inconvenience, as fully pointed out at the time, of the *imprimatur* thus authoritatively imposed, was, "not that religious books should be submitted to the officers of government, but that they must be submitted to the *native* officers of Government. If indeed, the Christian officers of Government understood the Bengali, Arabic, Orissa, Mahratta, and Chinese languages, then might the Missionaries expect that Christians would revise their works; but a Hindu must revise the Bengali, and a Muhammadan the Arabic. Those very Muhammadans, who were ready to impeach the Missionaries in the first instance, would necessarily be employed next to revise their theology. Was it ever heard that a Hindu or Muhammadan gave a candid judgment of a Christian book? They would of course obliterate all passages which offended their own superstitions, and particularly those passages in Scripture, or quotations from them, which spake of the sin of idolatry, of false gods as false gods, and of lying prophets as lying prophets."

The circulation of religious tracts and of the sacred Scriptures themselves being thus virtually suppressed by the high hand of authority; the next and equally decisive measure, was authoritatively to prohibit the preaching of the Gospel.

The inquiries instituted respecting the "Persian tract" led to the fearful discovery, that there were other tracts of a similar nature in the Hindustani and Bengali languages—and to the still more astounding discovery, that the Gospel of salvation was actually preached to the native inhabitants of Calcutta! The following is a quotation from the Dispatch of the Supreme Government* to the Court of Directors:—

"At our consultation, in the secret department, of the 8th of September, the Secretary reported to us, that having desired Mr. Blaquiere, one of the Magistrates of the Town of Calcutta, to adopt measures with a view to ascertain the proceedings of the Missionaries, in disseminating pamphlets of the nature of that which was submitted to Government at the last meeting of Council, and in meetings stated to be held within the town of Calcutta, for the purpose of exposing to the native inhabitants the errors of their religion, and of persuading them to adopt the Christian faith, Mr. Blaquiere had attended the Secretary's Office and informed him, that being apprized of the practice adopted by the Mis-

* The dispatch is signed by Minto; G. Hewett; G. H. Barlow; J. Lumsden.

sionaries, or their converts, of preaching to the multitude every Sunday at a house in the city engaged for that purpose, he had directed a person in his employ to attend one of those meetings, and that Mr. Blaquiere had delivered to the Secretary a Memorandum* of what passed at that meeting, drawn up by the person who attended it. A copy of that Memorandum we deem it proper to enclose; the Secretary proceeded to state from Mr. Blaquiere's verbal report, that Mr. Blaquiere had at the same time directed a Brahman in his service to attend the Missionaries, and under *a pretended desire to become a convert*, to obtain copies of any publications which had been issued under the authority of the Missionaries; that the Brahman accordingly waited on the Reverend Mr. Ward, one of the society, residing principally at Calcutta, and that Mr. Blaquiere had delivered to the Secretary eleven pamphlets written some in the Bengali, some in the Hindustani language, which, on that occasion, the Reverend Mr. Ward had delivered to the Brahman.

The Secretary reported that those pamphlets for the most part consisted of strictures upon the characters of the Hindu deities, tending to place them in a hateful or disgusting light, and to deduce from those strictures the fallacy of the Hindu mythology; of exhortations to the Hindus, to abandon their idolatrous worship and embrace the doctrines of Christianity; of the translations of the Psalms of David and other parts of Scripture. That two of those pamphlets however, one in the Bengali, the other in the Hindustani language and character, were addressed exclusively to the class of Muhammadans, and contained the same or similar abuse of the doctrines, books, and foundations of the Muhammadan religion, as was contained in the Persian pamphlet laid before the Board at the last Meeting of Council, and that these two pamphlets were stated to have been printed at Serampore in the year 1806."

* "Copy of a Memorandum from Mr. Blaquiere."

The ceremony was begun by an elderly Bengali, on whose coming and standing in the pulpit, all the audience, who were sitting down before on benches, stood up, when the old man began preaching in the Bengali language, beseeching his congregation to observe that Yudhisthira, who had never spoken a lie, was persuaded by evil men to utter a falsehood, for which he was sent down to Hell.

The preacher then observed that even Brahmans and other people of respectibility live a sinful life abroad with women of the town, having at the same time wives at home; that they drink liquor in the public shops, and that in the commission of all these unrighteous acts, they are not forced by any one, but prompted by their evil inclination. He then questioned the difference between the Brahmans and other men, seeing they are both liable to sin equally—that if both these classes are equally liable to sin, why then the Sudras and others are required to expiate their sins, and why not the Brahmans :—that Brahmans cannot forgive sins.

That the annual religious festivals are not expiatory of sin, but productive of it, &c. &c.

The people continued standing all the while that the Bengali preached.

Then began the singing psalms in the Bengali language to European tunes.

After this, an European ascended the pulpit, and preached a sermon in English.

The hearers were, some Armenians, some native Portuguese, and some native Portuguese women; two Bengalis that are converted sat on a bench on the left of the pulpit. There was no other Bengali or Muhammadan sitting, but a crowd of them was collected at the door. Among the hearers I did not see a single person of any respectable character, but such as I recognized lead an irregular life. I am given to understand, the Missionaries have some Christians in their employ who use persuasive means to make converts.

(A true copy.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,

Secretary to Government.

The Supreme Council, having "taken into consideration the preceding communications, recorded the following observations and resolutions:—

"That the publications in question and the practice of preaching to the multitude, described by Mr. Blaquiere were evidently calculated to excite among the native subjects of the Company a spirit of religious jealousy, and alarm, which might eventually be productive of the most serious evils. That the distribution of such publications, and the public preaching of the Missionaries and their proselytes at the very seat of Government, were acts tending to indicate that the proceedings of the Missionaries, in vilifying the religions of the country, were sanctioned and approved by the supreme authority; that the prevalence of such an impression would both augment the danger and render more difficult the application of a remedy; that if these proceedings should be suffered to continue until their effects should be manifested in the clamour and discontent of the people, any measure then adopted to arrest the progress of the evil, would necessarily appear to be the result of apprehension. That it was of the highest importance, therefore, to adopt, without delay, such measures as were calculated to preclude a conjuncture so injurious to the authority and dignity of Government, and so hazardous to the prosperity and even the security of these dominions; and finally, that the obligation to suppress, within the limits of the Company's authority in India, treatises and public preachings offensive to the religious persuasions of the people, was founded on consideration of necessary caution, of general safety, and national faith and honour.

That with this view we deemed it necessary to direct that the practice of *public preaching at the house* employed for that purpose by the Missionaries in the town of Calcutta, should be *immediately discontinued;* and to prohibit the issue of any publications from the press superintended by the society of Missionaries, of a nature offensive to the religious prejudices of the natives, or *directed to the object of converting them to Christianity;* observing, that whatever might be the propriety of exposing the errors of the Hindu or Mussulman religion to persons of those persuasions, who should solicit instruction in the doctrines of the Christian faith, it was contrary to the system of protection which Government was pledged to afford to the undisturbed exercise of the religions of the country, and calculated to produce very dangerous effects, to obtrude upon the general body of the people, by means of printed works, exhortations necessarily involving an interference with those religious tenets which they considered to be sacred and inviolable."

In vain did the Venerable Carey, when summoned "to attend the Chief Secretary's chambers," explain that he "did not perceive any particular impropriety in the general substance of what had been read to him (out of the obnoxious Persian pamphlet,) and that it appeared to him merely to contain arguments in favour of the Christian religion, opposed to that of Muhammad." In vain did he protest, that "he by no means approved the introduction of abusive language directed to the religion and its founder—that he was aware that no good could be answered by it—that to irritate an opponent was not the way to convince him of his errors—that such was not the

practice of the Missionaries in endeavouring to convert the natives to Christianity." In vain did he asseverate that "the Missionaries were disposed in all respects to conform to the wishes of Government—that it was only necessary for them to know the will of Government to obey it,—but that he hoped it was not the intention of Government to prohibit them from endeavouring to convert the natives, by the only means which they were disposed to use, viz., *fair arguments and persuasion;* —that all idea of compulsion was entirely out of the question—and that they merely employed arguments to convince the natives of their errors."

In vain did the Governor of Serampore interpose his mediation, declaring in substance that the pamphlets were not of the highly offensive character imputed to them—that one of them in Bengali which appeared to give the greatest umbrage to Government was "not a publication of yesterday," but had been in peaceful circulation for several years—and that "the habit of the Missionaries of preaching publicly in the town of Calcutta, on the topics of religion, was also nothing new, but would on due examination be found to have been practised there by them for *nearly five years* back, in which time no notice had been taken of their proceedings, nor had disturbance to his knowledge been the consequence thereof."

But, the Governal-General and his Council were inexorable. An official communication was addressed to the Missionaries, strictly "prohibiting the issue of any publications from their press, of a nature offensive to the religious prejudices of the natives, or directed to the object of converting them to Christianity." At the same time, "The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council deemed it necessary to desire that the practice of preaching at the house employed for that purpose in the town of Calcutta, be immediately discontinued." Positive instructions were also conveyed to "G. Dowdeswell, Esq., Superintendent General of the Police, and the Magistrates for the town of Calcutta," to adopt the necessary measures for giving full effect to the decision of the Supreme authorities. Thus, in the very teeth of the Divine command, "Go ye into *all* the world and *preach the Gospel* to *every* creature," was the preaching of the Gospel, authoritatively prohibited by nominally Christian Rulers, among these eastern unreclaimed realms of heathenism.*

* In India there was at least one man who could not eye these arbitrary and anti-christian proceedings in silence—one man, whose jealousy for the honour of his heavenly master and His cause, led him to dare the frown of the government which he served—and that was, Dr. Claudius Buchanan. To the Governor-

While, in reference to the natives of this land, *Christianity*, the only true religion, promulgated from heaven for the regeneration of the entire family of men, was thus virtually suppressed by the Heads of the British Government in India, *Hinduism*

General in Council he addressed a memorial or remonstrance of a character so bold, energetic, and uncompromising, as to draw down upon himself the heaviest denunciation of the Supreme Government. The stroke had evidently fallen on some real sores. For so keenly did the members of government smart under the cutting animadversions of the memorialist, that they felt themselves compelled to address a conjoint letter of complaint and self-vindication to the Court of Directors.

Most certainly the Rev. Doctor did not mince the matter. His trumpet gave no uncertain sound. Would that, in this respect, his example were more frequently and faithfully imitated by the Christian servants of government in our own day! But ours are days of unmanly compromise, when truth can be sacrificed for politeness or for pelf, and faithfulness to Heaven's king bartered away for the smile or the favour of earthly potentates.

After a brief preamble, the Revd. Remonstrant thus proceeds:—

"It will not have escaped your Lordship's observation, even in the short period since your arrival, that some of the officers of your Lordship's Government do not manifest any zeal for promoting the knowledge of the Christian religion in India: they consider that a zeal in this respect would not be consonant to a wise and prudent policy. I am willing to believe that they advise according to the best of their judgment; but a principle pure and just in itself, if it be not tenderly exercised in reference to their important obligations, may become extravagant or pernicious. For instance, not to promote Christianity may in certain circumstances, be prudent; but to repress Christianity will not, I think, in any case, be defended. It is not necessary to observe to your Lordship how much the minds of Europeans assimilate to the native character after a long residence in this country, and how difficult it is for men even of good sense and honest intentions, while involved in the mist of this prejudice, to view the Christian Religion.

During the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, the spirit of promoting learning and religion in India, was general and ardent; but after the departure of that nobleman, a great revolution took place. A spirit directly adverse to the diffusion of religion in India, most unexpectedly broke forth, just as if it had been confined by his presence. This spirit appeared long before the insurrection in Vellore. I mention this, lest your Lordship should suppose that it originated with that event; for I understand that the "Massacre at Vellore" has been unaccountably adduced as some sanction to the principle of opposing the progress of the Christian Religion in Bengal. I had opportunities of judging of the causes of that event, which were peculiar. I was in the vicinity of the place at the time; I travelled for two months immediately afterwards in the province adjacent, with the sanction of Government: and I heard the evidence of Christians, Muhammadans, and Hindus, on the subject. That the insurrection at Vellore had no connection with the Christian religion, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely, is a truth which is capable of demonstration.

The spirit so hostile to the progress of Christianity in India, appeared first in operation about two years ago, and has been acquiring strength ever since. It has exhibited itself in a series of acts, the recital of which will sufficiently illustrate to your Lordship the tenor of mind which produced them. These acts are, however, not to be considered as the official and acknowledged measures of the respectable persons who preceded your Lordship in the Government. Sir George Barlow has often expressed his approbation of the means used for the diffusion of Christianity in India, and he sincerely desires its success. These measures have not been generally considered as the offspring of his unbiassed judgment. Besides, most of them are extra official, and with some of them he is perhaps yet unacquainted. They will probably appear to your Lordship to have been dictated by a timorous policy proceeding from minds somewhat agitated by the responsibility of a weighty empire, viewing at the same time Christianity as an innovation in India, and magnifying that innovation, perhaps, into a revolution."

The author next proceeds to enumerate and comment with great but just severity on some of the leading acts alluded to. Amongst them, he dwells particularly on "The withdrawing the patronage of government from the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the oriental languages"—the "attempting to suppress the translation of the Scriptures"—the "suppressing the encomium of the Honorable the Court of Directors, on their venerable Missionary the Revd. Mr. Swartz," and the "restraining the Protestant Missionaries in Bengal, from the exercise of their functions, and establishing an imprimatur for theological works." Having enlarged on these subjects, and reprobated the acts respectively involved in them, the author takes up the principal plea alleged in vindication, and thus deals with it:—

"I now beg leave to request your Lordship's attention to the plea on which these

and *Muhammadanism*, the grand antagonists of the *only divinely revealed Faith*, continued to enjoy the nurturing patronage of the same high authorities! We judge not of secret *motives*. These were doubtless of a mixed character. Our appeal is

proceedings against the Protestant Missionaries have been grounded. It is this; "that the public faith has been pledged to leave the natives in the undisturbed exercise of their religions." This is a proper pledge of our legislature. It is proper not to disturb the natives in the exercise of their religion; nor has this pledge ever been broken directly or indirectly. It is proper not to interfere with, or by violence to prevent, the superstition of the natives, if not criminal in itself, or affecting the public. But if, by the expression "not disturbing the natives in the exercise of their religion," be meant that "we are not to use means for diffusing the knowledge of Christianity among them," then it is to be observed that this pledge has been violated by every Government in India, and has been systematically broken by the Honourable the East India Company from the year 1698 to the present time. The fact is, they have pledged themselves to a conduct just the reverse. The East India Company hold this country by a charter, which expressly stipulates that they shall use means to instruct the Gentoos, &c. in the Christian religion. William 3rd,—September 1698. And this stipulation is in perfect accordance with their pledge of not disturbing the natives in the exercise of their superstitions by force, inasmuch as it is a very different thing to apply arguments to the mind and to inflict wounds on the body. It is their duty to civilize their barbarous subjects and to teach them humanity, and for that purpose, to address their understandings and their affections. At the same time it is their duty not to disturb the exercise of their superstition by compulsory acts; and the legislature has stipulated for the performance of both duties; and the first duty is as positive as the second. They first stipulate to do good, and they next stipulate not to do evil; and in consequence of this stipulation, the honourable Company have constantly aided the Christian missions in India, and at this time, they devote a considerable sum annually to their support. The Protestant Mission in Bengal commenced in 1758. The honourable Company's ships brought out the annual supplies for this Mission, and before the year 1770, religious tracts were translated into the Bengali language; and Hindu Christians preached to their countrymen, in the time of Hastings, in the town of Calcutta. This Mission continued its labours till about the year 1790, when the supply of Missionaries from Europe failed. It was succeeded by the present Mission at Serampore, 1793.

The Calcutta Mission was of extensive use in disseminating Christian principles through northern India. They sent Arabic New Testaments to the court of Shah Allum, the Muhammadan King of Hindustan, then resident at Allahabad. The priests of his Majesty returned their thanks to the Missionaries and requested that "the supply might be continued." It was continued for a time, and an investment of Arabic bibles is soon expected, under the sanction of the Honourable Company, for a similar purpose. Little of the influence of Christianity in India has come, as yet, to the knowledge of the public. Englishmen in general know as little of the state of Christianity in India as of the state of Hinduism. Two Christian Missions were at the same period tolerated by Shah Allum, one of which had existed since the time of Akbar the Great, and both of which exist unto this day.

At Seringapatam, under Hyder Sultaun, the Muhammadan prince of Mysore, the most complete toleration was permitted. In the Appendix to the enclosed pamphlet, your Lordship will see with what ardour the preaching of Swartz was received at Seringapatam, and how the noble Muhammadans and Hindus desired to learn from him what was the "right prayer." Romish Missions were tolerated by Hyder, at the same time. Tippoo Sultaun was more intolerant than his father. He was at times a persecutor, yet he did not quench Christianity; and Missions now flourish in various parts of the Mysore country.

After these authorities, we certainly shall not refer to the Muhammadan Munshis in Calcutta, for their opinion on the general relations of religious toleration in India.

I do not know whether your Lordship has been informed, that there are two Roman Catholic Missions in Bengal and the provinces adjacent. They have existed for a long period of time, and have been tolerated by the Muhammadan, Hindu, Seik, Nepaul, and Tibet Governments. They have preached and published what they pleased, without any official restriction that we ever heard of, and they now continue to follow their functions under the protection of the English Government, while the Protestant Missionaries are restrained and their theology is subjected to an official license.

The proceedings against the Protestant Mission will naturally be supposed at home to have been called forth by some public commotion in Bengal, or by the bad moral character of the Missionaries. As to the first, they will be happy to hear, that we are now and long have been, in a state of almost torpid tranquillity; and as to the character of the Missionaries, the Government has acknowledged them to be men of quiet demeanour, of pious intentions, and as deserving countenance and respect for their literary labours.

It has been the usual conduct of Asiatic Governments to let Christianity alone. In the annals of the British administration in India, has there been no instance of the suppression of a Christian Mission? Our empire here subsists by the discrepancy of religious opinion. It is not good policy to strengthen the Hindu religion, or to strengthen the Muhammadan religion; but it is good policy to strengthen the Christian religion, because it is as yet the weakest. It is certainly our duty not to oppose it, for if this counsel be of God, we 'cannot resist it.' And it would now be as easy to oppose the rushing of the Bore into the river Ganges, as to oppose the entrance of Christianity into the province of Bengal."

simply to avowed reasons and overt acts. An utter deadness to every thing worthy of the name of *vital, spiritual, personal* religion, may have been the substratum or congenial soil from which sprung up so luxuriantly the kindred crops of ignorance

The same spirit of active persecution which laid an arrest on the peaceful labours of the Missionaries, and would, if possible, scourge themselves out of existence, was soon destined to come down on their remonstrant apologist himself. Dr. Buchanan had, in the course of his public ministerial prelections, delivered a course of Lectures on the Scripture Prophecies. No sooner had he finished his course than he "had the honour to receive a letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government, desiring that he would submit, for the inspection of Government, the manuscript of the sermons, which he intended to publish." The author, in a long epistle addressed to the Governor-General, Lord Minto, replied, saying,—"I shall willingly submit these discourses to your Lorpship's perusal, and shall be happy to receive such observations on them as your Lordship's learning and candour may suggest; but I cannot submit them to the judgment of the officers of Government." His reasons for declining to comply with the wishes of Government in this respect, he felt it incumbent on him to state at length. And, having done so in a way the most solid, convincing, and satisfactory, he thus concludes:—

"After the perusal of the foregoing pages, your Lordship will be prepared to understand the cause of the late alarm regarding the Prophecies; not a public alarm indeed, but the alarm of some of the officers of your Lordship's Government.

Having had occasion lately to preach a series on the Christian Prophecies in the Presidency Church, some of the congregation expressed a wish that I would permit them to be printed, observing, that they had before made a similar request without effect; but as I was now about to return to Europe, they hoped I would bequeath to them these few discourses.

When it was understood by the Officers of Government, that the Sermons on the Prophecies were to be published, they were alarmed—your Lordship will scarcely divine the cause—it was this:—It seems these Prophecies declare, "that all nations shall be converted to the religion of Christ." But if this be true, it was argued, what bad news to the Muhammadans and the Hindus. In short, the advertisement, announcing the intended publication of the Prophecies which was sent to the Government Gazette, was suppressed; the advertisement itself was delivered in with trepidation to Government, and an order was immediately issued to the printers of the other papers, forbidding them to publish the alarming notice. In consequence of this order, it has been publicly understood that the Christian Prophecies are suppressed by authority.

I now beg leave to submit it to your Lordship's judgment, whether, in the view of the temper of mind displayed above, it would be proper in me to subject my compositions to the opinion and revision of the Officers of your Lordship's Government. Might there not be some danger in committing the Christian Prophecies to be altered and new modelled by men who favour the disciples of Muhammad and Brahma? I incline not to commit them to the hands to those officers, from another consideration: it would be a bad precedent, I would not that it should be thought, that any where in the British dominions, there exists any thing like a civil inquisition into matters purely religious.

It is nearly two months since I received the letter from Government on this matter——, and I have not yet communicated my intentions. I now beg leave to inform your Lordship, that I do not wish to give Government any unnecessary offence. I shall not publish the Prophecies.

At the same time I beg leave most respectfully to assure your Lordship, that I am not in any way disappointed by the interference of Government on this occasion. The supposed suppression of the Christian Prophecies has produced the consequence that might be expected. The public curiosity has been greatly excited to see these Prophecies; and to draw the attention of men to Divine predictions, could be the only object I had in view in noticing them in the course of my public ministry. Another consequence will probably be, the Prophecies will be translated into the languages of the East, and thus pave the way as has sometimes happened, for their own fulfilment.

Your Lordship will be enabled better to understand the real nature of this alarm regarding the Prophecies, when you are informed of the alarm which was excited about half a year before your Lordship's arrival, by the ancient "Christian Tablets."

In consequence of the enquiries, sanctioned by the Marquis Wellesley, into the history and literature of the Syrian Christians of Travancore, some ancient manuscripts were announced, and also certain "Brass Tablets" of great antiquity, containing the privileges of these ancient Christians, asserting their rights of nobility, and declaring withal that they had a king; your Lordship can hardly conceive the apprehensions which were excited by this discovery, in the minds of those who have been lately alarmed by the Prophecies. Even at the first, it was accounted an ominous mission to go "to rake up the ashes of Christianity" in the very midst of the Hindus. But when it was announced that there were "glowing embers," nothing less seemed to be expected than that all Hindustan would shortly be "in a flame." For if it was true that Christianity once

indifference, and even hostility to the true faith, and of tenderness, protection, and active countenance towards the false. Not sufficiently alive to the obligation due to the sovereign Lord of the Universe, or to the preciousness, grandeur and authoritative sanction of the truths of revelation, these were in a manner concealed from the mind's eye, or shrunk into points of minor concern, or cast out as troublesome intruders on the stage of carnal policies. Thoroughly alive, on the other hand, to the obligation due to superior earthly potentates, and to the paramount duty of preserving, extending and consolidating a mighty territorial and commercial empire, all considerations were absorbed in the means of accomplishing these great secular ends. The ends having been fully and definitively determined on, all manner of means adapted to their accomplishment must be unhesitatingly sanctioned and pursued. The question did not seem to be, whether any particular class of means was in itself intrinsically lawful and right—in strict accordance with the principles of immutable truth and rectitude;—but, whether any particular class of means appeared to be suitable for the promotion of the end in view? If the latter; then must the means be chosen, without any very nice or scrupulous regard to their inherent character. It is enough that they are found to promote the end so devoutly desired—so earnestly prosecuted. *The end will justify the means!* If, therefore, *Christianity* itself—divinely revealed though it be, and fenced all around by the shield of omnipotence,—be found, in the erring apprehensions of fallible men, to stand as a barrier in the way of aggrandising projects of temporal power, wealth and renown, it must be set aside—its claims dishonoured—its authority disowned. If, on the other hand, *Hinduism* and *Muhammadanism*,—spurious though they be in their origin, and doomed, like all systems of error, ultimately to perish before the breath of the Almighty's displeasure—be found to further, in any way, direct or indirect, such aggrandising projects, these must be sedulously guarded, cherished and extended in their influence. But, be all this as it may, in regard to the primary originating cause, the fact itself is undoubted—it has long ere now become one of the salient points in the page of authentic history, that, in India,

flourished in Hindustan, it followed that it might flourish again. It was devoutly wished "that these Christian Tablets might sink to the bottom of the sea," and even the curiosity of the Hindu antiquaries was quenched in this horror of Christianity.

That your Lordship may be assured that this alarm was real and not fictitious, it is only necessary to add, that when the article of literary intelligence published in the *Bombay Gazette*, containing the account of these ancient Christians, and of these "brass plates" (which account was certainly interesting to the Christian world in general, and to men of letters in particular) arrived at Calcutta, it was suppressed by authority as something dangerous to the State, and the Bishop of Llandaff's letter on the Civilization of India had nearly shared the same fate."

at the beginning of the *nineteenth* century of the Christian era, Christianity was virtually proscribed by a professedly Christian Government, while Hinduism and Muhammadanism, two of the mightiest of Anti-Christian systems, were, by the same Government, favoured by support and loaded with honour!

The Earl of Minto, having succeeded, to his heart's content, in crushing the efforts of Christian Evangelists, next directed his attention to the Heathenish Institutions which owed their origin and support to the munificence of some of his predecessors. These he resolved not only to perpetuate but to render still more efficient. And not only so,—but his purpose was consentaneously formed to add to their number, at the expense of the State. In 1811, he committed his views on the subject to writing, in an elaborate Minute. And as this document is one of great historical importance, and at the same time, one that is little known, we shall here quote its more material or important parts entire:—

Fort William, 6th March, 1811.

"The Governor-General:

"It is a common remark, that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every inquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, that remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is, the disuse, and even actual loss, of many valuable books; and it is to be apprehended, that unless Government interpose with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless, from a want of books, or of persons capable of explaining them.

The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native governments. Such encouragement must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but especially in India, where the learned professions have little if any other support. The justness of these observations might be illustrated by a detailed consideration of the former and present state of science and literature at the three principal seats of Hindu learning, viz. Benares, Tirhoot, and Nuddea. Such a review would bring before us the liberal patronage which was formerly bestowed, not only by princes and others in power and authority, but also by the Zemindars, on persons who had distinguished themselves by the successful cultivation of letters at those places. It would equally bring to our view the present neglected state of learning at those once celebrated places; and we should have to remark with regret, that the cultivation of letters was now confined to the few surviving persons who had been patronized by the native princes and others, under the former governments, or to such of the immediate descendants of those persons as had imbibed a love of science from their parents.

It is seriously to be lamented that a nation, particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire, should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindus, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature.

It is not, however, the credit alone of the national character which is affected by the present neglected state of learning in the East. The ignorance of the natives in the different classes of society, arising from the want of proper education, is generally acknowledged. This defect not only excludes them, as individuals, from the enjoyment of all those comforts and benefits which the cultivation of letters is naturally calculated to afford, but operating as it does throughout almost the whole mass of the population, tends materially to obstruct the measures adopted for their better government. Little doubt can be entertained that the prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery, so frequently noticed in the official reports, is in a great measure ascribable, both in the Muhammadans and Hindus to the want of due instruction in the moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths. It has been even suggested, and apparently not without foundation, that to this uncultivated state of the minds of the natives is in a great degree to be ascribed the prevalence of those crimes which were recently so great a scourge to the country.

The latter offences against the peace and happiness of society have indeed for the present been materially checked by the vigilance and energy of the police, but it is probably only by the more general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people that the seeds of these evils can be effectually destroyed.

Sufficient, I presume, has been already said to show the fitness of incurring some additional expense with a view to the restoration of learning in the extensive provinces subject to the immediate government of this presidency. I say "additional," because some expense is already incurred for the maintenance of students, at Nuddea, and a liberal sum is allowed for the support of a Hindu College, on an extensive scale, at Benares. In the former case, however, the expense allowed is quite insufficient for the ends proposed, and in the latter, the institution requires to be remodelled, in order to adapt it to the prevailing opinions and habits of the natives, and to correct the abuses which have crept into it. The following points appear particularly to demand attention in revising the rules established for the government of the College of Benares.

1st. A prejudice appears to exist among the Hindus at that city against the office of professor, considered as an office, or even as a service; and the most learned pandits have consequently invariably refused the situation, although the salary attached to it is liberal.

2d. The feuds which have arisen among the members of the college, and which may be ascribed chiefly to the avarice and malversation of the former native rector, entrusted with authority over the rest, and with the payment of their allowances have tended materially to defeat the objects of the institution.

3d. That part of the plan which supposes the attendance of teachers and pupils in a public hall, appears to be inconsistent with the usages of the Hindus. It has not only never taken effect, but has tended to prevent the professors from giving instruction in their own houses.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that in correcting the above defects in the constitution of the College at Benares, it will be proper to guard against the introduction of them at any other colleges which may be established.

After the foregoing remarks it only remains to state the number of

Colleges which I would at present propose should be established in this country, with a view to the restoration of learning and the more general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people, and the principles on which I conceive, after making all the inquiries of which the subject is susceptible, that they should be managed.

I would accordingly recommend that in addition to the college at Benares (to be subjected of course to the reform already noticed) colleges be established at Nuddea and at Bhour, near Bhower, in the district of Tirhoot.

It will be observed that in the foregoing remarks, I have confined myself almost exclusively to the plan necessary to be adopted for the restoration of Hindu science and literature. Considerations similar to those which have weighed with me in recommending that plan would naturally induce me to propose similar arrangements for the revival of letters among our Muhammadan subjects, and the more general diffusion of knowledge among that part of the community. With the difference only in the population of Hindus and Muhammadans, all the arguments which have been above stated in support of the arrangements proposed to be adopted for the propagation of knowledge among the former would equally apply to similar institutions for the benefit of the Muhammadans. A sentiment of deference, however, for the Honourable Court of Directors restrains me from recommending any extension of the plan until their orders shall have been received on the subject generally of this Minute. I deem it therefore sufficient to add, on the present occasion, that Muhammadan colleges might be beneficially established at Bhaugulpore, Juanpore, (where Persian and Arabic literature formerly flourished), and at some place in the ceded and conquered provinces; and that it might be advisable to reform the Madrissa or Muhammadan collegiate institution at Calcutta, on the principles recommended with respect to the Hindu Colleges. The attention of the Honourable Court will be of course drawn to this interesting subject in the next dispatch from the Revenue Department."

If the present article had not already exceeded the intended limits, there are many topics furnished by this Minute, which might well become the subject of lengthened remark. But at present we must forbear—resting satisfied with the bestowal of a passing glance on one or two leading points.

It is impossible to peruse the Minute without being struck at the vast strides which have since been made in the diminution or abatement of hereditary and apparently inveterate native prejudices. The dogma of the alleged *immutability* of Hindu sentiments, habits and practices, has long been effectually exploded from the creed of enlightened and thoughtful men. And to attempt to revive it now, after being shattered by the successive shocks of so many demonstrations, would only cover the revivalist with shouts of derision. But though the dogma of *absolute* immutability be a demonstrated fiction, it would be an error of equal magnitude to rush into the opposite extreme. The truth, as usual in such cases, is to be found in the golden mean. Hindu sentiments, habits and practices are certainly not immutable; but they have, it must be candidly acknowledged, a wondrous *tenacity* and *durability* about them,—

a wondrous power of cohesion, which often renders the relaxation and removal of them a work of the greatest difficulty—requiring the slow lapse of whole periods of time, and the gradual and almost imperceptible attrition of a thousand concurrent circumstances. By turning to our former article on the state of indigenous education, under the head of *Sanskrit Schools*, the genuine system of Brahmanical discipline and instruction will be found portrayed. The established custom is, for each learned Pandit to set up an independent School or College for himself—converting one or more apartments of his own house into school rooms and lodgings for the students, or erecting separate apartments for these purposes, contiguous to his own dwelling. How wholly different such a system is from the European one of salaried Professors, acting in concert in a common college, or University, and meeting in common halls, must be obvious, without the aid of remark or comment.

And with such inveterate tenacity did the Brahmans of Benares cling to their own ancient national custom, that the bribe of liberal salaries, the honors and reputation of a dignified office, and all the power and patronage of the Supreme Government failed, even after the persevering and uninterrupted efforts of *twenty* years, to secure any essential modification of it. The Supreme Government had to acknowledge itself completely worsted; and, yielding to the passive but successful resistance of the Brahmans, it was at length compelled to retire as a foiled party from the contest,—surrendering its own improved and fondly cherished plans of collegiate administration, in deference to the long established "usages of the Hindus!" Thus far the dogma of supposed immutability seemed to be confirmed, and threatened triumphantly to maintain its ground, in the face of frowns and favours, authority and renown. But, alas, for the doctrine of the immutables, long before twenty years more had elapsed, the prejudices of the Brahmans and their students not only became relaxed, but suddenly gave way, like a projecting crag which had been thoroughly undermined by the incessant dash and washing of the waters. Every where may the proud "sons of Brahma" be now found, not merely ready to accept, but eagerly, yea ravenously competing for offices, which their sires or grandsires would have spurned from them with lofty indignation and disdain. Not only do they appear as earnest candidates for lucrative professorships and posts of honour in Government Colleges—willing to submit to all the restraints and innovations of a European regime—but as competitors for the humblest teacherships in a Missionary school: yea more, even in the holy city of Benares itself, as we have been credibly

informed, may Brahmans be found, who, for the sake of a trifling hire, are prepared to accompany the Missionary to his preaching bungalow; and there engage, as interpreters, in expounding to the assembled multitude, those sacred verities, the general prevalence of which would tear up the entire fabric of Brahmanism from its very foundations. So much for the alleged immutability of Hinduism and the Hindus!

But abandoning the department of miscellanies, let us at once fix our view on the *main object* of the Minute. To behold a great Ruler turning aside from what are ordinarily reckoned the cares of empire—its financial, juridical, and military affairs,—and directing his mind and attention to *educational* subjects, which concern the intellectual and moral improvement of the people—is, abstractedly considered, a gratifying spectacle. But the gratification is vastly diminished, if not utterly supplanted by a contrary feeling, when we come to discover the partiality of his views, and the meagreness, the inadequacy, and even the unworthiness of his leading design. For what was the *leading design* of Lord Minto's minute? To prevent any misapprehension, let it be read and re-read: and then let the question be answered, what is its *main scope and object?* It indites something like an elegy, or funeral dirge, over the progressive decline and fall of Science and Literature among the Natives of India. But what Science and Literature? *None other than the Science and Literature, so called, which constitute the staple and substance of unmixed Orientalism.* It vindicates most earnestly "the fitness of incurring some additional expense with a view to the *restoration of Learning* in the extensive provinces subject to the immediate Government of this presidency." But, of what "*Learning*" is the "restoration" thus pleaded for? The restoration, to its ancient and pristine vigor, of *pure and undiluted Orientalism.* From begining to end, there is not the remotest hint or allusion to the desirableness or even possibility of introducing, in whole or in part, by implantation or engraftment, the improved Literature and Science of Europe—embodying, as these do, all that is magnificent in discovery, ennobling in truth, and elevating in sentiment. No! *Orientalism—the whole of Orientalism—and nothing but Orientalism*—is the sole burden of the Educational Minute of the Christian Viceroy of British India.

It is also worthy of note, how entirely and studiously the enlightenment of the great masses of the people is excluded from the proposed measures of the Governor-General. Allusion, indeed, is made to "the ignorance of the natives, in the different classes of society, arising from the want of proper education;" it is also "even suggested," that, to "this uncultivated

state of the minds of the natives, might in a great degree be ascribed the prevalence of those crimes which had proved so great a scourge to the country;" and, while due credit is given to "the vigilance and energy of the police," in materially checking aggravated offences against the peace and happiness of society, it is cautiously hinted, "that, *probably* only by the more general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people, the seeds of these evils would be effectually destroyed." But, all the while, *nothing whatsoever of an educationally remedial character is proposed or even alluded to, as regards "the great body of the people."* On the contrary, no Education whatever is proposed but a *learned* education; no classes whatever of the community are provided for, but the *learned* and more *respectable* classes. So far as the Governor-General's Minute is concerned, *the teeming myriads, which constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, are coolly and deliberately consigned to all the evils of a hopeless and incurable ignorance!*

It is in vain to allege, that, by the education of the learned classes the multitudes of the people must be at least indirectly benefited. In the present instance, no benefit of the kind could possibly accrue to them. The knowledge which constitutes the staple of Orientalism is not like *true* knowledge, which is as generous as it is true—which, like the light of heaven, delights in diffusing itself all around, and lives and flourishes by the increasing communication of its enriching influences. No; learned Orientalism is of an *exclusive* and *isolated* character; it lives and flourishes best when *monopolized by the few*, whom it elevates above the mass—separating them therefrom in interest and in feeling,—aggrandising them with special endowments—and investing them with peculiar immunities. Towards the great body of the people it never has manifested, and from its very nature, never can manifest, any sympathy or kindred feeling whatsoever. It has ever kept loftily aloof from any contact or alliance with them—regarding their very touch as that of essential contamination. The spirit and language of its treatment of them has ever been that of the most lordly aristocratic pride:—

Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo.

Accordingly, Mr. Adam, the Government commissioner, as the result of his extensive observation and research, positively testifies that there is not "any mutual connexion or dependance between Vernacular and Sanskrit Schools," that is, schools intended for the instruction of the great body of the people and those designed for the learned classes—that the former

"are not considered preparatory to the other; nor do the latter profess to complete the course of study which has been begun elsewhere; they are two separate classes of institutions, each existing for *distinct classes* of Society—the one, for the trading and agricultural, and the other for the religious and learned classes,"—that "it seems never to have entered into the conceptions of the learned that it was their duty to do something for the instruction of those classes who are as ignorant and degraded where learning abounds as where it does not exist." And, as a lasting proof of the utter disconnection between learned Orientalism and the intellectual improvement of the humbler classes of society, it is a *simple historic fact*, that, in Tirhoot and other districts where the learned institutions abound most, *there*, the vernacular schools are fewest in number, and the general ignorance of the people most intense!

Even as regards the learned classes themselves, for whom *alone* the Governor-General's minute proposed to make any provision, the boon of a *purely Oriental Education*, such as that discanted on, must be accounted as of more than a questionable character. This can be doubted by no one who will candidly peruse the detailed statements and illustrations furnished in a previous number, when treating of the subject of "indigenous education." Instead of elevating the intellect and purifying the morals, it was there shewn, that the direct tendency and inevitable effect of learned Orientalism was, to replenish the former with senseless and useless hair-splitting subtleties, and to vitiate the latter by the systematic inculcation of perverted maxims, and the virtual concession of a boundless license of indulgence. Never, assuredly, did ignorance of the *real nature* of the subject of which he treated, betray any man into a more fatal mistake, than when the Governor-General of India was tempted to record it as his conviction, that "little doubt could be entertained that the prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery, so frequently noticed in the official reports, was, in a great measure, ascribable both in the Muhammadans and Hindus, to the want of due instruction, in the moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths." The direct contrary of this statement would far more truthfully represent the reality. It is in the matter of what Sir William Jones designates "light oaths and pious perjury," that the great Orientalist himself pronounces the morals even of the reputedly divine Lawgiver Manu to be "unaccountably relaxed." And all experience has concurred in testifying that the classes of persons most addicted—most habitually and inveterately addicted—to the crimes, referred to in the Governor-General's minute, are not those who are least

instructed, but those who are best instructed in "the moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths,"—that these faiths have little in them to lessen, but much, very much to augment, the amount and variety of personal delinquency,—and that the diminution or mitigation of breaches of the moral law is not ordinarily in the direct, but in the inverse ratio of a vigorous and flourishing Orientalism.

But it is time to bring our comments to a close. The date of Lord Minto's minute, *6th March*, 1811, we may well regard as the *culminating point* of the hitherto ascendant star of *pure unmixed Orientalism*, in immediate connection with government educational measures. Having then reached its zenith, it will hereafter be our happy endeavour to point out how it passed the meridian, and began gradually to decline. In the mean while, our ungrateful task, in tracing its rise and progress towards an unrivalled ascendancy, is ended. Unpleasant, in many respects, as the task has been, its discharge was demanded by the sacred interests of truth; and its execution, however distasteful to the interested few, may not prove either wholly unpalateable or unprofitable to the disinterested many.

Escaped from the horrors of the tempest and the perils of shipwreck, the hero of the Æneid felt that the day might come, when a deliverance so wondrous, from the disasters of the past, might, in the remembrance of it, gild with a brighter halo of joy the improved fortunes of the future :—

Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.

Think of the grateful joy of the traveller, who,—amid the balmy freshness of the morning breeze, and the growing effulgence of the "King of day," as he advances with his retinue of glory in the upper heavens,—can now look back, and calmly survey the conterminous thicket, which concealed the couching lion—or the tremulous quagmire, which he so narrowly skirted,—or the frightful precipice, along whose dangerous brink he had so anxiously threaded his way. Think of the grateful joy of the mariner, who, with an open sea before him, and the signs and tokens of fair weather streaming in blushing profusion through the circling firmament, is enabled to look back, and calmly to gaze at the eddying surges of the whirlpool, by which his vessel might have been engulphed,—or the treacherous quicksands, on which it might have been stranded,—or the sunken rocks, on which it might have been dashed to pieces. Think of the grateful joy of the ruralized citizen, who, from his unshattered abode and undamaged domain, can coolly contemplate the ravages of the hurricane, which demolished the property of his

neighbours—or of the earthquake, which swallowed up their dwellings—or of the volcanic eruption, which covered their vineyards with the fiery streams of molten lava. Think of the grateful joy, whether of the rescued traveller, or mariner, or peaceful citizen ;—rather think of the joy of all of these united, and then, may some impression be conveyed, however incommensurate, of the grateful joy which we now experience in reviewing, from our present advanced and more stable position, the unhappy characteristics of a period, that must be ever-memorable in the annals of expediency and guilt ;—a period, whose most noteable exploits were, to rob the children of an orphaned world of the charter that ensured the heritage of a father's love—to dash from the hands of the benighted traveller, the lamp which would have illumined his intricate path amid the thorns and pit-falls of the wilderness—to extinguish the beacon blaze which would have warned the hapless mariner from a shore bestrewn with the memorials of former wreck and ruin, and directed his tempest-tossed vessel in safety to the haven of security and rest ;—while, before and behind, was seen rising, conspicuously displayed to view, one sign-post after another, emblazoned with inscriptions, pointing to the concealed caverns of death—and overhead were kept playing, the meteors and false lights, which, ever hovering around the abysses of error, never lose their seductive glare till their deluded victims have been flattered and allured to the very portals of perdition !

Rejoicing in so great a deliverance, let us prove ourselves worthy of it, by redoubled exertions in the great cause of Indian amelioration :—

" Our sword has swept o'er India ; there remains
A nobler conquest far,
The mind's etherial war,
That but subdues to civilize its plains.

Let us pay back the past, the debt we owe,
Let us around dispense
Light, hope, intelligence,
Till blessings track our steps where'er we go.

O England, thine be the deliverer's meed,
Be thy great empire known
By hearts made all thine own,
By thy free laws and thy immortal creed."

ART. II.—1. *Hitopadesa—the Sanskrit text of the first book or Mitralabha, prepared for the use of the East India College, by Francis Johnson, Esq. Professor—Madden and Co.* 1840.

2. *Selections from the Mahabharata, edited by Francis Johnson, Esq.—Allen and Co.* 1842.

3. *The Meghaduta, or Cloud Messenger, a poem in the Sanskrit language, by Kalidasa. Translated into English verse, with notes and illustrations, by H. H. Wilson, M. A., F. R. S.—Richard Watts,* 1843.

* MORE than half a century has elapsed since the labours of Sir William Jones first threw light upon a language which he afterwards, according to his famous dictum, pronounced to be "of wonderful structure: more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either." Since that time an interest in this and in other oriental tongues has spread rapidly over England, Germany and France, and the names of Schlegel, Chezy, Stenzler, Milman and others attest what has been done in each of those countries respectively to unlock the hidden treasures of the East. It is however to Sir William Jones, although modern orientalists may throw a doubt upon the profundity of his learning, that the greatest praise is due, for the manner in which, with but little time to himself, and with numerous obstacles and prejudices opposing him at every turn, he obtained access to the stores of learning which had been handed down from father to son since the days perhaps of Vicramaditya. A gentleman named Marshall was the first who made any way towards surmounting the difficulties of the Sanskrit language, or preparing the road for others. He commenced, we are told, by a translation of the Bhagavat Purana, and Jones shortly after gave the result of his labors to the world in his well known translations of the Hitopadesa. The Pandit who directed the efforts of the great orientalist was a man named Jagannát Tarka Panchánana

* In reference to the following pages we feel it due to our readers to admit that Sanskrit literature has been already discussed in the 1st Article of No. V. of the Review.—There, however, the worse features were dwelt on in preference to the better, though the existence of the latter was distinctly admitted. In the present article the aim has been, on the equitable principle of *audi alteram partem*, to point out what those *better* features are, with a due recognition at the same time, and allowance for the worse. The view taken of Sanskirt *literature* as a whole therefore, does not differ in any material points, and in that taken of the *language* itself there will be little or no discrepancy found. It seemed requisite to make such a statement as this to avoid the appearance of collision—the public attention has hardly as yet been too much drawn towards the real value of the learned oriental languges, and may bear to see them investigated twice or even thrice.

(the lion of logic) and the price of his condescension in teaching the unholy foreigner the sacred language of the Hindu, was fixed at three hundred rupees a month! a sum somewhat different from that required by the Pandits of the present day, who generally consider thirty rupees an adequate remuneration, —Colebrooke, who next succeeded with his digest of Hindu Law, is too well known to require further mention. He was followed by Wilkins, who was the first to venture on the great epic poem of the Mahabharata. To him we owe a translation of the famous colloquy held between the deity Krishna and the Hero Arjuna, and known by the name of the Bhagavat Gita. The laws of Manu were next laid open by the energies of Haughton, and the great desideratum of a Sanskrit Dictionary was supplied by Carey. The degree to which this study now flourishes in Europe is sufficiently attested by the familiar and constantly recurring names of Schlegel and of Lassen, of Wilson and of Mill, and it would be a work of supererogation to numerate what they have performed in this lately untried field. It is our intention in the following article to show what is the real value of the Sanskrit language, and with what aid it may now be studied.

But it may not be altogether foreign to the question to take a glance previously at the course of study now followed in the Sanskrit College, at Calcutta, modified and improved by European scholars, and therefore in many respects different from that pursued in the purely indigenous Colleges, as even in its improved form, we know of no parallel to it in any institution of the western world. At the age of twelve, or at furthest of thirteen, the young aspirant after Brahmanical lore commences his studies by poring over the grammar termed the Mugdabodha, itself *written in that language which it is designed to teach,*—on this he is destined to spend three whole years without once even attempting to translate the easiest elementary book! What would be the feelings of the youths of our great public schools if told that their dim and distant visions of a first class at Cambridge or Oxford must be prefaced by the solid reality of an equally long and undivided application to the pages of Buttman or Matthiæ, and these too not in German or English, or even Latin, but in Greek! When, however, the student has effectually mastered the intricate rules of Sanskrit Vyakaran, he plunges at once fearlessly into the vast ocean of heroic and dramatic literature. It seems as if the Hindu were fearful of assaying his weapons, of striking even the faintest blow, until well assured that his arms would stand the trial and come out unscathed; but as soon as he feels confident in his acquired strength, he presses onward with a rapidity which quickly makes up for the unusual delay

of his early stages. His next two years are devoted to the poem of Bhatti,—made for the express purpose of exemplifying all the important rules of grammar,—the heroic poems of the Raghuvansa and the Kumara Sambhava, the story of Nala and Damayanti as conveyed in the Naishadha,—to that trying criterion of all accurate Sanskrit scholarship, the Sisupala badha by Magh, to the pleasing story of Sacontala as dramatised by Kalidasa, to the Veni Sanghara, the Murari, the Bharori, the Prasana Raghava, Uttara Rama Charitra, Raghava Pandavi, Vasavadatta. In such manifold and varied stores he soon reduces to efficient practice the rules of grammar which hitherto have been floating about in his brain: fortified with scholarship at all points, he would seem to have nought to do, but to go forth and conquer, and the stubbornness of his opponent yields, as might be expected, to his systematic, through protracted attack. After this first burst his labours proceed at a more uniform rate, his next year is employed in the science of Rhetoric (alankara) and he not only translates, but also commits to memory, the whole of the Sahitwa darpana, and the Kavya Prakashanda Manjari. The doctrines of the Vedanta school claim his attention for the ensuing year, and he is made to master the Vedanta Sara, or essence of the Vedánta, the Panchadashi, and the Sharirikashutra. The same time is expended on the science of Logic (nyaya) which follows next in the routine of his education: in this year he reads only two books, the Bhasha parichedar (division of speech) and the Gautama sutra. The succeeding twelve months are devoted to that science in which there is every reason to suppose that the Hindus had made considerable progress at a very early period, that of Mathematics; for this he takes in hand the Lilavati and the Bijaganita. The attention of his next three years of College life, is demanded for the voluminous study of the Law; and we are startled when told that the student not only reads, but also commits to memory (with one exception) the whole of the following books,—the laws of Manu, the Mitakshara, the Dayabhaga or law of inheritence, the Dattaka Mimansa, the Dattaka Chandrika, the Udvaha Tattwa, the Shuddhi Tattwa, the Daya Krama Sangraha, and the Daivo Tattwa: the one exception, strange to say, is the well known volume of Manu. With this last science the term of his studentship, extending over a period of twelve years, is made to cease, but it would be as ridiculous to suppose that every student who has passed through the Sanskrit College is master of the above catalogue, as to imagine that a first class degree and a common *pass* at Oxford are synonimous terms;—still several are sent forth every year who would make an excellent show if examined in many of the books we have enumerated,

and in the composition of Sanskrit verse, and in *holding conversations* in exceedingly pure and correct Sanskrit, we have known several of undoubted excellence, though in this respect they can scarcely be said to be superior, if at all equal, to those fully trained in the purely Native schools of learning. Generally speaking, the student is well contented if he accomplishes the mastery over some one particular science out of the four studied, viz. Rhetoric, Logic, Mathematics, and Law. The Vedanta class, we perceive by the last report of the Council of Education, has been abolished, and since the death of the old Pandit Kamalakanta, with whose name many of our readers must be familiar, nothing has been done in the class which was substituted for that most useless science. We should, however, convey an erroneous impression to our readers of the whole course pursued, if we did not enumerate several of the adjuncts used by the young Hindu: whilst his attention is engaged in the grammar and the difficulties of conjugations, he does not omit an excellent method of retaining the diffuse Sanskrit nouns; and the contents of a Dictionary of substantives, termed the Amara Kosha, (immortal treasure) which contains all synonymes arranged in verse, are by him faithfully committed to memory. In fact, to use a homely illustration, it seems to perform in the hands of the young Hindus the same functions as the *Gradus ad Parnassum* does with the under boys of any of our great public schools. The reader will observe that neither the Hitopadesa, nor any one part of the Ramayana or the Mahabharata, at all enters into the course of public study pursued at the College; on the Hindu's private reading it has large and acknowledged claims, and some of the cleverest Pandits of the day, in addition to these national epics, are exceedingly fond of spending their leisure hours over works of an easier style than the science books. Amongst these we have heard of a *novel* or romance,—for to some such title it really seems to have a claim,—termed the Kadamvari. This contains, we are told, the story of an Apsara or heavenly nymph, who, like the Thetis or Aurora of classical tale, loved an earth-born prince named Chandrapiri. The volume is as yet unprinted, and has never yet fallen into the hands of any European scholar. The Brahman's education would yet be incomplete, were he not amply furnished with a considerable list of those sententious maxims so prolific in the mouths of Eastern sages and story-tellers. Many of these are exceedingly pithy and terse, and though at times the source whence they are drawn is easily recognized, the origin of others is involved in doubt; whilst the best Native scholars are unable to refer to any

work in which they are to be found. They assert them to be "traditionary couplets," and it does at times seem probable that like the "incidit in Scyllam" and the "tempora mutantur" of classical lore, their parentage is as doubtful as their fame is widely spread: some of these are well known to every Hindu who professes the slightest smattering of Sanskrit, or of mere Bengali Vyakaran, and we would venture to imagine, that, like Ossian's poems, or some of the songs prevalent amongst the unlettered Bas Bretons of the present day, they have been handed down, unwritten, in each Brahman's family from a long line of ancestors; no less than five hundred of these wandering couplets were known to one single man! It would be idle and unnecessary to point out the effect which such a course of reading is calculated to produce on the high caste Hindu, already sufficiently inflated by innate personal and family pride. Many must have seen and spoken with a Brahman versed in his own sacred literature, and though some of them are not so totally absorbed in their fancied treasures, as not to appreciate the value of an English education, there are several in whom bigotry and self-conceit is carried even in these more enlightened days, to an overweening extent. We have given the above sketch in the hope that it may not be altogether unacceptable to those who are aware of the great difficulties of Sanskrit; but are unacquainted with the time devoted to its acquirement, and the nature of the books studied during that process. The College, and the question as to whether in its absence the language would be preserved and diffused by the ardour of private individuals, or be suffered to fall into a gradual decline, we will at present quit, and rather turn to see how the language is studied in England, and what real value (if any) may be extracted from its multitudinous stores.

It was after a residence of upwards of twenty years in India that Mr. Wilson, versed in Sanskrit literature to a degree attained by few scholars of any country, and combining at the same time with his deep oriental learning, a classical taste and a refined judgment, became deeply impressed with the notion that Sanskrit, as the parent of so many of the Indian dialects, as the key to the feelings of a great part of the natives of this country, and as the repository of all Hindu knowledge and science, was desirable and even absolutely essential to the education of those destined to fill employments in the Civil Service of the East India Company. We beg it to be understood that we do not hereby offer any distinct opinion in coincidence with or in opposition to Mr. Wilson's plan; the system is perhaps of too recent

a date, to allow its workings to be fully felt. To use his own words:—"The History of Mankind can be but imperfectly 'appreciated without some acquaintance with the literature of 'the Hindus. It is however to the educated youth whose manhood is to be spent in India, and who is there destined to discharge high duties, and to sustain heavy responsibilities; who 'is to execute the offices of civilized Government over millions 'of subject Hindus, and to make that Government a blessing not 'a curse to India; a glory not a shame to Britain.—It is to him 'that the study of Sanskrit commends itself by considerations of 'peculiar importance.....The popular prejudices of the Hindus, their daily observances, their occupations, their amusements, their domestic and social relations, their local legends, 'their national traditions, their mythological fables, their metaphysical abstractions, their religious worship, all spring from 'and are perpetuated by the Sanskrit language. To know a 'people, these things must be known; without such knowledge 'revenue may be raised, justice may be administered, the outward shows and forms of an orderly government may be maintained; but no influence with the people will be enjoyed, no 'claim to their confidence or attachment will be established, no 'affection will either be felt or inspired, and neither the disposition nor the ability to work any great or permanent improvement in the feelings, opinions or practices of the country 'will be attained. It fortunately happens, it is true, that 'much of this indispensable information may now be acquired 'through the English language, in consequence of the valuable 'translations and dissertations of various of the Company's most 'distinguished servants; but knowledge from the fountain head 'is more precise and effective than when gleaned from subordinate and not always pure or profound rivulets, and in proportion as it is effective and precise, will be the respect and trust 'of the native population, the influence and power of their 'English masters."*

It was under the influence of such impressions that Mr. Wilson introduced his favourite study as part of the regular course of education to be pursued at the Honourable Company's college established near Hertford. We are not now writing on the system best calculated to fit the Haileybury student for his future career, or much might be said concerning the merits and defects of the course now pursued at the college, and regarding the proportion which oriental and European literature should bear relatively to each other. It is enough for our present purpose

* The above passage is taken from the preface to his grammar published in 1840.

that owing to the growing necessity of elementary Sanskrit books under Mr. Wilson's system, the present able and zealous Professor at the East India College was induced to devote his time to the editing of the Mitralabha, or first book of the well-known collection of fables termed the Hitopadesa. The want of such a book for beginners had long been felt: we know of no language of which the first glance is so unpromising, whose early path is strewed with more thorns or briars. A lengthened array of strange characters, a system of orthography totally opposite to that known in the Western world, a slight similarity with the classical languages, sufficient to attract by its seemingly congenial aspect, but insufficient to decrease the drudgery of toiling at the rudiments, an alarming variety of grammatical rules, a combination of words to any extent according to the beautiful but somewhat complex system of euphony which is a striking characteristic of this great Indo-Germanic language—these are a few of the difficulties which alarm the tyro on his first attempts; and we have known many eager aspirants either wholly deterred at first or fairly beaten off the field by the unyielding tenacity of their opponent. Before Mr. Johnson's time no elementary book had facilitated in the slightest degree the labour of the Haileybury student; he had been left to work out his own way by the help of Grammar and Dictionary, or had merely learnt by rote the portion required by the College statutes from an analysis of the original made by some steady and plodding student, and often handedd own as an heirloom from one college generation to another. Mr. Wilson rightly judged that if his favourite study was ever to become attractive, or to engage the attention of any considerable number of students, it must be owing to books of an easier stamp and of a less forbidding aspect; and in order to smooth to a certain extent the path of beginners, and to straighten the crooked ways of Sanskrit Literature, Mr. Johnson edited in due succession, with a copious glossary, the works with which we have headed the present article. Of these the Hitopadesa—first in order of publication and one of the most curious reliques of any language, will be the first to demand our attention.

The Hitopadesa, derived from two Sanskrit words signifying "friendly advice," is a composition of fables interwoven with selections from numerous authors, easy in style, but in some instances possessed of considerable merit. The plot of the work, or rather the reason for its being written, is given after the genuine oriental fashion. Sudarshana, a sovereign of Pataliputra, has two sons who are unendowed with the faintest rudiments of knowledge: one day he hears a person reciting verses in praise of

learning, not so much as tending to refine and ennoble man, but as being the source of wealth and worldly comforts: on this he reflects and comes to the wise conclusion that a Minister or Tutor must be appointed for the education of his children, or as he himself expresses it, for their regeneration (punarjanma)—Vishnu Sharma, a great Pandit, is the man selected for this office from a numerous circle of the learned men of the age, and after the customary prelude in praise of erudition, he enters on his course of instruction by reciting some pithy couplet on which a tale is made to hang. When the pupils demand the explanation the tutor relates a fable, out of which in several instances another fable, told by some of the actors in the first, expands itself, and sometimes the fold of narrative is even tripled or quadrupled before we arrive at the termination. All have read the Arabian Nights, and well remember how constantly two and even three different stories are made to evolve from the original tale in hand: and the classical reader will recur to a similar mode of narrative in Ovid's Metamorphoses, where an episode is so spun out by the introduction of others as to fairly bewilder the student, and on one occasion even the author* himself. Several of the precepts inculcated by the oriental sage are of very questionable morality, to say the least, and if not always of a pernicious tendency, are at any rate more calculated to render his pupils expert in the ways of the world, and in the turns of public life, than to elevate them to the standard of high and upright characters. The "quocunque modo rem" is the criterion by which they are invited to test each vicissitude, and the goal towards which their eyes are ever directed. Not to dwell on the constant allusions, direct or indirect, to the peculiar dogmas of an erroneous creed, which cannot be otherwise than distasteful to the enlightened christian reader, occasionally a view of a higher kind intervenes, and the student is rewarded by one of those opening vistas which appear like streaks of blue sky in an otherwise clouded atmosphere. But the great charm of these fables is, that they are the origin of almost every similar collection of stories which have either amused childhood or engrossed the attention of a riper age, from the most ancient times down to the nursery tales of our own days. Mr. Johnson in his modest preface says, "From their investiga-
'tions (those of Colebrooke and Sylvester) it is established that
'a work which is to be considered as the original form of the
'Hitopadesa was translated from Sanskrit into Persic in the
'sixth century of our era by order of Nushirvan—that it was
'translated from ancient Persic into Arabic in the ninth cen-

* Ovid's Metamorphoses, Book xv.

'tury—that it was presently afterwards rendered into Hebrew 'and Greek—and that from these versions successive translations 'were made into all the languages of modern Europe until 'it became familiar even to youth under the designation of 'Pilpay's fables. In the East it has continued to retain its 'popularity to the present day, where it has served as the sub-'stance of the *Anvari-suhaili* and the *Khirad Afroz*, and exists 'in the form of translation in all the spoken dialects."

As might be expected, animals peculiar to the East play a considerable part in these fables, but are sometimes contrary to that which we should have looked for. The jackal is invariably cunning and successful, except on one or two occasions where his deceit meets with its due reward: the deer and the camel are his unsuspecting victims, while that most sagacious of beasts—the elephant appears only, as totally devoid of the least shadow of acuteness, to become the prey of a rabbit. Many of the fables, being peculiarly eastern in their tone, have remained fixed immutably on the soil whence they sprung, but others we recognize at a glance, although transformed and transplanted to far different scenes: the foolish Brahman, who, in his series of castle-buildings, had already married his four wives, and whilst chastizing one of them for her fancied quarrels broke all the potter's crockery and was in consequence expelled his house withi gnominy—appears again to our view, as the barber's brother Alnaschar of the Arabian Nights, and as the English girl going to market, who threw down and smashed the pannier of eggs on the price of which she had raised a long succession of wealth and fortune: and the Brahman, who, seeing a quantity of blood near his child's cradle, killed in his haste the weasel set to guard it, by whose watchfulness a large and deadly snake had been destroyed, is represented under a still nearer aspect, but with the substitution of the wolf for the snake and the dog for the weasel, by the well known and affecting story of Prince Llewellyn and his faithful hound Gelert.*

Mr. Johnson's book only embraces the first portion of the Hitopadesa, that on "the acquisition of a friend;" the other portions would have been equally worthy of his unwearied endeavours, and in the fourth book especially, there is one selection so different from the rest, or we may add from the general mass of Sanskrit poetry, that we cannot resist translating it; our readers may judge for themselves of the worth of a language in which such passages, though rare, do occasionally reward the enquirer. Few

* We do not intend to throw any doubt on the originality of the Welsh tale, but the resemblance is exceedingly striking.

indeed will fail to be pleased with the tone of some of the sentiments therein contained, so superior to the age in which they were originated, and so adverse to the generality of opinions in favour of asceticism and bodily mortification. The son of Kaundinya, a holy and learned Brahman, has been bitten to death by a snake, and the afflicted parent, we would almost say in the words of the christian poet:

> "Feeling more bitterly alone
> For friends that press officious round,"

rolls himself on the ground in the extremity of his grief, whilst a large number of his relations and neighbours congregate in his house to offer all the consolation in their power. Amongst the rest Kapila endeavours to cheer the old man by his wonted topics of philosophy, and thus unlocks his store of wise saws:—

"Where are gone the Lords of the earth with their armies, 'their hosts and their chariots, of whose separation the world is 'a witness even to this day.

"Day by day this mortal frame is imperceptibly decaying 'like an unbaked pot when placed in water.

"Death approaches nearer and nearer every living person 'daily, just as a *victim to be slain is led step by step to the slaughter*—youth, beauty, life, abundance of wealth, dominion, intercourse with those we love, are all uncertain. Let not the 'wise man be decoyed thereby.

"*As one plank meets with another plank in the vast ocean, and 'having once met parts again, even so is the meeting of human 'beings.*

"As a traveller takes his rest under the shade of a tree, and 'having rested, again goes on his way, even so is the meeting of 'human beings.

"Since a body formed of five elements, is doomed to return 'to those five again, each finding the place whence it came, then 'what cause is there for lamentation?

"For all the dear connexions that a human being forms in 'his life-time, there are so many thorns of sorrow fixed in his 'heart,—perpetual conjunction of any thing with any thing in 'any place is unknown, even of a being with his own body, 'much less then with others of distinct qualities.

"Of meetings with dear friends which are pleasant for the 'moment, the end is very sorrowful, like that of blind men who 'have lost their way.

"As the currents of mighty rivers flow on and return not, even 'so do day and night depart, taking with them the lives of men.

"Alliance with the good, which in this world is sweet-tasted, 'from its ending infallibly in separation, is yoked to the cart of

'sorrow.—It is for this reason that good men desire not the soci-
'ety of good men, since there is no medicine for a heart pierced
'by the sword of separation.

"Noble deeds were performed by Sagara and other kings;
'but they and their deeds have met with destruction.

"When we meditate on that fearful punishment the death of
'an excellent man, all our efforts became relaxed *like strips of*
'*leather when sprinkled with water.*"

But the father, like the old moralist in Rasselas, on the death of his daughter, feels how vain must be the boasted philosophy of poet or sage on occasions like the present, and how impossible it is that nature, though banished by stoicism, should not return and vindicate her rights. Tired as it were with the prolix consolation of these Job's comforters, he starts up with a truly dramatic effect, exclaiming "enough of dwelling *in a hell of houses**. I will go forth to the woods." On this the cautious Kapila again interposes—not with a wearisome repetition of wordy proverbs—but in a higher strain, and one not unworthy of a more enlightened creed, certainly far beyond what we might have expected from the Brahman, one quarter of whose life, according to Manu and other recognised authorities, should be passed in bodily mortification. "*Even in a wood,*" he says, "*sin arises in the man*
'*of passions: Even in a house the coercion of the five senses is*
'*austerity.* To the man who engages but in blameless deeds
'and quells all earthly passions, *his very dwelling is a forest in*
'*which he may practise mortification.* Even when in sorrow a
'man should practise virtue, contented with whatever residence
'he may be in—he should be possessed of equanimity what-
'ever may befal him, *for the emblem of Shiva carries not virtue*
'*along with it. The soul is a river, whose holy place of pilgrimage*
'(*tritha*) *is the repression of sensual passions, whose waters are*
'*truth, whose banks are benevolence, whose waves are mercy—there*
'*perform thy ablutions, son of Pandu, for the inward soul is not*
'*purified by water.*"

We think the sentiment of the last line can hardly be parelelled by the morality of any unrevealed religion: it must be set down as a transient glimpse of that "glorious truth,"

> "Which sages would have died to learn
> Now taught by cottage dames."

Of the other ideas many are decidedly oriental: the jar of unbaked clay—the body composed of five elements—the comparison of slackened efforts to leather relaxed by water, or as we

* *Griha narake* is the original expression, of which the words in the text are a word for word translation.

should say by the rainy season—the indifference to all earthly ties so strongly inculcated—these are the peculiar product of an eastern soil: but the morality which may be practised in a city as well as in a wood—the religion of the heart preferred to that of external forms—the two pieces of wood meeting each from some distant shore in the midst of a mighty ocean, and their separating again by the influence of the tide—are worthy of the Western Hemisphere and some of its best lights. The last idea we might have conceived to emanate from Scott or Byron as he paced the blue waters of the Mediterranean in his yacht, but it is indeed remarkable when uttered by one of that creed whose it never was "to go down to the sea in ships or to occupy their business in great waters."

The Hitopadesa as a whole, combined of selections from different authors, affords a fair specimen on which to found a judgment as to the value of *the better and least objectionable portions* of Sanskrit literature. There is nothing in it of the tenderness of Sacontala or of the Meghaduta, nothing of the vivid fire of the Ramayana or the Mahabharata; but there is a medley of pithy sayings and pleasing stories, with here and there a truly poetic thought, which certainly afford some return for the trouble expended in mastering the language. Nor should we forget to mention the pleasure derived from comparing the pictures of men and things as seen in the Hitopadesa and other works, with those daily brought before us in a Bengal village. When we read that a Brahman must not step over the cord to which a cow is tied, we can understand the motive which prompted such a command to be the unwillingness to cause the terror which that animal invariably experiences on the approach of a stranger, and the kindness to all living beings which forms the special duty of a good man: when a man plunged in doubt is compared to a cow "sunk in a quagmire," we think again of the poor Ryot's bullock so often plunging in its fright into a muddy ditch or a half dry tide creek: when we are told that "in countries devoid of trees even the castor-oil plant plays the part of a tree," we immediately recal the *rendi* or plant from which that medicine is produced as it grows in extensive gardens in several parts of Bengal: when we read of the crow who pecked at the curds carried on the farmer's head, and escaping the blow aimed at him, caused the death of a quail, we are reminded of the impudent Chowringhi bird who would at times almost carry things off our breakfast table: when we hear that a fowler threw grains of rice on the ground to decoy the wild pigeons to his net, we think of the mode of catching birds so commonly practised by the native *Shikari* of the present day. So true it is that there is something

in the nature and composition of the Hindu which is adverse to the spirit of innovation, and which maintains the customs of bygone ages inviolate and unchanged: whilst foreign invasions thundered at a distance, and new kings were substituted for old in the city of the great Mogul, whilst every kind of petty intrigue, the forerunner of fiercer outbreaks, were being carried on within the walls of the palace, or whilst Muhammadan Dynasties were coming to an end—the villager, secure under his own patriarchal government, remained callous and indifferent to external revolutions. If an aged king was murdered by his sons, or a brother usurping the throne made the first use of his authority to blind or to assassinate the other children of a common parent—the Ryot had still his* Mandal and his watchman as before. If Delhi was invaded by a Tamerlane, or sacked by a Nadir Shah, his village and his boundaries were untouched. If the inhabitants of those scenes of warfare and plunder were slain defenceless by hundreds, no sound of battle had penetrated his cocoa-nut groves. Nay if the district in which he lived formed the subject of dispute between two rival chiefs or two unnatural brothers, his petty quarrels were soon decided by the arbitration of the well-known Panchayat. To him it was sufficient that he had the means of livelihood amply forthcoming, and whilst centuries rolled away, the customs of his fathers were sensible of no mutation: the bamboo was planted, the tank was dug, and the descending showers of Sravan and Bhadro matured the annual crop: years passed on, but the face of nature around him and the village of his ancestors remained the same, and it is hardly too much to require our Readers to believe that the growth of twice a thousand years has produced but little effect on the habits of the Hindu, and that illustrations to the pages of the Hitopadesa may be found in every village and plain of Bengal. There is however an unpleasant feature in the above work which seems to belong to the native at all times rather than to be the blot of any particular age: the low and degrading ideas which the inhabitants of the East associate with the female character, have found in the Hitopadesa an almost undue prominence: nothing good can be expected from a woman: she is to be watched on all occasions and mistrusted in the same way as we would mistrust *princes, deep rivers,* or *ferocious wild beasts:* wherever she appears in a tale it is to point the usual moral, to illustrate the favourite maxim: to show up the sex as utterly unworthy of kindness and consideration from the stronger vessel, seems

* Every one has heard of the Mandal, or head man of a village—the oracle and arbitrator in all petty village disputes. This worthy is known by the name of *Makaddam* or of *Patel* in other parts of India.

to be a positive duty on the part of the compiler; if carefully guarded and removed from every temptation she may be preserved from ruin and disgrace, but the slightest allurement or opportunity must inevitably draw forth the latent evil of her disposition and conduct, as by a natural consequence, to shame and degradation. To dwell farther on this would be irrelevant; its consequences are felt and acknowledged by every friend to native regeneration, and gladly shall that day be hailed on which the long-lost rights of the Hindu females shall be vindicated and established on their lawful position!*

The next work to which Mr. Johnson directed his attention was the Mahabharata; from whose vast and rather unwieldy structure he selected about seven hundred couplets and edited them after the same fashion as his previous volume. The varied style of this epic, and the number of subjects therein discussed, would lead us to suppose that the hypothesis, once entertained but now generally abandoned, regarding the Iliad and Odyssy, might be more successfully tested in respect of the Mahabharata. The immense extent of the work precludes the possibility of its being the result of one man's labours. It contains above one hundred thousand *slokes* or two hundred thousand lines, and were we possessed of all the lost works of the "scriptores cyclici" (who flourished at a period in classical literature corresponding to that of the Mahabharata in Sanskrit) their combined number would hardly make up the tomes of this lengthy poem. According to its compiler we have but a fragment of what was recited before the assembly of divinities—a mere shaving of the mighty original which was granted to satisfy the cravings of men; but according to our own hypothesis the part of Pisistratus was here performed by Krishna Dwaipanani, the Vyasa or compiler, who joined in one continuous whole the story of the war between the Pandus and Kurus, with sundry episodes, each a poem in itself, and various long and prolix discourses on the duties of kings, on the regulations of society, and the means of attaining to final emancipation. In an excellent preface by Mr. Wilson, we are furnished with a sketch of the story. It is the great struggle between the Pandus and the Kurus for regal supremacy: the former are the sons of the old blind King Dhritarashtra, and are one hundred in number: the Pandus are five, Yudhisthira, Bhima, Arjuna, and the twin brothers Nakula and Sahadeva, the Castor and Pollux of oriental mythology. The first of these, Yudhisthira

* In reference to this we have seen an essay on the native female character, and the means for raising it to its proper standard, by an intelligent native Christian.

is the Agamemnon of his day; he claims emphatically to be the "king of men," and performs a sacrifice in proof of his claim to universal dominion: at the same time his right if allowed must have more resembled the feudal authority of a powerful chief over others of lesser note, than the paramount sway of a mighty sovereign. Bhima and Arjuna are however the heroes of the fight. The former is of a somewhat Achillean temperament, and the latter, like Ulysses, bends a famous bow, and accomplishes the feat of shooting five arrows in succession through a mark which swings round in the air at the famous "passage of arms" for the hand of the beautiful Draupadi, whilst out of the large number of kings assembled to tilt for the prize, not one is found who can even string the bow. These two personages are still quoted as those in whom all heroic qualities were united, and it is not unworthy of remark that though we repeatedly meet with the name of Yudhisthira amongst Hindus, we have more rarely seen a living Nakula or Sahadeva, whilst *Bhim* and *Arjun*, curtailed of their fair proportions, occur to our hearing at every turn. The sons of Pandu, after the completion of their education, run the gauntlet through a series of practices directed against their lives by the malice of Duryodhana and his brothers, and at length fall victims to a passion—so fatal to men of every age and country—that of gaming. Yudhisthira loses every thing, from his palace and his wealth to his personal liberty and that of his friends: these are all restored by the interference of the king, but on trying the venturous game a second time and again losing, he is doomed, under a previously made condition, to undergo banishment in the woods for a period of twelve years. The poem is now protracted by a long series of episodes, some evidently of a later date, without making any real progress to the denouement: four cantos are taken up with the battles between the two parties, in which the aid of deities and supernatural weapons give the victory to one party or the other alternately in the same manner as we read in the Iliad. At length the great obstacle to the final catastrophe is removed by the death of Duryodhana, who is killed in single fight by Bhima, and we should naturally have expected the poem to terminate with this event. Instead of this we are conducted through another series of episodes till we attain the mark in which the Hindu's vision would seem ever to be fixed—the disunion of the soul and body, and the final rewards of the virtuous. We transcribe the passage from Mr. Wilson's preface, giving the termination of this lengthened tale.

"The remaining books of the Mahábhárata, although more or less episodical, are in better keeping with the story. They

'are also short and hasten to the catastrophe. The fourteenth 'or 'Aswamedhika Parva' describes the celebration of the ''Aswamedha' rite—the sacrifice of a horse by Yudhisthira, 'in proof of his supremacy. In the fifteenth book, the Asrama 'Parva, king Dhritarashtra with his queen Gandhari and his 'ministers, retires to a hermitage and obtains felicity, or dies. 'The sixteenth or Mausala Parva narrates the destruction of 'the whole Yadava-race, the death of Krisha who was one of the 'tribe, and the submersion of his capital Dwaraka by the Ocean; 'the seventeenth book called the 'Maháprasthanika' or great 'journey, witnesses the abdication of his hardly won throne 'by Yudhisthira and the departure of himself, his brothers and 'Draupadi, to the Himálaya on their way to the holy mountain 'Méru. As they proceed, the influence of former evil deeds 'proves fatal, and each in succession drops dead by the way-'side; until Yudhisthira and a dog that had followed them 'from Hastinapura, are the only survivors. Indra comes to 'convey the Prince to Swarga, or Indra's heaven: but Yudhis-'thira refuses to go thither unless

admitted to that equal sky
his faithful dog shall bear him company,

'and Indra is obliged to comply.

"The eighteenth book, the Swargarohana, introduces Yudhis-'thira in his bodily form to heaven; to his great dismay he 'finds there Duryodhana and the other sons of Dhritarashtra 'but sees none of his other friends, or Draupadi; he demands 'to know where they are, and refuses to stay in Swarga with-'out them; a messenger of the Gods is sent to show him where 'his friends are, and leads him to the 'fauces graveolentis 'averni' where he encounters all sorts of disgusting and terrific 'objects; his first impression is to turn back, but he is arrested 'by the wailings of well remembered voices, imploring him 'to remain, as his presence has already alleviated their tortures. 'He overcomes his repugnance and resolves to share the fate 'of his friends in hell, rather than abide with their enemies 'in heaven; this is his crowning trial. The Gods come and 'applaud his disinterested virtue. All the horrors that had 'formerly beset his path vanish; and his friends and kindred 'are raised along with him to Swarga; where they become 'again the celestial personages that they originally were, and 'which they had ceased to be for a season, in order to descend 'along with Krishna in human forms among mankind, and 'co-operate with him in relieving the world from the tyranny 'of those evil beings who were oppressing the virtuous and

'propagating impiety or the characters of Duryodhana, his 'brothers and their allies."

Such is the story of the Mahabharata; for its merits and varied style we refer our readers to the Bhagavad Gita translated by Sir Charles Wilkins, and to several blank verse extracts by Mr. Wilson himself, published in a periodical now extinct, the Oriental Magazine, or to an admirable translation of the story of Nala and Damayanti from the pen of the late Professor of Poetry at Oxford, the Reverend H. Milman. We think that the heroic strains of this poem would fall more pleasingly on English ears than the polished periods of Kalidasa. There is a mixture of simplicity and freedom, an absence of most of the conceits so common in Oriental poetry, which can hardly fail to attract: the fore-runners of the manlier and better part of the national character which we now see represented by the Rajput and the native sepoy. The compiler of these warlike verses is also said to have collected and arranged in one definite form, that monument of all which the Hindu once held most sacred, the holy Vedas; whilst these latter, owing to their Doric harshness of diction, have fallen into such disuse that scarce any native Pandits, however well educated, ever take the book in hand; the Mahabharata like other early poetry has maintained its hold on the affections of the nation at large. It seems the property of that poetry, which at one time takes the form of ballads and border minstrelsy, at another appears in the shape of epics like the present, to flourish in a green and unfading old age amidst the lower orders of every race. Even with the educated native the Mahabharata has lost none of its worth. It is venerated by him equally with the Vedas: according to a well known line—Bharata Panchamo Veda—it is the fifth of those ancient reliques, and while the adoration paid to them is distant and undefined, the Mahabharata is widely circulated and repeatedly quoted. The lower classes make it the basis of their knowledge; many who have never heard of Kalidasa, or cannot tell the name of one of his works, are familiar through the medium of translations into the vernacular dialects, with every story in the Ramayana or the Mahabharata—the Rape of Sita by Ravana—the aid given by Hanuman, the monkey king, to Rama—the separation of king Nala and his Queen Damayanti, on the loss of his kingdom—and the subsequent recovery of it by the dice box—the prowess of Arjuna and Bhima—are well known to all Hindus, high and low, to the Mudi who pores over his tattered volume as he sits in the shady corner of his shop, as well as to the Amla of the court, or the Pandit of the College, and perhaps many of our readers may not be aware

that the knot of Uriya bearers who throng round the durwan's gate, in the calm still nights of the hot weather, whilst one man reads aloud in the true native twang of recitation, are intent on nothing less than the expedition of Rama or the colloquy of Krishna and Arjuna, as translated from the Bhagavad-Gita, and known to them by the name of Arjun-Git! at any rate the Uriya translations of these poems cut on long strips of wood, and joined by one primitive piece of string, must be familiar to all who have ever made the least inquiry into the habits and customs of native servants.

Mr. Wilson discarding the ruder strains of the ancient bards, subsequently bestowed his time on the poets of a later period—we still think that the labours of orientalists might be amply repaid by researches into these hundred thousand verses, where, omitting much that is prolix and obviously of little value, they might possibly extract a considerable deal worth knowing of the ancient state of India and its inhabitants. We are however free to confess that the next poem we shall review may from its structure and contents, probably engage the approbation of a larger number of English readers.

The Meghaduta,or Cloud Messenger, a poem from the finished pen of Kalidasa and the offspring of a later period than either the fables of the Hitopadesa or the warlike strains of the Mahabharata, exhibits all that richness of ornament and colouring which mark so peculiarly the era of Vicramaditya. Of its author we know but little, save that he was one of a bright galaxy of eight who flourished at the Court of Ujaiyani (Oojein) and as distinguished in the varied branches of astronomy, medicine, poetry and others, were known by the appellation of the nine gems, the king himself being the ninth. Of the poem itself a short synopsis is given by Mr. Wilson, in another of his excellent prefaces: we may add that it was the first subject on which he proved his untried powers of translation, and of the whole range of Sanskrit poetry he could hardly have selected one in which Eastern imagery and sweetness of expression have been so successfully united. Mr. Wilson thus explains his favourite author.

" The subject of the poem is simple and ingenious: A Yak-
' sha, a divinity of an inferior order, an attendant upon the
' God of riches, Kuvera, and one of a class which, as it appears
' from the poem, is characterized by a benevolent spirit, a gentle
' temper, and an affectionate disposition, has incurred the dis-
' pleasure of his Sovereign, and has been condemned by him to
' a twelve month's exile from his home. In the solitary but
' sacred forest in which he spends the period of his banishment,
' the Yaksha's most earnest care is to find an opportunity of con-

'veying intelligence and consolation to his wife: and in the 'wilderness of his grief he fancies that he discovers a friendly 'messenger in a cloud—one of those noble masses which seem 'almost instinct with life, as they traverse a tropical sky in the 'commencement of the Monsoon, and move with slow and 'solemn progression from the equatorial ocean to the snows 'of the Himalaya. In the spirit of this bold but not unnatural 'personification, the Yaksha addresses the cloud, and entrusts 'to it the message he yearns to despatch to the absent object of 'his attachment. He describes the direction in which the 'cloud is to travel—one marked out for it, indeed, by the 'eternal laws of nature, and takes this opportunity of alluding 'to the most important scenes of Hindu mythology and tradi-'tion; not with the dulness of prosaic detail, but with that true 'poetic pencil which by a few happy touches, brings the subject 'of the description vividly before the mind's eye. Arrived at 'the end of the journey, the condition of his beloved wife is 'the theme of the exile's anticipations, and is dwelt on with 'equal delicacy and truth: and the poem terminates with the 'message which is intended to assuage her grief and animate 'her hopes. The whole of this part of the composition is 'distinguished by the graceful expression of natural and ami-'able feelings, and cannot fail to leave a favourable impression 'of the national character; whilst the merely descriptive portion 'introduces the student to the knowledge of a variety of objects 'of local, traditional and mythological value, with which it is 'his duty to become familiar, and which he will, when in India, 'contemplate with additional interest and pleasure from his 'previous acquaintance with the verses of Kalidasa."

The very origin of the Sanskrit poetry is instinct with the feeling, of which the above is a most successful illustration. Though afterwards nursed amid the martial expeditions of Rama, and the "bella plus quam civilia" of the Pandus and Kurus, still the Sanskrit muse sprang not from the din of battle or the clash of arms: the occasion of her birth was that watchful regard for life which forbade the Brahman to kill any living animal, and made him even step with caution lest his feet should cause the death of an insect. Schlegel in his History of Literature, has remarked that pathos and sweetness rather than vigour are the characteristics of Sanskrit poetry, and Oriental ingenuity has devised the following legend as the origin of the first sloke or verse that was ever uttered. Valmiki, a devout Brahman, to whom an injury to the least of living creatures, was amongst the most deadly of sins—was one day meditating amongst the deep recesses of the forest. Though absorbed in heart-

ennobling contemplation he at times would raise his eyes to observe the sporting of the various feathered inhabitants of the woods. Amongst the rest a pair of cranes—of that kind whose gorgeous plumage renders them conspicuous in Oriental birds—were remarkable for their mutual fond attachment to each other. As the holy man, not yet lost to the influence of earthly affections, when good and pure, was gazing with somewhat of rapture on this pleasing picture, the whistle of an arrow was heard from a neighbouring thicket, and one of the cranes fell, struck to the heart, whilst the piercing cries of the other disturbed the solitude of the jungle as it wheeled its flight over the dead body of its companion. Indignant at this wanton sacrifice of life, the Brahman looked eagerly around for the perpetrator of the ruthless deed; and when the form of a hunter was seen emerging from his concealment, the pent up anger of the sage discharged itself in the following words—"Never, O hunter, mayest thou attain to fame for endless years, since thou hast slain one of these cranes when it was heedless through love." On reconsidering his words he found them to bear the semblance of rhythm and measure, and they were soon established as the standard according to which most Sanskrit poetry has been written. Perhaps their celebrity amongst the natives of Bengal is even greater than their author could have anticipated, for we have rarely met with a Kirani, possessed of the smallest smattering of education in his vernacular tongue, who could not repeat by heart and in a great measure understand the above mentioned couplet.* It would be unfair not to afford our Readers an opportunity of judging of the intrinsic merits of the Meghaduta, and we have accordingly selected the following extract: the Yacksha having described the regions over which the cloud is to pass, and conducted him, as it were, to his journey's end imagines that be beholds his absent partner:—

I view her now! long weeping swells her eyes,
And those dear lips are dried by parching sighs;
Sad on her hand her pallid cheek declines,
And half unseen through veiling tresses shines,
As when a darkling night the moon enshrouds
A few faint rays break straggling through the clouds.
Now at thy sight I mark fresh sorrows flow,
And Sacred sacrifice augments her woe,
I mark her now, with Fancy's aid retrace
This wasted figure and this haggard face,

* It may not, perhaps, be known to every one that most of the respectable natives of Bengal make the learning of a few Sanskrit slokes an important part of their education; they can repeat, and, without grammatically analyzing them, can give their general meaning.

Now from her favourite bird she seeks relief,
And tells the tuneful* Sarika her grief;
Mourns o'er the feathered prisoner's kindred fate,
And fondly questions of its absent mate.
In vain the lute for harmony is strung,
And round the robe-neglected shoulder slung;
And faltering accents strive to catch in vain
Our race's old commemorative strain.†
The faltering tear that from reflection springs
Concedes incessantly the silvery strings,
Recurring woe still pressing on the heart
The skilful hand forgets its grateful art,
And idly wandering strikes no measured tone
But wakes a sad wild warbling of its own!

Again:—

Goddess beloved! how vainly I explore
The world, to trace the semblance I adore,
Thy graceful form the flexile tendril shows,
And like thy locks the peacock's plumage glows,
Mild as thy cheeks, the moon's new beams appear,
And those soft eyes adorn the timid deer,
In rippling brooks thy curling braids I see
But only view combined these charms in thee.
E'en in these wilds an unrelenting fate
Proscribes the union, love and art create,
When with the colours that the rock supplies
O'er the rude stone thy pictured beauties rise,
Fain would I think, once more we fondly meet
And seek to fall in homage at thy feet,
In vain, for envious tears my purpose blight
And veil the lovely image from my sight;
Soft and delightful to my senses blows,
The breeze that southward wafts Himalaya's snows,
And rich impregnated with gums divine
Exuding fragrant from the shattered pine
Diffuses sweets to all but most to me—
Has it not touched? does it not breathe of thee?

We would fain have gone a little further with the Cloud on his travels, but we must rest here. The Meghaduta in Mr. Wilson's flowing heroics will well repay the trouble of a perusal should the book fall into the hands of any of our readers: they will however recollect that it is one of the *most favourable* specimens of the whole range of Sanskrit literature. In fact it cannot be denied that we have often to wade through a considerable portion of tedious detail and puerile conceits, or something much worse, to reach any thing that will admit of a comparison with the classical poets of Greece or Italy. Hindu

* The common Maina.

† This verse would seem to imply that the custom of family records or songs of praise corresponding to the funeral orations of Roman antiquity, by which the doings of great men were preserved, formerly prevailed in India.

literature cannot well be compared with that of any other nation: it stands isolated and *sui generis*, and the student is amazed in casting his eye over a long list of authors, to view the spectacle of a language, highly cultivated, rich and expressive, employed with one solitary exception, as a vehicle for poetry. There is not a single prose volume in the language *save the Hitopadesa*. Even the Raja Tarangini, which *professes* to give a History of the Kings of Cashmir, is in verse; and we doubt if the eloquence of Demosthenes or of Cicero could have found a free vent in the long and wordy Sanskrit combinations. Under the skilful hand of Kalidasa, these compounds move along in slow, but not ungraceful order; and we cannot forbear admiring the ease and the absence of effort with which he marshalls his somewhat cumbrous phalanx of epithets: these are not merely prolonged and high sounding words, conveying an echo of the sense—as the θάλασση πολύφλοισβος of Homer, but each individual epithet gives a distinct picture, which another language could alone convey by a couple or more lines. To give our readers an example, what would they think of "a gloomy—wood—whose—herds—of—wild—swine—were—ascending—from—the—tanks, whose—peacocks—looked—upwards—to—the trees—on—which—their—nests—were—built, whose—grassy—spots—were—thronged by—deer."* This, however it may seem strange to European ears, is the point in which the flexibility of the Sanskrit is most displayed: and we remember a chapter in the Ramayana, which describes a metropolis with its well-paved streets, its bridges, its graceful arches, its dwelling houses of two and three stories, its temples and towers, its gardens and groves, in short the whole range of a large city from the heart to the suburbs, merely by the employment of epithets formed in the manner above mentioned, and all depending on a substantive which occurs in the first line.†

In spite of its vastness and the number of its remains, it must be observed that in several departments, as fully pointed out and discussed in a former article, the Sanskrit is singularly barren. In History it has *literally nothing*: the Brahman's thoughts and feelings concentrated in a small circle, his daily unvarying round of tedious ceremonial, his natural dislike to change and horror of innovation, his innate pride and self-sufficiency,—all were against any thing like an enquiry into the origin of aught but his own favoured race—into the customs of any but those who boasted that they sprung from the mouth of Brahma. Of Pastoral

* Raghuvansa, Canto VI.
† Description of the city of Ayodhya in the fifth canto of the Ramayana.

poetry the Sanskrit has one specimen—the Gita Govinda or Song of the cowherd, pronounced by Elphinstone to be of exceeding tenderness ; but that same gentleman had never met in the whole course of his reading with any single specimen of Satirical writing. In the Dramatic line we possess about fifty plays, from the earliest times to one written about fifty years ago ; but it is in Heroic poetry that the field is of the widest extent ; and the sciences of Law, Logic, Rhetoric and Theology have exercised the eastern love of minutiæ and hair-splitting, to their furthest possible limit.

We will however leave for a moment our contemplation of the Sanskrit, as a literature, and direct attention once more to its structure and merits as a language and medium of expression. It is here that the Sanskrit presents the boldest front : and on this foundation it has reared its firmest and most enduring stronghold. We can scarce sufficiently admire the perfection of its alphabet or the capabilities of its syntax. Its alphabet is at once the most complete and the most regular of any that we know or indeed of any that could be devised. No Cadmus could have invented one more fitted to express every sound and to give all sounds their correct utterance. The first vowel of all languages, the short a, is inherent in every consonant, and is the only one for which there is no corresponding sign, except of course when it occurs at the commencement of a word. There is no fear in reading Sanskrit that we should ever hesitate whether to lengthen or to shorten the sound of *a*, and *i* as in Greek, or of *a*, *i*, and *o* as in Latin : no danger that the reader should be inveigled into a *false quantity* : the vowels are as fixed as night and day and are as easily recognized ; we have the long *a*, *i* and *u*, and their corresponding short sounds expressed by two different sets of signs, and the letter e with its proper pronunciation given, as in the French language : there is no chance of our doubting how to express the sound of two or more vowels when they occur conjointly as we often see in English.* By the laws of Sanskrit combi-

* One word or two here on the spelling of Oriental names may not be amiss. The universal cry is, and has been, that Indian towns and places are spelt in such manifold ways by different authors, that the reader who is unskilled in eastern literature has often great difficulty in recognising the same word under its different aspects. Whilst we allow that these variations are sometimes licensed by the variety of pronunciation in use among the tribes of the east, we cannot extend this excuse to most of the names of places in Bengal and Hindustan. The transformations which many have been made to undergo in English hands are only equalled by the similar metamorphoses which our own names suffer in the mouths of the natives. Now it were of course desirable that one mode of writing such names, generally recognised by orientalists, and capable of being pronounced correctly by the unlearned European, should be definitively established. But here supervenes the difficulty : one man contends for Sir W. Jones, another for Gilchrist, another for Elphinstone, and a fourth

nation two vowels can never occur together: such an event is immediately followed by a change into a longer vowel or in some instances by a more wonderful transformation into a cognate consonant. The consonants—of which we have almost every one save the X and the Z—like the vowels, are equally cautious of concurring in a manner that may give the slightest shock to the ear, or offend in the least degree against the immortal laws of harmony: something of this precautionary feeling we observe in the Latin (where, not to multiply examples, *in* and *lido* make *illido*) but nothing like the extent to which it prevails in the Sanskrit.

Starting, then, from the beginning with such a noble foundation, we might have expected to find the structure of the whole fabric as perfect and as regular, and it is indeed observable that the form of declension for nouns and of conjugation for verbs is at first, severe, uniform and complete. But alas! as we proceed on our way, the path grows darker and branches

has a peculiar system of his own; one man would write the great cotemporary of Charlemagne as Haroon-al-Rasheed, another as Haraun-Al-Raschid, and a third *Harûn-Al-Rashíd*. It becomes obvious then that the only correct system of orthography in these cases is the original one which the word bears in Persian, Sanskrit or Arabic, or to whatever language it may belong. To this the most fastidious critic can offer no valid objection: nor does it seem too much to require, that the readers of books on eastern subjects should be expected to learn the genuine sounds of oriental vowels, and forget, for the time being, the almost ludicrous way in which our alphabet assigns different powers to the same vowels according as they are placed between different consonants, or the same powers to different vowels when occurring between the same consonsants. What can be more absurd than the variations of the double *o* in the words *moor* and *door*, or than the sameness of pronunciation in the verbs to *sew* and to *sow*. It is necessary that people should see the faultiness of their own alphabet before they will take the trouble to learn another. Were we to transfer with Elphinstone in his India the Sanskrit and Arabic letters to the English we should then have *Jagannàt* instead of *Juggernauth* and Múrshídabád for Moorsheedabad.

In either of these instances, the word would lose none of its force in pronunciation, and would be spelt in the same manner by whoever wrote it. To this plan we know but one objection, viz: that occasionally words do occur, for which, if literally spelt after the eastern fashion, we have no equivalent in English pronunciation. For instance, the latter of the two words Akbar *Khan* is generally pronounnced exactly in the same manner as the name of the great Devonshire wrestler; men are ignorant of the nasal *n* of the eastern tongues, and give the word the sound which the vowels bear in English. The general adoption of our plan would remove all discrepancies in writing; and for correct pronunciation, we should be content to wait till a more extended knowledge of eastern habits and a greater diffusion of oriental lore had rendered the characteristics of its orthography more widely known. It is perhaps, however, easier to point out the absurdities of the present system than to suggest a remedy which shall be approved of by all. About ten or eleven years ago, an immense discussion was raised by our local press on this very subject. Some of the more elaborate papers, with others on kindred topics, were collected and published in a distinct volume at Serampore. With a few slight modifications the system of Sir W. Jones was all but unanimously adopted in preference to all others; and the few and unimportant differences which subsequently arose in practice have since been satisfactorily settled, as may be seen by referring to the *Calcutta Christian Observer* for August 1842; so that on this side of India, the question, with most disputants, has been conclusively determined: at home, however, such is not the case. There, "grammatici certant, et adhuc sub judice lis est."

out into a series of complex ramifications, which require every light that we can muster to explore them. Some of the original features are however preserved, and in the cases—strengthened by the addition of two unknown in Greek or Latin, the *instrumental* and the *locative*, whose signification is evident at a glance —we can discern throughout a sort of similarity. Whilst engaged in describing all the varieties of nominal inflection Mr. Wilson could declare that "even as it is we are authorized to affirm that there is but one general declension in Sanskrit grammar:" the genders of nouns are for the most part simple and unconfused—although the addition of the masculine, feminine or neuter termination to the *crude form* of a word, gives it in each instance a widely different meaning: thus the masculine *Visarga*, affixed to *dwija* gives us "a Brahman," or "twice born man," whilst with the feminine *dwijā* we have "the name of a perfume!" If, however, in nouns the anomalies are abundant, the adjective, following the *first regular* declension of the noun, is sufficiently simple, and possesses as few irregularities as either of the classical languages; and the comparative and superlative additions are literally one and the same with the Greek. The pronouns, like those of every language that we ever heard of, seem marked out as the sport of change, but the Numerals are distinguished by a most beautiful and inflexible regularity. It is curious to observe how, whilst the Sanskrit is so uniform in this respect, its derivative, the Hindi shows us one of the most unmeaning and perplexing set of ordinal numbers that could well be devised. The Sanskrit verb—which like the noun has a dual in addition to the two usual numbers—holds out the test by which Sanskrit scholarship and acquirements can be most rigidly proved. If we were somewhat astonished at the varieties of declensions we are utterly amazed on arriving at the subtleties of the verb. The vast number of roots from which verbs are conjugated—the vagaries of their moods and tenses—the incongruent difference of meaning produced by the affixing various prepositions to the original root—the license taken by authors who give to verbs the signification which suits their fancy or even rely on the context of the passage to render the verb intelligible, perhaps "the incompleteness of the study of this part of the grammar," —all combine in fortifying the language in a manner almost impregnable but by the labour of an ordinary life-time. Lord Teignmouth (we quote from memory) used to fix the accurate knowledge of the verbs as a test for the mastery of a language; and it may be confidently affirmed that whoever has followed and retained all the intricacies of the Sanskrit verbs, may be fairly said

to have mastered the language and to be entitled to the denomination of "a great Pandit." We believe that the Sanskrit grammar grew by degrees or was engrafted on the original Parent language. It is the case with all learned tongues and the Sanskrit bears internal marks of having been in its earliest form a simple and unincumbered dialect. We are not now going to call up the unsettled question as to which was the primitive language of mankind. It would seem highly probable that the Sanskrit was one of those formed at the confusion of Babel, and that the great original is now entirely lost or but partly lives in the Hebrew and other Radical tongues. But the Sanskrit we repeat, bears striking marks of having been in the outset a nervous, plain and simple language. Its declensions and conjugations are at first formed on a regular model: its alphabet may with confidence be termed perfect: its flow and rhythm are beautifully modulated: it has words of one syllable, we had almost said* of one letter, expressive of most natural objects, of the qualities of the understanding, the passions and affections of the mind. Even when we quit this unpretending foreground, and go deeper into the picture before us, we find that its lengthy combinations and its profusion of synonimes are merely those which the warm imagination of the oriental would delight in inventing for the objects in nature most stupendous to the outward eye, or most attractive to the mind: some of these seem to have been mere epithets at first, and thence by an easy transition to have passed into substantives; the sun, as the source of light and heat and as the great influencer of climate, has been enriched by the Hindu with a large variety of appellations; he is "the creator of day" and "of light," the "one who shines," the "one whose reins are hot." The ocean is the "mine of gems;" the wind is "the ever-moving;" a tank is the "maker of flowers;" a cloud is the "water-giver;" fire is "the one whose path is black," "the *one born of the Vedas*," "*the eater of ghee;*" a serpent, a lotus, to whose delicate round form the eyes of the Hindu maiden are invariably compared; the moon, a river. All the varieties of wild beasts which swarm over the vast peninsula of India, have been selected as the favourite objects for the exercise of an invention whose fertility, if we may not sympathise with, we cannot refuse to admire. At the same time it is worthy of remark that

* Such words as *bhu* the earth, *ka* the sky, *rai* wealth and others, to our mind speak a language fitted for those times when there "were giants in the land." It may be said that words of one syllable are to be found in every language; but the word *bhu* is written in Sanskrit by two letters; the aspirated *b* and the vowel, and the word *ka* by the mere consonant *k* with its inherent sound and the addition of the *visarga!*

the plain original word for each of these objects has passed into the Bengali with very slight modification, whilst the synonimes have undergone a natural death, and are buried with the Sanskrit whence they sprung. Whilst thus contending for the system and regularity which seem an inherent principle of the Sanskrit, we must allow that the further we proceed the more its apparent symmetry is marred. The variety of meanings attached to the same word, not deducible from each other, not following in a natural and easy channel but utterly adverse and irreconcilable, may serve as a forcible illustration of our meaning. Let any man take a Sanskrit Dictionary in hand and turn over a few of its pages, he will be at no loss to acknowledge the truth of what we say.* One word (divaukasa) means a deity, an elephant, a bee, a cuckoo: another—the famous word Tantram—is a religious treatise, a drug, an army, a cause, a realm, a house, wealth, a weaving implement: a third (Dharma) is Yama, or the Hindu Pluto, a drinker of the juice of the moon plant, a good man, a bow; and a fourth is both a young and an old woman!

One great question which seems as yet undecided is, how far the Sanskrit was ever a spoken language; and, in considering this doubtful point, the first thing that strikes us is, that, whilst the names of other languages are derived from the countries in which they prevail or the people by whom they are used as a medium of expression, the Sanskrit alone gives us no clue whereby we might ascertain its origin. Its signification —the perfect language—would lead us to imagine some ruder dialect in opposition to which such a title was bestowed: this we discover at once in the Pracrit or Natural. And if we believe that as Herodotus found both a sacred and a profane language prevailing in Egypt, so the Brahman kept the polished form to perpetuate the decrees and ordinances of his highly favoured race, and left to the men of inferior birth the more humble Pracrit, we are thus at once relieved of any difficulty as to how a language so highly ornamented and cumbrous could ever have served as a general medium of communication. One thing at least is certain that in the Drama of Sacontala, the king and his nobility alone speak in Sanskrit, the Pracrit being left to the inferior characters of the play. Whilst, however, our unacquaintance with Pracrit disables us from offering any decided opinion on the subject, we

* We are at no loss to understand why the same word should at times be applied to different objects remarkable for the same quality—the Greek word Κέλης means both a race-horse and a swift pirate vessel, evidently because the speed of both is considered sufficient warrant for the two meanings, but the various meanings of Sanskrit words baffle all our penetration.

are inclined to believe that Sanskrit was occasionally employed in conversation by the higher orders, much in the same manner as the educated natives of Hindustan now make use of the sweetly sounding Persian. Every one is aware that nearly all the inhabitants of the various parts of India are acquainted with two if not three different languages, of which one is the medium of intercourse with others of a different *mulk*, and we do not see why the Sanskrit should not occasionally have been used much in the same manner: at the same time we admit that to this hypothesis many objections may be taken, and many various questions be raised and supported with equal probability. How a language not generally used and confined only to a few could ever have produced such an extensive literature: how in that case the Bengali, so totally dependent on the Sanskrit, that it resembles it more nearly than Italian does Latin, could ever have become the speaking language of twenty-five millions of people: how the Mahratta, the Uriya, the Urdu itself lie, as is acknowledged, under an obligation to the Sanskrit, the two former of actual birth and parentage, the latter of extensive aid in its conformation and structure, if the original only centered in the Court of some Hindu Augustus, and never extended itself in one mighty wave from Dacca to the Deccan, from the Indus to the Hugli; whether the Sanskrit was not the speaking language of that conquering race, who, whatever be their birth place, certainly poured down from the heights of the Himálayas, on the fertile plains of Hindustan: whether the pure Hindi—the basis of the Urdu—is an attempt at an amalgamation of the language of victor and of vanquished, or but a corruption of the purer tongue forced on the crushed and trampled Sudra: whether it may not have been possible that the Sanskrit in conversation abjured the more polished and lengthy combinations, and contented itself with a due observance of euphony and rhythm: whether the twice-born men did not fence their position by this additional aid and encourage a difference of speech between themselves and their dependents: —all these are questions which, owing to our imperfect knowledge of the early history of India, cannot well be determined at present, and which therefore it would be futile to argue. The Natives themselves give us no help towards elucidation. On subjects like these the Pandit's deep but solitary learning, unaided by any treasures from a different source, and unpractised in combining and digesting his stores of knowledge, proves inadequate to clear in the slightest degree the darkness which hangs over the early ages of the great Peninsula of India. Would we see how easily the Sanskrit can be divested of all its

difficulties and assume a dress at once simple and unpretending? We have but to look at Bengali as now written in its purest form. The skeleton, nay even the body with all its members, remains as entire as ever, but the numerous folds of dress, the drapery, so to speak, thrown around it by the subtleties of nouns and the vagaries of verbs, have departed for ever, one and all: instead of a variety of declensions we have one form of termination for all nouns: instead of five hundred verbal roots, we have one solitary conjugation, we might almost say one single verb;* the nouns and adjectives indeed remain, and with the elision of the final *Visarga* have established for themselves a permanent place in the language; the alphabet, though pronounced after a grossly degenerate fashion, still rigidly maintains its symmetrical arrangement; even the laws of harmony are cared for and respected, but the whole mass of grammatical finesse and over-wrought syntax has passed from our eyes as by one touch of the enchanter's wand.

Another great blot in the Sanskrit literature is the atrocious habit of *punning* which every one of its authors has successively indulged in from the days of the Mahabharata to the epoch of Kalidasa. It is well known that Mussalman poetry, whether in Persian or in Urdu, abounds in a series of miserable conceits and unmeaning quibbles, but it is somewhat startling to find this wretched taste existing in the remains of a language so dignified and stately as the Sanskrit. It seems as if the Hindu were perpetually destined to mar what in itself is severe and almost classical, by connecting it with ordinary and familiar relations, the offspring of a rank and over luxuriant imagination. We are not astonished to find in the Raghuvansa—one of Kalidasa's best poems—a whole canto in which every single line is devoted to this execrable ornament; but we are indignant when Damayanti, separated from Nala in the vast jungle, and calling on her absent Lord in strains worthy of the Ariadne of Catullus, indulges in the same unseemly quibbles. But a short time before she had met with a solitary hunter in the depths of the forest, and when his violent passions would have led him to assault unprotected virtue, the Heroine's indignation, expressed in devotion to her husband, is launched at the audacious man of the woods and he falls prostrated to the earth "like a tree blasted by the thunder-stroke." After this unusual tribute to the purity of the female character the poet shows Damayanti, when regret for Nala's absence has taken

* All Bengali scholars know what repeated use is made of the verb *karite*, in preference to others, both in speaking and writing.

possession of her mind more forcibly than before, and in the wildness of her grief she addresses the Ashoka tree, imploring it to save her. Now the word *Ashoka*, the tree, differs in nothing from *Ashoka* which signifies "without sorrow," from *a* privative and *Shoka* grief; and she accordingly implores the tree to be true to its derivation and make her *Ashokam* "without grief!" Of such unworthy trifles was this language made the vehicle. We must however allow that, as a *pun*, the above is correct, so far as regards consenting orthography in the two senses of the word. Such is not always the case: for in the original Sanskrit of the verse which we have given above, the same word put to a like use and with much less point. Valmiki's curse when he saw the bird slain was considered to proceed from his sorrow, and *Shoka* meaning "grief" and *sloka* being "a verse," the resemblance between the two is made the excuse for one of these absurd intrusions on the dignity of the language. With such an example before him, Kalidasa could hardly be expected to abstain from the favourite habit, and it is accordingly found disfiguring most of the best remains of the Sanskrit literature. The poet of the middle ages who wrote a poem of fifteen hundred lines after the model "cornua velatarum obvertimus antennarum," could hardly be said to have exercised his ingenuity after a worse fashion.

Such is the language to which national or rather Brahmanical vanity gave the title of Perfect. Complete, we may say, in several of its component elements; but, like the remaining specimens of Hindu architecture, it strikes us more by some of its details than by the whole picture which it presents to us. As a vehicle for thought, it unites power and terseness with melodiousness and harmony; yet, in spite of Sir William Jones' undisguised admiration, there is an absence of some necessary though undefinable element, there is some one material evidently wanting both in the language and in the literature which forbids it to stand in competition with the Latin, and places it ineffably below that most glorious of earthly tongues—the Greek. It does indeed appear as if the discovery of and researches into the stores of new languages are only for the purpose of establishing on a still firmer basis the superiority of the classics. If, at times, Eastern treasures, newly unlocked, seem to give promise of gems which might rival their western competitors, a closer inspection only shows the comparative fewness of such excellencies, or their inability to claim rank before the productions of Greece and Italy. Perhaps had the Sanskrit been nursed amidst the scenes which called forth the heart-stirring strains of the Athenian Muse, or been devoted to exalt the majesty of an Eternal City: had

either freedom awoke the slumbering fire of her poets, or the thought of a Rome, with her stern, cold, and inviolable dignity, struck the echoing chord of patriotic pride in the breast of her sons: had an oriental Marathon been pointed to as beacon-light, or had the tribes of the East gathered themselves at the feet of some Queen-like city with her seven hills;—then perhaps might sparks of a kindred nature have been looked for in the Sanskrit, and a tone of vigour and honest independent manliness, in addition to pathos and feeling, have rewarded our anxious inquiries. But the truth is that other motives actuated the Hindu, and mixed themselves with his daily life and habits. The exposition of an ever-recurring round of sacred duties, the enumeration of trivial acts, and at the same time the absence of any definite object of an ennobling character, rendered the Hindu somewhat of a visionary; and though religion is more mixed up in his poetry than in that of most other nations, though the tendency of the poet is more decidedly religious, it wants concentration, and the stream expands itself into a variety of small and irregular channels, instead of flowing in one steady and continuous course. What his freedom was to the Athenian, and to the Roman, his city, religion and her duties were to the Hindu; but religion, constantly verging into the cheerless speculations of Pantheism on the one hand, or the barren formalism of idolatry on the other, though exercising a powerful influence over the motives of individuals, assumed with him a less vivid and life-like form than the reigning passions of the sons of Greece and Rome. Where Demosthenes could appeal to the shades of those who fell at Marathon, or Virgil in a lofty address urge his Rome to the performance of her noble duties, the Hindu had nothing for it but to work on those feelings of respect to the Brahman and his order, which might naturally be supposed to have the most interest for his hearers. Let us however not unduly undervalue the motives of obedience which held so powerful a sway over the Hindu's thoughts and actions. There are some points of view in which they may be entitled to respect; and it has been well said by the great and good Dr. Arnold that, should we hear of a man offering to lay down his life for an animal, we could not refuse to bestow our sympathy on him. In the Raghuvansa, the sage Vasishtha has given a sacred cow to the king Dilipa and his queen Sudakshina, who come to visit him in his solitary abode. The animal under the royal care is taken to the edge of the jungle to pasture. In an unguarded moment a lion rushes on his defenceless prey, and before the King can bend his bow to rescue the animal from the jaws of the spoiler, the lion, assuming

a human voice, addresses him and bids him lay aside his useless weapons. He is the servant of Shiva, and by the commands of his master, is compelled to wear the form of a beast. The prey is lawfully his own, and has fallen into his clutches "like Nectar into the hands of the enemy of the gods." The King, on hearing this, immediately offers his own body as a substitute for the holy animal, and his offer, without being absolutely refused, is met by temptations of the most powerful kind. A King, he is told, is the very breath of his people: by his life alone they live, and to sacrifice himself, would be to peril their very existence: atonements can easily be made for this one cow by the gifts of hundreds of other animals: a long life is still before him, in which he may easily expiate this venial offence: his youth and vigour, his fair and manly form, all that is dear to him in life or on earth are successively appealed to, in order to shake his fidelity. But the heroism of the dauntless monarch is proof against all such snares: the word Kshatriya, he answers, means "Save from destruction," and if that name be once sullied, and its true meaning lost, his kingdom and his life alike are vile and worthless. Finding his resolution unshaken, the minister of Shiva accepts him as a substitute, and at the critical moment the cow undergoes a transformation and appears as his guardian saint; the lion vanishes, and a shower of heaven-born flowers is poured on the hero by the hands of celestial choristers. Though the reader, in the case of the Hindu, may pity the superstition which dictated such blind devotion, he must be sensible that no motive could be more potent with the Kshatriya, no piety so exalted in the eyes of the Brahman. It is indeed devotion worthy of a better cause, and which, if guided into a lawful channel, might have purified and ennobled the character of the Hindu.

We feel that we must stop here, though fully aware that much more remains to be said on the subject of this first of all oriental languages; we have however endeavoured to convey to those of our readers who may never have cast a glance inside the temple of Eastern literature some slight notion of what may be met with in a field which, vast as it is, was altogether unknown in Europe a century ago. It is the peculiar danger of orientalists that when engaged in researches into unexplored regions they are too apt to overrate and magnify the value of their subject. The mind, elated at its discoveries, and eager to push on where others have never trod, is incapable of judging with calmness, or of separating the dross from the true ore. All that comes to hand is valuable because new; and if similar passages are discovered, if a corresponding tone is observed in the new and in the old study, it is only to exalt the former

unjustly at the expense of the latter. An exaggerated estimate is thus formed and given to the world, whilst those to whom the key has not been entrusted are in doubt whether to yield their assent to the praises of the enthusiastic scholar. We have tried to set forth the merits and demerits of Sanskrit, so that the reader, if he do not concur with us, may be induced to search and decide for himself.

And here another question forces itself on our notice, which it may not be altogether improper to examine. The object of the works at the head of this article, edited in the course of three successive years, has been to endow the *British* youth, who is hereafter to fill employments in the Civil Service of India, with the primary rudiments if not with a considerable insight into the great repository of Hindu antiquities. To this subject we may have occasion to advert hereafter, and it were perhaps hardly equitable to go much into it now. Still it has been said, and with undoubted justice, that many men, to whom the meaning of the term Sanskrit was utterly unknown, have filled, with the satisfaction of their superiors and the love and honour of those beneath them, various offices—from the lowest to the highest step in the ladder—in the course of an official life time. It has been also objected that men, employed in researches into an ancient literature—heavy and often useless—may be apt to devote their time too much to books in preference to the reality of daily life; that your straight-forward man of work and practical experience, conversant with the vernacular alone, is more efficient than the smart orientalist, although the one may never read a book beyond the regulations, and the other be master of nine-tenths of the native authors who have written on Indian affairs. To this latter objection we should only say, that the fault is with those, if there be any, who have ever preferred a favourite study to the calls of office—who whilst living in the past have not been sufficiently mindful of the present. It is the very mixture of employment in outward daily and visible subjects, with frequent recurrence to the world of men and things gone by—the very combination of what may be termed intercourse with the illustrious dead, and engagement hand to hand with the living—which should best fit the public servant for the course he is destined to run; and to us it seems just possible that a man may not be the worse collector, because he is competent to read in the original Persian the revenue system of Abkar, or the less efficient magistrate because he is aware of the punishment for speaking bad language to a Brahman in the days of Manu. Whilst it seems almost like a truism to say that, without continual inter-

course and conversation with the natives of all orders, no precise knowledge regarding their character and habits can be acquired, it is as equally undeniable that an insight into their literary remains aids in confirming such information and strengthening the hold we should strive to gain on their affections; and when Mr. Wilson urged the claims of the Sanskrit as concentrating so much that is dear to the Hindu, he might have laid equal stress on the literature of Islamism as embodying the faith and traditions of the "true believer." But the fact is that the danger of devoting too much time to books in preference to business is one to which English residents in India are little liable. They are generally fortunate if they can snatch two hours in the day to themselves. Few have leisure for anything like extensive reading, or can accomplish more than what is absolutely necessary to keep them from going back in the progress of intellect. We come out to India, in order to start at once in actual life, while those of an equal age at home are yet in doubt what profession they shall choose, or are still qualifying themselves by long and assiduous study for the Law, Physic, or the Church. Our armour has been tested and our weapons dinted with blows, while others are but equipping themselves for the great struggle of life. The knowledge which we have acquired in our School or College days at home must bear us out in the course of our Indian existence. The lake has received the utmost supply it can hope for, greater or less according to the opportunities enjoyed and the use made of them; no streams will hereafter pour in their contributions; no channels of information, various and digested, help to increase the storehouse of knowledge or even fill the vacancies caused by intercourse with the world of those around us. We must, in most instances, be content to live on what we acquired in our younger days, happy if the retrospective glance be not one which recalls visions of advantages neglected, and of faculties undeveloped: happy if the recollection of those early studies, with which is inseparably linked the first accurate perception of the beautiful and the true, shall have fitted us by their healthy and bracing tone to enter on new researches without extravagant praise or unjust depreciation of them. We may, then, if time be granted us, safely venture on the sea of Sanskrit or of Arabic literature: we may probe and test the actual value of whatever comes to hand: even in the beaten paths there is much to be explored which has escaped the observation of our predecessors. We shall hardly search for new and useful discoveries in *science* at the court of the Caliphs or round the throne of Vicramaditya. Our mathematics will not depend on the Bijaganita, nor shall we

quit Whately and his logic for the schools of Hindu Nyaya. But the laws and their spirit, the dramas and their characters, the heroic poems and the Hitopadesa, with the customs they delineate, may promise a fair return for our labour, and repay the task of cultivation with an abundant harvest.

☞ Having, in two successive numbers, dwelt so largely on the Sanskrit Language and Literature—viewing these in their varied aspects, whether favourable or unfavourable—we may not feel ourselves called on, for some time to come, to return to the subject. To such of our readers, therefore, as may be interested in this important branch of Oriental research, we may embrace the present opportunity of intimating, that, in a recent No. (II.) of the NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, they will find a learned and instructive article, under the designation of "The Sacred Literature of the Hindus." It is an article which has evidently emanated from the pen of a thorough master in the domain of Learned Orientalism; and contrives to compress within a brief space a vast amount of accurate information. Its general scope and design differ widely from the drift and tenor of our articles. Its perusal, therefore, would tend to complete the general view of a truly comprehensive subject. The plan of the author is this:—He first enumerates and classifies the whole of the Hindu *Shastras* or *Ordinances*—which is the literal meaning of the word—under the leading heads of 1st, the four *Vedas* and four *Upavedas* or *Sub-Vedas;* 2nd, the *Vedanga* or six *Angas;* 3rd, the *Upangas* including some of the *Darshans* or philosophical systems, the *Dharmashastra* or institutes of law, the *Puranas* or legendary treatises; and 4th, the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, the two great mytho-heroic poems of the Hindus. Having briefly despatched this part of his plan, the author next proceeds to point out, with some particularity of detail, the *general structure* and *contents* more especially of the *Vedas* and *Upangas*. And lastly, he concludes with a specific notice and analysis of the *Vishnu Purana*. Of the admirable and luminous statements which abound in this article, our limited space will only allow us to furnish a single specimen. It is the delineation of the mode in which, with a few slight modifications, the rational or philosophic Hindus usually embody their loftiest conceptions of the Supreme Deity:—"God, they describe more as a thing than a person; more as a zoophyte than the Lord of all. They give unity to the Divine nature; but it is by making God both the efficient and material cause of the universe. They describe God as eternal; but restrict the predication of eternity to his mere existence, alleging, that, in regard to every one of his attributes he has beginning, middle and end. They speak of him as immutable; but they make him the most changeable being, both in regard to his nature and operations, which can be imagined. They speak of him as omnipresent; but they limit him in his bulk by existing objects. They speak of him as imperceptible; but they call upon us to view him as existing in the infinity of the forms by which we are surrounded. They speak of him as omniscient; but they shew us that, during half the periods of his being, he understands nothing, knows nothing, and is not even conscious of his own existence. They speak of him as almighty; but they tell us that he cannot for ever support the expansion of his own substance, nor effect that expansion by volition or active energy alone. They speak of him as holy; but they tell us that he is also passionate and foul. They speak of him as omniscient; but they represent him merely sleeping, awaking, expanding, and contracting. There is more true theology in the first chapter of Genesis, than in the whole compass of Hindu speculation. There is more majesty and sublimity in the single verse, 'God said, let there be light, and there was light,' than in all that Hindu inspiration has essayed to utter." After bringing his analysis to a close, the author briefly but emphatically points to the successive changes and modifications that have taken place in the nature and objects of the worship of the Hindus—in their laws, regulations, ceremonies and customs. In all these and other important respects, there has been "a gradual, but sure process of deterioration"; and farther and farther have the Hindus wandered from the paths of truth. But it will not be so always. Their dominion has passed away; and the benevolence of England now rules in their land." This naturally leads the author to point, in glowing terms, to the brightening prospects of the future,—when, in the pages of true inspiration, all may be privileged to read the wonderful works of God,—when truthful science shall displace the prostitute "philosophy, falsely so called," and veritable history, the mazy labyrinth of "endless genealogies,"—when "meek and enlightened devotion will be substituted for formal and frivolous ceremony," and "the muddy waves of the Ganges will be forsaken for the fountain which has been opened for sin and for uncleanness."

In concluding this notice, we may also embrace the opportunity of earnestly recommending the *North British Review*, as a whole, to the attention of our readers. It is a work of superlative excellence. Indeed, how could any work be otherwise, which enrolled among its regular contributors, the names of such men as Sir David Brewster, Dr. Chalmers, Isaac Taylor, author of the Natural History of Enthusiasm, with many more of the most distinguished writers of the age? In point of solid erudition, masculine talent, and general literary execution, it at once takes rank with the "Edinburghs" and the "Quarterlies;" while in healthiness of tone, elevation of sentiment, and freedom from the bitternesses and the bigotries of a distorting political partizanship, it is unquestionably their superior.

ART. III.—1. *Sketches of Christianity in North India.—By the Rev. M. Wilkinson, Missionary. Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley.—London,* 1844.

2. *Protestant Missions in Bengal.—By J. J. Weitbrecht, Church Missionary.—John F. Shaw, London,* 1844.

THE first work prefixed to this article is on many accounts entitled to attention. It does not contain the misty speculations of a philosophic mind prone to startle either by the amplitude of its views, or by the glare of paradox; on the contrary it brings before us the suggestions of an experienced observer,—one who is a tried servant of the Society, of whose proceedings in Northern India he professes to furnish an epitome, and who for nearly a quarter of a century has labored with unabated ardour in the extensive field of Missionary exertion.

It is truly refreshing to read a book like that of Mr. Wilkinson, speaking as a Christian, not as a mere Churchman, of the Missionary efforts of the Church of England, and sustaining a kindly bearing towards all other denominations of Christians. This is as it should be; for no canons of the Church, we may be well assured, will plead more effectively for the cause of Christianity, and in this sense too for the Church of England, than the observance of that new commandment of love which the common Lord and Master of all left as a parting legacy to the world. It is refreshing too to read such a work, coming, so to speak, as a genial shower upon parched ground, amidst the strife and contention which have recently been so rife at home and abroad, and which we, in all sincerity hope, may not, in our times at least, be long permitted to disturb the harmony of the Christian Church.

Mr. Weitbrecht's book is also on many accounts entitled to attention. It gives shortly but very clearly an account of the social and moral character of the people of the country, and of the rites, ceremonies, and practices enjoined by the religion of the Hindus, with the debasing effects which follow. A general account is also given of the progress of Missionary work and of Christian education; and much interesting information of a miscellaneous nature is afforded in its pages. Mr. Weitbrecht, like Mr. Wilkinson, is to be commended for the kind feeling evinced by him towards all sections of the Christian Church engaged in the Missionary work; and it is indeed a happy circumstance, that the Church Missionary Society, to whose service Mr. Weitbrecht is attached, have agents like those whose books are under notice.

The Church Missionary Society is one of the most efficient in the body of the Church of England, in the promotion of Christian truth; and is without doubt actuated by the most catholic principles of any in carrying on the Missionary work; for, by one of the rules of the Society, it is prescribed that "a 'friendly intercourse shall be maintained with other Protestant 'Societies engaged in the same benevolent design of propa-'gating the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Such a course of conduct is so decidedly in accordance with the spirit of that religion which it is professedly the object of all Missionary Societies to promulgate, that it needs, we are persuaded, no commendation in its favor; and we feel that much harm must, and that no good can result to our common Christianity from any line of conduct which may not have in view such a spirit,—the tendency of which must be to exalt human polities above Christian truth and Christian principles.

The Church Missionary Society was established in the year 1800, upon the Protestant and Evangelical principles of the Reformation; and it has ever since maintained its stand upon those principles,—commanding at the present moment "a wider 'field of action, and a more princely revenue, than any Protes-'tant Association of the same character."* Its operations have been extended to every quarter of the globe, and at this period it maintains no less a number than 1263 Missionaries and teachers, who are busily engaged in the advancement of the cause of true religion in the dark corners of the Earth. To India have the labors of the Church Missionary Society been extended. In Southern India, her missions have extensively flourished; and in Northern India, a blessing has attended her labors. At the present moment the Society has the following stations; viz.

Calcutta	Buxar
Agarpara	Benares
Burdwan	Jaunpoor
Kishnaghur	Goruckpoor
Chupra	Chunar
Kabardanga	Agra and
Rotonpoor	Meerut;
Solo	

and maintains 66 Agents, including Missionaries, Catechists, and School-masters. It would be superfluous to enter into any details in regard to its operations in this part of India,—since the periodical Reports of the Society statedly bring to public notice every needful information on the subject. Nor, for

* See Edinburgh Review, No. 161, p. 281.

this very reason, does it appear necessary to enter into any detailed examination of either of these works in regard to the interesting accounts of the Missionary stations, and of the progress of Missionary work. The truth, too, is that we have in view, two or three subjects suggested by the works under notice, which we consider to be of sufficient importance to warrant some special observations.

The agents, who, under divine providence, are made the instruments of good to their fellow-creatures, ought not to be forgotten. It is long, we trust, ere the deeds of such men as a Wilberforce, a Sharpe, or a Clarkson in achieving, after years of toil, labor and anxiety, the manumission of the slave; or of a Swartz, a Carey, or a Marshman, as Missionaries to the Heathen; or of a Bentinck in accomplishing the abolition of the Sati, will cease to be remembered. To the benefactors of their race, the acknowledgment for services rendered should be most heartily made; and their memories, when they are numbered amongst the departed dead, should awaken a constant recollection of the good they in their life-time achieved for suffering humanity. Into this train of thought, we have been naturally led by having brought before us, in Mr. Wilkinson's work, the services rendered to Christianity by those honored Servants of God, who were among the first laborers in the cause of true religion in India,—John Frederic Kiernander, David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie and Thomas Thomason.

Kiernander was the first Protestant Missionary who erected the standard of the Cross in Calcutta,—having come hither under the patronage of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge in 1758, from Cudalore, where, during eight years previous, he had preached the Gospel to the Gentiles. From the accounts of his early labors, we learn that Kiernander was received with marked favor by Lord Clive. A house, rent free, was assigned to him, and a subscription was raised to enable him to open a School, where, in the year 1759, 175 Children of Heathen, Muhammadan and Portuguese parents were instructed in the English language, writing, reading, arithmetic, and the principles of Christianity. Almost at his own cost, (having contributed upwards of sixty thousand rupees to the object), a Church was erected, which was opened on the 23d December, 1770, under the name of Beth Tephillah, or the house of prayer, which is now known by the name of the Old or Mission Church, and in which now for the last 74 years, the truths of the everlasting Gospel have been preached. Here it was, that, for nearly thirty years, Kiernander continued to labor for the

good of the Heathen and Christian population of Calcutta with considerable success, as the records of his Christian labors abundantly testify. Circumstances of an untoward character, however, occurred to check this first effort in the cause of missions, which had been so well begun and so prosperously continued; and it was left for the Christian men of another denomination (the Baptist) some years after to begin the work, as it were, anew, in accordance with the advice of their noble leader Dr. Carey, "Attempt great things; expect great things."

The others, whose names we have associated with Kiernander, were Chaplains of the East India Company. Brown did not leave England in the service of the Company: he came out originally as Chaplain to the Military Orphan Institution; but on engaging in ministerial labors in the Old or Mission Church, the managers of that institution considered such an engagement to be incompatible with the office held by him at their establishment, and his connection with it ceased. The relinquishment of his connection with the Orphan Institution was attended with pecuniary loss. Let him speak of his own feelings in reference to a point, which to many we fear even amongst the sacerdotal ranks, would have led to a determination different from that to which Mr. Brown came. Writing to a friend, he says,—"I trust this event will turn to the furtherance of the 'Gospel, which will be a sufficient recompense for the tempo-'ral loss I suffer by the change."—To such a spirit as Brown's, that only was accounted loss, which tended to retard his exertions in the divine cause: all else was gain, whatever might be the cost as it respected his temporal interests. The Revd. David Brown may well be regarded as the parent of Missions in the Established Church in this part of India. During the period of his ministerial labors, a Missionary feeling was first raised in the bosom of the English Church. The monthly Missionary Prayer Meeting was commenced by him; and the Evangelical Fund, for keeping up primarily an Evangelical ministry in the Mission Church, and secondarily for making it subservient in extending the blessings of the Gospel, was projected. It was thus that an interest was being excited for the cause of missions; and the present generation are witnesses of the fruit of such labors. In the Old or Mission Church, in which for five and twenty years Brown labored, every project in connection with the Church of England for the advancement of Evangelical religion was commenced and matured. A cause closely connected with that of missions, the cause of the Bible Society, was commenced there under the auspices of David Brown, whose whole heart, so to speak, was given to this great

and blessed work. In this cause, his exertions were unremitted, and he may truly have been said to have fallen a sacrifice in the cause which he thought worthy of his attachment. To quote from his life. "He made it," says his biographer "the dream of his night, and the thought of his day, to devise every kind of plan for prosecuting this important, and, as it proved, this closing purpose of his life."

These efforts of David Brown were ably seconded by the worthies whose names we have associated with his. There was Claudius Buchanan, to some of whose services we have already in a previous article referred. With learning and piety, he combined a fearlessness in the cause of Christianity, which would admit of no compromise. In him was the spirit to do his master's work, irrespective of man's pleasure. Comprehensive schemes were afloat in his mind for the propagation of the Christian truth; and though they did not take effect at the precise moment he desired, they have since been developed and are going on developing, though not in the manner or the spirit in which, it is much to be feared, Buchanan would have wished. Dr. Buchanan was attached as Vice Provost to the College of Fort William, and he at one time entertained the hope of making the College instrumental in the translation of the Sacred Scriptures into the oriental languages. The important work had indeed been commenced, as the subjoined extract will shew:—"Our hope of success in this 'glorious undertaking depends chiefly on the patronage of 'the College of Fort William. To that institution we are 'much indebted for the progress we have already made. 'Oriental translation has been comparatively easy in con-'sequence of our having the aid of those learned men 'from distant provinces in Asia, who have assembled during 'the period of the last six years at that great emporium 'of eastern letters. These intelligent strangers voluntarily 'engaged with us in translating the Scriptures into their res-'pective languages, and they do not conceal their admiration 'of the sublime doctrine, pure precept, and divine eloquence of 'the word of God. The plan of these translations was sanc-'tioned at an early period by the Most Noble the Marquis 'Wellesley, the great pattern of useful learning. To give the 'Christian Scriptures to the inhabitants of Asia is indeed a 'work which every man who believes these Scriptures to be 'from God will approve. In Hindustan alone there is a great 'variety of religions, and there are some tribes which have no 'certain cast or religion at all. To render the revealed reli-'gion accessible to men who desire it; to open its eternal

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Corrie and Thomason were eminent for their labors in the Missionary cause. They had onerous duties to perform as Chaplains; but they had time to be Missionaries—to be translators of the Scriptures—to establish Native Schools. Their position—their influence—their talents;—all were devoted to this great and good work. The former, after attaining to the office of Senior Presidency Chaplain, and subsequently to that of Archdeacon, notwithstanding the increasing cares and labors incident to these appointments, still continued his Hindustani labors as opportunity offered. He translated Sellon's abridgement of the Scriptures, the Prayer Book, Homilies; and he also wrote a sketch of ancient History for the benefit of Hindustani youth. He was mainly instrumental in giving permanency aud stability to the operations of the Church Missionary Society; and was in his day the life of mission work in the establishment. To the Missionaries be was a father and friend. The author of the sketches of Christianity in Northern India, speaks thus of him—"It was the privilege of the writer of this sketch to know

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'him intimately, and to have the advantage of his fatherly coun-
'sel throughout the course of his own ministry." Not one who knew this sainted man would hesitate to bear the same testimony to his worth. We too like the author were privileged to know him, and can speak from personal experience of the unceasing interest evinced by him in all plans and undertakings, having for their object the spiritual good of India. In a thousand ways of this kind was Corrie busied in regard to missions: his whole heart was given to the work; and his desire was that the hearts of all should be given to it. The want of missionary information and the absence of publications in the country to supply that want, were once brought to his notice; and we have before us the communication which he made on the subject, from which we quote—"As to the *Missionary Record,* only two copies were sent me. You know how difficult it is to keep up an interest in these things; but if you can dispose of copies they might easily be ordered. The *Intelligencer* does not come up to my idea of a good periodical, though it has much useful matter. But after eleven years of exertion to a great extent without aid, I was glad to give the lead to one willing to take it. I long to see more life among us, steady, lively, apprehensions of the nature of things divine above all created good. When shall it be! I have certainly seen a great extension of good in this place. May those who are following behold a hundred fold increase." —*8th June,* 1833.

As Chaplain at Chunar, Cawnpore, Agra, Benares, and Calcutta, at which last mentioned place he also fulfilled for a period of nine years the duties of the office of Archdeacon, he abounded in works of usefulness, erecting Churches, founding Missions, and establishing Schools; and thus in an eminent degree combining the Missionary and the Chaplain.

Such was Corrie the Chaplain—such was Corrie the Archdeacon—such was Corrie the Bishop. Ecclesiastical preferment did not abate his zeal for the cause of Christianity in a country covered with the "thick darkness" of ignorance and superstition: in a word his life was one continued Evangelistic effort; for he lived and died a Missionary.*

* We have a memoir of Brown (a very imperfect one however), of Buchanan, of Martyn and of Thomason; but no memoir of Bishop Corrie has yet appeared. No one could, in our honest opinion, perform such a task better than the present Bishop of Calcutta. He has been amidst the scene of Bishop Corrie's labors He has seen for himself his works of usefulness and piety. He has been among the friends of the departed Bishop, from whom much useful information might be gleaned. If it might be too much to expect such a work from Bishop Wilson in his present state of health, perhaps it might under his superintendence, while in England, be undertaken by his worthy and excellent chaplain, the Rev. J. H. Pratt. Under any circumstances we do hope that it will not be long before a life of so good a man shall be given to the world.

The Revd. Mr. Thomason was in many respects like him. There was in him the same simplicity of character that belonged to the Bishop; and there was in him the same singleness of mind—the same purpose of heart—to promote the glorious ends of the gospel of peace. Mr. Thomason did not, so far as we know, labor in preaching the word to the heathen; but he labored abundantly as a Translator; having translated the Old Testament into Urdu, which was printed as far as 2nd Kings, as well as the Psalms, the Proverbs and Isaiah, and having revised the Arabic New Testament. He was indefatigable in promoting the objects both of the Church Missionary Society and of the Bible Society,—finding time for all this work, notwithstanding the various duties which devolved upon him as Chaplain to the Old Church, to which he was attached for 16 years, and during which time his ministrations were eminently useful, both as a Preacher and as a parochial minister.—Mr. Thomason was perhaps one of the most effective preachers that ever came to India; and as a parochial minister, he did great good, as we know, in the promotion of personal religion amidst families, affording by his conduct towards his flock an example worthy of all imitation. Between the minister and his people, without reference to rank or condition, there was a constant intercourse; and it would be well, we think, for the interests of religion, if the practice were kept more in view and followed in the present days.

In enumerating the labors, either as missionaries or translators, of Brown, Buchanan, Martyn, Corrie, and Thomason, we should be wanting in justice if we omitted bringing to notice the missionary labors at Meerut of the Rev. Henry Fisher, who, as he had time and opportunity, set himself to the task of communicating to the heathen a knowledge of Christian truth; and through whose instrumentality a Native Church was formed at Meerut, which has ever since been a station of the Church Missionary Society. Mr. Fisher, as is not perhaps generally known, incurred the displeasure of the authorities on account of his missionary labors: his actions were misconceived, and his conduct misrepresented. But a time came when his conduct was duly appreciated, and now, thirty years after the event, if there is one thing more than another which reflects lustre on his ministerial career in India, it is his associating with the duties of Chaplain the labors of the missionary.* In this place, we desire to make mention of others, who, though they may not

* Since the above remarks were penned, this good old man—this approved servant of God—has passed to his rest—full of years and 'strong in hope.' We feel truly a melancholy pleasure in having thus borne this feeble testimony to his worth.

have engaged in missionary labors, or in translations, have still rendered eminent services to the cause of Christianity; and in connection with this topic, we may especially notice the hearty and cordial co-operation which both Archdeacon Dealtry and the Revd. Mr. Boswell (now in England) have afforded to the cause of Missions and of the Bible Society, during the whole period of their ministry in India. We are the more anxious to allude to exertions put forth in an enlarged and a catholic spirit, as it is our desire to see others of the Established Church acting in a similar spirit,—under a firm persuasion that such a course of conduct would be well calculated not only to advance the cause of Christianity, but also to promote the interests of the Establishment. And every section of the Church labouring in India, ought to keep in view the great extent of evil which is to be encountered;—the great difficulties with which all have to contend in the work of moral renovation;—and the greater prospect of success which may be anticipated, if all work in harmony and with good feeling.

By an Act of the Legislature in the reign of William the 3rd, it was enjoined, that "such ministers as should be sent to 'reside in India, should apply themselves to learn the native 'languages of the country, the better to enable them to 'instruct the Gentoos, who should be servants of the company, 'or of their agents, in the Protestant religion."—At a cursory glance, it might be thought that the wisdom of the British Parliament was in this instance at least at fault, and that to prescribe a course of conduct, which the spirit of Christianity would naturally suggest to every man who took upon himself the vows of the Christian Ministry, was a work of supererogation. Singular, indeed, that William and his Councillors, who had achieved a great triumph for the cause of Protestantism in England, and who were then the great props and bulwarks of the Reformation in Europe, should suppose it necessary to prescribe by statute, to the clergy of a nation that had been delivered from the dominion of superstition and error, a duty which is clearly enjoined in the Scriptures of truth! The men of 1701 legislated with a prophetic eye! Singular as it may seem, it is notwithstanding too true, that the Chaplains of the East India Company have done little or nothing compared with what they might have done towards the fulfilment of the provision of the statute of King William. Either as Missionaries to the heathen, or as Translators of the Sacred Scriptures in the oriental tongues, they have comparatively few labors to shew; and among the hundreds that have come to India as Chaplains, *six* have alone been found, in a Missionary sense, to have uplifted

the standard of the cross in the wilderness of a heathen land, and to have made known to the millions by whom they are surrounded in their 'own tongues the wonderful works of God?' The hearts of such men as those whose labors in India we have but transiently, and we are fully sensible but very imperfectly described, were touched "as with a live coal from the altar," in viewing the danger of their Indian fellow men; and they were deeply anxious, while themselves safe in the Ark of mercy, to hold forth the hand of succour to those who were struggling amidst the perilous waters. But has the danger ceased? Has idolatry ceased? Has superstition ceased? Has error ceased? Are the claims of dying—perishing humanity less urgent now than they were before? The elements of evil inherent in false systems of belief, like rank weeds, have taken deep root in the soil of India, and are daily sending forth new shoots, bearing the same bitter fruit; or, like noxious plants, are emitting forth a pestilential vapour, which taints every living thing with corruption and disease. The duty of the Christian—much more assuredly of the Christian Minister, whether in the service of the Propagation, or of the Church Missionary Society, or of the East India Company,—is to use the remedy which, for the special purpose of being disseminated for the spiritual health of others, has been put into his power; hoping that the blessing of the Lord may rest upon their labors, and that millions yet unblessed with the word of life may be carried on, through toils and sufferings and death, to stand on Mount Zion, as trophies of the Christian Minister's achievments in the divine cause upon earth.

But, without dwelling farther upon the obvious duty which devolves upon every Christian Minister, in the commission he has received from God to preach the gospel to every creature, we proceed to point out the fitness of our Chaplains by prior association and by superior education to devote themselves in the first instance to the diligent study of the oriental tongues. They are an order of men who have generally been well grounded in classical learning, and who, by graduating at the Universities, have had the means of perfecting their acquirements in literature and science. To men who have thus been practised in the niceties of philology, and who have breathed, as it were, in the atmosphere of lexicons and dictionaries and critical authorities, the acquisition of a new language, when they come to India, cannot, we should think, be a matter of great difficulty. They come in a great measure prepared for work of this kind; and they would be found more quickly to master the difficulties of a new language than the Civil and Military Officers of the Company, who always

come out young, with comparatively a slender stock of classical learning,—and without those grave habits and pursuits which may reasonably be supposed to belong to men of advanced years, and who have dedicated themselves to the work of the ministry. The advantages thus possessed ought surely to be turned to good account in respect to an acquirement of the languages of the country. Even as far as the scholar and the gentleman are concerned, there are inducements surely to follow the course we are recommending. A knowledge of the people,—of their social and domestic habits,—and of their manners and their customs, is in all respects desirable; but it is next to impossible that we should have an accurate knowledge on these points, without a knowledge of the languages of the country. In the West, the clergy have been foremost in making known to the world the treasures of ancient literature; and it appears equally suitable that the clergy, as being the most fitted, should undertake the pleasurable and honorable task of enlightening mankind in respect to the literature, history and antiquities of the East. It is a debt of gratitude which they owe to the country which so liberally contributes to their comfort and happiness; and it is, above all, a proper return to Him who entrusts to his servants talents intended for use. We are not sure but that, after all, an excellent plan would be, to require the Chaplains on their first arrival to commence the study of one or other of the oriental languages. Even as Chaplains—setting aside the character of the Missionary,—they must often come in contact with the natives, with the Native Soldiery, with the Native Servants of the Government; and viewing the subject in this aspect, a knowledge of the languages would be highly useful. In every view of the case,—whether we look at the interests of the government;—or the personal reputation of the individual;—or the moral power that would be given to the establishment;—or the advantages, humanly speaking, that must result in reference to the cause of Christianity in India:—in each, and all of these views, the desirableness of an acquisition of the oriental tongues, is clearly obvious.

The notice taken by Mr. Wilkinson, in his work, of Bishop's College, leads us to offer some considerations in reference to that Collegiate Establishment. The college was established by the piety and wisdom of Bishop Middleton; and an expectation was entertained, that, at no distant day, the Protestant Episcopal Establishment would not need to look beyond India for the supply of her most pressing wants, in respect to a well furnished ministry for the diffusion of Sacred truth in this heathen land. This expectation does not appear, however, to have been

realized; and Mr. Wilkinson expresses much disappointment at the results which have accrued from the labors of the college. He writes thus:—

"It is deeply to be lamented, that after a vast expenditure of 'money on buildings, principals, and professors, &c., scarcely 'any thing of good has been accomplished. I say not this acri-'moniously, but with the deepest and most heartfelt regret. I 'love the institution—I watched its progress with more than 'common interest, and when it was proposed to have a Church 'Missionary Seminary in Calcutta, I gave my opinion against it, 'fearing it might look like a rival institution; I loved Bishop's 'College, and I looked forward to the sending of my own sons '*to graduate* there with intense pleasure."

1. "But what has it done in instructing native youth, &c. 'in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and school-'masters, during a period of more than twenty years?"

"2. For the teaching of the elements of useful knowledge 'and the English language to Mussulmen and Hindus, &c.?"

"3. For translating the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and moral 'and religious tracts?"

"4. For the reception of English Missionaries, &c.?"

"Scarcely *any thing* has been done in either of these depart-'ments. Not a portion of the Scriptures, or of the Liturgy, 'has been translated by any of the College Establishment, and 'now, nothing is being done but what had better be left 'undone."

We believe that, on an average, there are seldom more and often less than a *dozen* students at the College. If it were conducted in a way to make the education imparted within its Collegiate walls suited to the wants of the Indian community, we are sure that, in place of a dozen we should be enabled to number fully a hundred students, prosecuting their studies either for ministerial labors, or for the business of life. The College professes to receive lay students, but there are only two of this description at Bishop's College. There are men of learning attached to the College; there is a sort of guarantee in the superintendence which the Bishop and the Archdeacon exercise over the establishment, that the moral and religious culture of the youthful mind will be duly attended to;—the College has a valuable and extensive library to which the students may have access;—and the establishment, from its salubrious locality, affords every advantage that could be derived as it respects the health of those who may be placed there as students. With advantages like these, the College does not appear to grow in the public favor; and we can only attribute this want of support

to the system pursued there; which appears to us in great measure defective and inappropriate. From enquiries which we have made, we believe the following to be the course of studies at present pursued at the College:—

1st Division.

Greek Testament.	St. Augustine "De Civitate Dei."
Greek Exercises	Algebra.
The "Agamemnon" of Eschylus.	

2nd Division.

Greek Testament.	Latin Exercises.
Greek Exercises.	Chalmers's Bridgewater Treatise.
The Orestes of Euripides.	Geometry.
Satires of Horace.	Algebra.

3rd Division.

Greek Delectus.	English New Testament.
Greek Grammar.	Nicholson on the Church Catechism.
Latin Exercises.	Keightley's History of Rome.
Latin Grammar.	Geometry.

Some of the students attend also to the Vernaculars—but we believe very partially.

The above course as far as it goes may be all well enough; but we think that a great deal beyond what is followed at the College might and ought to be attempted. A large share of the attention of the students is confined to classical learning; and, sensible as we are of the advantages to be derived from its study, still we think the attention of the students may be directed, with much benefit, to other branches of useful knowledge. The exact sciences ought surely to be more attended to; and the study of Political Economy, General History, the Geography, the History, Antiquities and Statistics of India, should be comprehended in the curriculum of the Collegiate course. Lectures should also be delivered on Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, and on the Civil and Criminal jurisprudence of the country. A liberal education should be combined with one calculated to prove useful; so that those brought up at the College may not only be prepared as scholars and divines, but also made qualified for the business of life, and for those civil offices in the state, which are now being abundantly thrown open to the community of India. Above all, real vital Christianity must be taught at the College. The young men must be sedulously guarded against trusting too much to forms, and must be taught to cherish a kindly feeling for all denominations of christians. We happen to know many who have been brought up at the College; and we are constrained to remark that, in all, more or less, there has been a feeling of

bitterness against those who are not of the communion of the church of England.

A subject kindred to missions and to the propagation of Christian truth, is that of native education. The importance of giving to the education of the native mind a right direction—in other words, of combining with the communication of secular learning the inculcation of divine truth,—naturally suggests itself to the Christian mind. The importance of the question is magnified, with particular advertence to the quality of the education so extensively imparted in the government schools. In them, it is well known, the Bible is systematically excluded; and while the works of Bolingbroke and Hume have found, if we mistake not, an easy access, the writings of authors, in whose pages would be found an antidote to the poison of infidelity are, if we may so say, proscribed. It is not our present purpose, to discuss the propriety, or the wisdom, which dictates such a course of proceeding;—we state the fact, in order to see whether a movement on the part of the Christian Church, and especially of the Establishment, with the aid of the Bishop and his clergy, may not be made towards a right end. By the several missions in active operation in the country, education on Christian principles is imparted in the schools kept up by them; but these efforts for the most part are of an incidental character. Systematically Christian education has been carried on in the Institution established by the Revd. Dr. Duff; and the plan, to a greater or less extent, has subsequently been followed out in Calcutta in the Head Seminary at Mirzapore, and in the Christian Institution at Bhawanipore, as well as in some other Institutions in the Upper Provinces. The most unbounded success has, we have reason to know, attended every such effort when vigorously prosecuted; and the result has shewn how unfounded have been the fears which prognosticated failure to any scheme of education which comprehended within the range of its aim and purpose, the impartation of the sublime morality and the life-giving truths of the Holy Scriptures. With such as think with us, there can be no doubt as to which is the preferable system; and to such we say, what after all are the efforts that have been made for the diffusion of Christian education, compared with the wants of our Indian fellowmen. Such will surely need little in the way of argument to be persuaded as to the necessity or the importance of carrying out a comprehensive scheme of education based on Christian principles. In the scheme of education we have in view, there need be no rash, hasty, or inconsiderate attempt at proselytism. All that we desire is, that the Bible may be received as a Class Book, and that, as the facts in

Marshman's History of Bengal, or the axioms in Euclid, are offered to the mind, so may the facts recorded, and the truths propounded in the Bible, be made known. The scheme of education we advocate is precisely that which obtains in the Scottish Free Church Institution. Towards the accomplishment of the object in view, it would be necessary to establish a Society, to be denominated, say, the Christian School Society. The fundamental principle of the Society should be the establishment of schools of the kind and description already mentioned. To be enabled to effect this object, funds must be raised. The next object would be to see how the funds thus raised could be beneficially expended. To us it has occurred, that this society should hold out encouragement to the residents at Mofussil Stations to establish schools,—aiding them with the supply of books and funds on the condition that local efforts shall be made to raise subscriptions to defray a portion of the expense, similar to the principle which governs the Clergy Aid Society. All Mofussil Schools receiving aid from the society, should in some measure be in subordination to it, submitting periodical reports shewing the number of pupils under instruction, and the progress of the pupils in their learning. We do think that a society working in this way would be the means of doing a vast amount of good,—bringing, as we are fully persuaded it would, into active operation, a proper feeling on the part of the Christian community in behalf of the cause of education, and diffusing far and wide, in a way that would not otherwise be done, the benefits to be derived from instruction. It farther occurs to us, that the Clergy may be eminently useful in superintending, at their stations, schools established in connection with such a society.* No class of persons could be better suited for carrying out the objects of a Christian School Society; and in a particular manner the ministers engaged by the Clergy Aid Society might with great propriety afford their assistance in promoting the important object in view. But the undertaking is one, which commends itself to the attention and consideration of all who wish well to India, and who are alive to the duty of contributing by their exertions to its welfare. "At least," to quote the beautiful language of the Marquis of Hastings, "let us do 'what is in our power. Let us put the seed into the ground, 'and providence will determine on its growth. Should it be 'the will of the Almighty that the tree should rise and flourish,

* As this article is passing through the press, we have just time to draw attention to an article in the *Christian Intelligencer* for the month of May, emanating from 'a Chaplain,' advocating the establishment of Native Schools under the superintendence of the clergy. Of this plan, we are unable at present to say more, than that, if prosecuted in a right spirit, we wish it all success.

'and the inhabitants of these extensive regions should enjoy, 'security and comfort under its shade, we shall have done 'much for our fellow-creatures." Whether it be in reference to himself, to connections, to friends, or to his fellow-creatures, there is a link between man and the things that are about him; and improvement of the condition and nature of the species is a subject which must naturally affect him. The improved condition of others is naturally connected with our own happiness; and in this sense, all are interested in the progress of knowledge and of things towards good. The promulgation of Christian verities, even as the measure has reference to the temporal welfare of mankind, to the advancement of social life, to the improvement of the human intellect, to the acquisition of advantages of a civil and political character, cannot fail to be otherwise than an object of interest. Wherever Christianity has appeared, to quote a sentiment expressed by Bishop Heber, there have invariably followed in her train, wisdom, wealth, peace and civil liberty. But as the subject is viewed in reference to the future destinies of mankind, its importance is only to be judged of in connection with the celestial and eternal blessedness which is promised as the reward of the Christian. Let us, therefore, be engaged in putting forth such exertions as may be influential in the dissipation of that ignorance,

Ponto nox incubat atra

which now prevails;—knowing that the lights of human knowledge and divine truth, as they cast their effulgence over the dark shades of ignorance, of error, and of superstition, will certainly conduce to the enlightenment of the minds and hearts of men.

We cannot conclude, without furnishing a specimen of the pleasing, simple, unaffected and instructive style in which the authors, whose works appear at the head of this article, treat respectively of their different subjects.

Soon after his arrival, or early in 1814, the new Governor General, the Earl of Moira, afterwards better known as the Marquis of Hastings, set out on a journey of State, through the North-Western Provinces. The Rev. Mr. Thomason, father of the present popular Governor of Agra, was fixed on to accompany him, as his chaplain. Of the varied feelings and reflections of this excellent Minister of the Gospel, in the course of his extensive tour, and of the leading incidents connected therewith, Mr. Wilkinson supplies the following sketch:—

"While on his tour up the country, this excellent man's feelings were deeply exercised about the moral and religious condition of the country through which he travelled. At almost every reach of the river, (the Ganges,) and at every resting-place at night, an increase of that com-

passionate zeal, which had led him before he left Calcutta to draw up and present to the Governor-General a plan for the instruction of the Hindus, kindled afresh in his bosom. 'In ascending the Ganges,' he writes, 'and visiting the towns and villages on its banks, we see an enormous population of degraded beings with our eyes. The first place of importance was Murshedabad, the once famous metropolis of Bengal. It is an immense city, swarming with inhabitants, but exhibiting the sad marks of decayed greatness. Oh, it was an affecting sight to look around at the countless throngs, and observe moral, political, and religious degradation, without one symptom of improvement. We have annihilated the political importance of the natives, stripped them of their power, and laid them prostrate, without giving them anything in return. They possess neither learning, nor emulation, nor power. Every spring of action seems deadened. They wallow in the filth of a senseless and impure religion, without any prospect of deliverance. You can conceive of nothing more wretched than Hindu towns and villages. Nothing like architecture, except in their temples, the streets are narrow and dirty, the house inexpressibly mean, teeming with inhabitants, whose appearance is disgusting in the extreme. At Benares, I ventured to visit the shrine held so sacred. It was an oppressive sight. The avenues to it are narrow, crowded with Brahmans and bulls! the symbols of their impure religion meet the eye in every corner, and the horrid din of the Brahmans, and Faqeers, and bulls, and beggars, and bells, was too much to be endured. I hastened from the place, as from Pandemonium, and thanked God for the Gospel. If I do not return to my charge with more of a Missionary spirit, it will be my own fault. To behold such a mass of putrified matter, and not be concerned about providing the means of light, life, and health, is criminal in the extreme. Blessed be God for some little zeal! Had I obtained nothing more than an increased sense of the importance of ministerial labour, I should be richly repaid.'

Mr. Thomason very soon drew up a plan of education, and placed it in the hands of the Governor-General. Nothing could be more moderate or judicious. It was proposed, that schools be established in every part of India;—one principal one in every district for the instruction of natives in the English language and science; under which, and, subordinate to the master, village-schools, where the children should be instructed to read and write in their own language. The books to be selected from the moral and sacred writings of Christians, Muhammadans, and Hindus. To supply the district schools, that there should be a training-school for science and literature, the whole to be under a head, called, Agent for the superintendence of schools throughout India.

Concerning this plan, Lord Moira had expressed himself as highly pleased, and held out a hope that, with some modifications it might be adopted; but good intentions suffer strange syncopes. Mysterious undercurrents often carry away stately vessels from their bearing; so it was in this instance. Influential persons at Calcutta exerted an adverse power on the Governor-General's mind, and in vain did Mr. Thomason attempt to counteract this influence, and to revive first impressions. 'I endeavoured,' he says, 'in the most solemn manner to rouse the Governor to a sense of the importance of the crisis, and of the high duties to which he was called. I look around, and see a vast ocean, in the truest and most affecting sense of Homer's epithet, barren of all good.'

An example of Indian munificence exhibited at this time at Benares, formed a humiliating contrast to English supineness. 'Near a celebrated Hindu tank, I have seen ——, the founder of Jay Narain's school; he met me there, and showed me the grounds, large and pleasantly situate. Close by the house was a path, along which 120,000 Hindus passed every week to bathe.

He says, he is now ready to pay the money for the school in the Company's paper, if the Governor will guarantee its application, and place it under the direction of the collector, to be paid regularly to the schoolmaster.'

Leaving Benares, the Governor-General's camp proceeded onward towards Cawnpore, another immense military station. During this route, Mr. Thomason's zeal, fidelity, and boldness, as well as his wisdom and discretion, were signally put to the proof. He soon discovered to his sorrow that the Governor-General, when travelling, paid no regard to the Christian Sabbath. As his chaplain, therefore, he deemed it incumbent on him, to notice this violation of the day of rest; and, painful as the measure was, he hesitated not to adopt it. The reply was—*his dismissal from the camp.* "Thou hast not rejected me, but I have rejected thee." The rigour of this stern and haughty step was indeed tempered by an intimation from the Secretary, that an apology would be accepted. To apologize when in error was as congenial to Mr. Thomason's conciliating disposition, as it was to his religious principles; but, in this case, apology was out of the question; yet, as explanation was both admissible and proper, Mr. Thomason instantly wrote to the Governor-General, expressing his surprize at this order, but his readiness, at the same time, to comply with it, adding, that he felt as strongly as ever the importance of the subject, and thought it the duty of a minister of religion to explain his views when the honour of God and interests of religion were concerned. The Governor-General was satisfied, and, for a time, respect was paid to the Sabbath-day.

At Karnaul, Mr. Thomason found some artillery-men, who knew and loved Corrie. These Christian soldiers came to his tent for prayer and religious instruction. Besides these, Mr. Thomason assembled a few native Christians, to whom he also ministered. Of these, he writes, 'My little Hindustani Church has lately received an accession by one of the converts from Agra, a pious humble Christian; we are now a little company, and spend many happy hours together over the Scriptures. With these beloved fellow-travellers I am often solaced, amidst the sickening frivolities of the camp. Since we left Hindustan, Sunday has not been observed as a day of rest. Yet the Governor halts, to get ready for a tiger-hunt. The kingdoms of this world will have their own pursuits and enjoyments; they are not those of the kingdom of Christ. The experience I have had of this will, I trust, be useful to me, and certainly intercourse with native schools and *daily* Hindustani preaching, have contributed much to enlarge my heart towards the perishing heathen. Corrie's fatherly attention to his flock was truly lovely.'

On the 6th of March, 1818, Mr. Thomason completed the least pleasing part of his journey, and again embarked on a vessel at Cawnpore, to return to Calcutta. The following are his reflections while floating down the mighty Ganges:—'To have once taken the tour of the Bengal provinces will be of great advantage in future operations; but there is nothing to tempt a second visit. To a feeling heart the prospect of desolation is most distressing. The country affords much to gratify a naturalist, and an antiquarian; but the pursuits of such persons require time and leisure. We only passed through and saw the immense plains of Hindustan in all their nakedness, the dire effects of those contentions, which for centuries have depopulated the country, and covered its face with ruins. The ruins of Delhi are of surprizing extent, reaching sixteen miles or more—a sickening sight! Ah, it made us sad to go through the awful scene of desolation. Mosques, temples, houses, all in ruins; piles of stones, broken pillars, domes, crumbling walls, covered the place. The imperial city presents nothing but the palace to give an idea of its greatness, and only appears grand from the magnificent wall with which it is surrounded, which still

retains its beauty, being built of hard stone. Within is poverty and departed grandeur—all is going to decay. The famous hall of audience remain built of marble, richly inlaid with stones sufficiently beautiful to realize all our expectations, &c. &c.—all gave an appearance of wretchedness one could not behold without a sigh.'

Hurdwar is another interesting spot in the annals of Christian missions. It is a pass in the northern frontier mountains, through which the Ganges, in a few insignificant streams, flows into the plains of Hindustan. At this place an annual fair is held, which is resorted to by Hindus, to the amount of near a million, for ablution in the sacred stream. The spot is romantic and beautiful; the Ganges rolling in between the mountains and flowing onward in a course of near 1,400 miles. Here Mr. Thomason spent a short time. Christmas-day is thus briefly noticed, 'For the first time I believe the death of Christ was commemorated at this celebrated spot—the throne of Satan. Who knows what rapid progress may be made by the gospel which appears now flowing like the Ganges at Hurdwar, but may perhaps ere long fill the earth with gladness.

At this period a war with Nipal broke out, and it was earnestly hoped that a way would be opened for the introduction of the gospel among those sturdy mountaineers; but it was not so. No sooner was the sword of war sheathed in its scabbard than the door for the entrance of the gospel was closed. It was a part of the stipulations of peace that no British subject should be allowed to set foot within the boundaries of its territories. Several attempts were made by myself, but in vain, and on one occasion my native catechist was seized and kept in durance for some time, on occasion of a large fair annually held near to the Honourable Company's territory.

His account of it is as follows:—

'On reaching the Nipal, I was seized by the soldiery. The Jammadar (commander) put me under a guard and threatened my life upon which I opened my New Testament and read, "I am also a man under authority, my Lord and Master is the Almighty God and Saviour of the world. No man hath sent me hither. My guru (spiritual guide) forbade me and told me you would seize me. I am come in the name of God, an ambassador of the Lord of armies. My commission is from him, and my message to you. You threaten to take away my life. In the name of God and his Son Jesus Christ, I offer you life eternal. And as though God did beseech you by me, I pray you in Christ's stead be ye reconciled to God. Repent and believe the gospel, and do not so wickedly." All cried out, "He is a good man. He brings good tidings. He is not a man of war but of peace. Let us do him no harm, but send him away, we dare not let him proceed, &c." The door is thus far still shut, they however frequently come down into the plains to the Company's boundaries to trade, when opportunities of intercourse and giving the scriptures, &c., which have been translated into their language, occur. On one occasion, about a dozen Pandits and some of their courtiers, resided with me on the most friendly terms, and were entertained for a month. Every day intercourse was thus afforded and embraced of making known the gospel to them; and on leaving, each received and took away with him a copy of the New Testament.'

The first chapter of Mr. Weitbrecht's work is chiefly designed to exhibit a sketch of the existing condition of the people of India —social, moral, and religious. From it we extract the following notices of external life and manners:—

"In towns there are clever gold and silversmiths, for the higher orders, and the Hindu females in particular are very fond of ornaments, (though

men also wear them,) being strangers to enjoyments of a more intellectual kind. All the ornaments which the prophet Isaiah (iii. 16.—23) numbered up in the Jewish ladies, are used by the Hindu women; they have necklaces, head-bands, earrings, and rings on their arms and ankles, as well as in their noses.

When a Hindu has saved a few rupees he generally throws them away upon these fripperies, to adorn his wife and children; and the former estimates his affection towards her by the number and value of the gold and jewels with which he had bedecked her.

People who have not the means of purchasing gold and silver ornaments, procure cheap ones of brass, bone, and painted clay.

On the other hand, the Hindus do not trouble themselves with many things which, according to our views, belong to the necessaries of life; one reason of this is, that people in a hot climate have fewer natural wants, than we in our colder regions.

Thus, for instance, the stocking-weaver would have a very bad market for the simple reason that the Hindus never use any stockings; except that of late, wealthy young men, who are pleased to imitate everything English, have adopted this custom. The shoemaker would be almost as unfortunate, for only the higher classes have learned to wear shoes; sandals made of wood or leather are more common,—but the bulk of the nation are walking barefooted. The dress of the Hindus is exceedingly simple; it consists of a long piece of calico, commonly bleached white, but sometimes dyed pink or yellow, which is fastened round the waist, just as it comes from the loom. On festive occasions they cover the shoulders with a similar garment, which is girt round their loins, when they are about to travel, or made into a turban to protect their heads from the fierce rays of the sun; but when they are engaged in manual labour, they wear simply the lower garment. The entire dress of the women consists of one piece of thin calico, or muslin neatly and elegantly wound about the person, so that it falls over the figure in graceful folds. They do not clothe their children till they are six or eight years old.

The chief support of those Hindus who reside in the neighbourhood of the Ganges, is rice: they have various ways of preparing it, by parching it over the fire, and grinding it into flour for cakes; but it is usually boiled in water, and eaten with vegetables, or fish, or dried peas, cooked with spices and oil, into a dish called currie. They never eat beef or veal, the cow being a sacred animal; but game, goat's-flesh, mutton, and other meats are acceptable, though not generally eaten, because the greater part of the people are too poor to procure them. They use neither knives, forks, or spoons, neither tables or chairs, but rich and poor sit cross-legged on their mats, and feed themselves with the fingers of their right hand, which is sacred, while the left is regarded as the unclean hand. A rich Hindu once told me, that we Europeans did not know what was good, or we should never eat with a spoon, for it was far better and more relishable to mix the rice and currie well together in the hand, as the natives do. You may buy a pound of common rice for less than a half-penny, and all sorts of vegetables are exceedingly cheap; so that the Hindu may live with his wife and children on six or eight shillings a month without difficulty.

One part of the revenue of Government arises from a monopoly of salt, which is in consequence dear, and always at a fixed price, so that it yields to the treasury two millions per annum. Owing to this, the poor natives can enjoy this necessary but sparingly; and whilst the coffers of the East Indian Government are thus replenished, hundreds of thousands of poor and weak Hindus, are debarred from the enjoyment, which the selfishness of their conquerors withholds from them: thus they suffer

from the deprivation of a healthful aliment, which, under different arrangements, they might plentifully enjoy. I have sometimes wondered at the grey colour of the salt in common use, till I discovered that the native merchants, who buy it from Government, mix it with ashes to increase their profits; and thus the poor are doubly deceived.

And while one monopoly deprives or stints a hundred millions of Hindus of an essential ingredient in their food, a second, viz. that of opium, is poisoning by its effects, three hundred millions of souls belonging to a distant nation. The monopoly of opium is exclusively belonging to the East India Company, and yields them an annual income of two millions and a half sterling.

The Hindu modes of life are, in some respects, patriarchal and exceedingly primitive. Five or six cottages may be seen within a narrow compass, surrounded by a mud wall, or enclosed by a bamboo hedge. Within these precincts are living the grandfather, with his sons and grandsons; and the ground is cultivated under the direction of the grandsire. The household furniture in the peasant's cottage consists of some earthen vessels for cooking, and some brass plates and drinking vessels; but many of the poorer sort eat their food off a fresh plantain-leaf, which they gather daily; and when these, and even the more respectable, invite a party of friends, they do not commonly provide an extra number of plates, but bring in a supply of nice fresh leaves from the garden, which answer instead. A narrow-necked vessel for fetching water, with a smaller one for drinking it from, a mat for sleeping on at night, and for resting, sitting, and eating on during the day; a round footstool woven of split bamboos, and a basket of the same material for the preservation of the clothes and other articles, with a common wooden stool, roughly put together, and standing probably in some unobserved corner of the apartment make up the inventory of their furniture.

In the houses of the more respectable, the bamboo basket is exchanged for a trunk of solid wood, with a lock and key; and when, after marriage the bridegroom has attired his wife in the customary ornaments for her hands and feet, he will, if he have been able to save a few rupees, purchase a bedstead, in the peculiar construction of which, fashion has not interfered during the last two thousand years. It is usually made of a bamboo frame, supported by four short legs of the same material, and laced from side to side with coarse rope; over which the mat is spread, and a cushion stuffed with coarse cotton, or with the fibres of the cocoa-nut, serves for a pillow. This bed is in active use both day and night; for the Hindu scruples not to spend all his spare time in agreeable repose. With the exception of the Brahmans, they are no great friends to reading and studying; nor will the Brahman engage in any study for its own sake, or for enriching his mind: his main object is either to make money, or to get to heaven by it.

The social and domestic life of the Hindus has received its peculiar character from their religious system. The husband is the head of the household, in the strictest sense of the term; and the sons and grandsons seek and follow his advice in all things; but the wife and the mother forms no part of the family circle; she is, in a certain sense, a nonentity, and is employed, with her female children, in performing all the menial and servile drudgery of the household. Among the higher classes, she has a separate apartment; and she is at all times treated with less courtesy and respect than the youngest of her sons. She is represented in their sacred books as a lower order of being, and destined to stand in a relation far inferior to the man. This inhuman system produces its natural effect,—the girl without education, and the entire family uninfluenced by maternal tenderness, and the intelligent care that only a mother can exercise,

—the Hindu grows up destitute of noble-mindedness, of moral qualities, or of fine feelings, and ignorant of the real happiness of domestic life.

The people are naturally social, and are seen sitting together both morning and evening, smoking the hookah, and conversing on matters of mutual interest. It is not unusual for them to meet in the centre of the village, under shady trees, or before an idol temple, beguiling the time by friendly talk. They likewise unite in various games. The lower orders meet in drinking-rooms and native inns, and drunkenness is common among palankeen-bearers, and others who work for hire. Their intoxicating liquor is the fermented juice of the palm-tree, which has a sweet and pleasant taste; they also prepare a similar beverage from roasted rice, and a sort of distilled spirits from a forest berry. In the towns, many are found who drink cherry brandy, champagne, &c., both publicly and privately; for with European civilisation, European vices have been introduced into the country. A more painful spectacle can scarcely be presented to the benevolent mind, than that of the spirit-shops in the public bazaars at Calcutta, where low Europeans, soldiers, and sailors, are seen mingling with the most degraded natives, in the intoxicating cup.

The principal opportunities for social enjoyment, if such it may be called, or the idol festivals, which are thronged with thousands of visitors. Besides their religious meaning, these festivals may be regarded as their national feasts. Here the only aim of the multitude is amusement; what the Hindus call sacred devotion, and the worship of their gods agrees perfectly well with what St. Paul calls "revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries." Hundreds of shops are erected on these occasions: numerous toys and eatables are offered for sale. The people abandon themselves to pleasures: musical instruments, such as drums, cymbals, and trumpets, accompany the scandalous song which they vociferate in honour of their idol gods. This is the time and place when they feel themselves, and let others feel, that they are Hindus.

Of patriotism and of public spirit they know nothing: throughout the whole empire there is no place where they unite together for charitable purposes, or for the execution of benevolent projects. The Muhammadan yoke, under which the nation groaned for a thousand years, effaced the last vestige of patriotism in their breasts. It is only when an idol is to be fabricated for the festival of their goddess Durga, or for Shiva, and when there are hungry Brahmans to be fed, that the whole population of a village must contribute their share of the expense. Nothing but a higher cultivation of the heart and mind—nothing but that civilisation which is the practical result of the worship of God in spirit and in truth, can, or will awaken a national feeling among the Hindus. The system of Hinduism has dissevered the various castes into atoms; and it must perish before any change for the better can be expected in this nation."

With these extracts, which, though long, compress so much of interesting and important information as to render abbreviation undesirable, we must bring our present remarks to a close —hoping, in the course of time, to be enabled to furnish in succession full-length portraitures of the Corries and the Careys, the Martyns and the Marshmans, the Thomases and the Thomasons, the Browns and the Buchanans, whose presence once gladened these sunny climes, and whose labours of love have been instrumental in rearing so many monuments for immortality.

☞ The foregoing paper has been inserted here, partly as a variety and a relief in the midst of more elaborate articles—partly, because of the commendable catholic spirit manifested by the author, who is himself a zealous member of the Church of England—and partly, as a sort of general preface or introduction to the more full and systematic dissertations which may afterwards appear, relative to the different subjects which it embraces.

As regards Mr. Wilkinson's work, the chief fault we have to find with it, is its *title*. It is a perfect *misnomer*. A work bearing the *general catholic* title of "Sketches of Christianity in North India" we concluded, must contain sketches of Christianity, not in connection with *one* denomination of Christians only, but in connection with *all* Protestant Christian denominations. Under the influence of this very natural apprehension we bought the book, and were sadly disappointed to find that the title had completely misled us. The title of the work ought to have been, "Sketches of Christianity in North India, *exclusively in connection with the Church of England and the Church Missionary Society.*" Such a title would have been truthful—would have expressed the reality—would have prevented all mistake—would have precluded all disappointment. We do not find fault with the author for *limiting* his sketches to the labours of his own Church and Missions. Far from it. He was perfectly warranted in doing so; even as a member of any other Church or denomination of Christians would be perfectly warranted in furnishing an exclusive record of the labours of his own body. What we find fault with simply is, that, while the title is catholic and excites catholic expectations, the work itself is strictly sectional or sectarian, that is, restricted exclusively to the proceedings of *one only* of the Christian bodies whose men and whose measures are inseparably linked with the progress of Christianity in North India. If the reader knew not from other sources what the real facts of the case were, he would inevitably have been led to suppose and believe that the Chaplains, Missionaries, and Members of the Church of England *alone* had any thing (or at least any thing worth recording) to do with the rise and spread of Christian principles and institutions in the presidency of Bengal. Now, is this fair? Is it equitable? Rather, is not such suppression of facts, originating such an erroneous impression in the mind of the reader, tantamount to a *practical*, though unintentional, *untruth*—a *real*, though unintentional, *injustice*?

There is a copious table of contents in which the well known and venerated names of Brown, Buchanan, Martyn, Thomason and Corrie prominently and deservedly appear—with other names, such as those of Obeck, Perowne and such like, so little known or heard of, that most readers may here learn for the first time of their existence. But were any, the most venerated of these names, more worthy of a place in this table of contents than those of Ward, Marshman, and Carey? The whole of Christendom will respond, "Certainly not." And yet, in that table not one of these names is to be found. Moreover, in the body of the work, allusion is made in a single paragraph or so, only once or twice, and that too very incidentally, to the existence of such a man as Carey, while the names of Ward and Marshman do not appear at all!—The names of Townley and other eminent ministers connected with the Independents and the London Missionary Society experience a similar fate! And yet, nothing is more indubitable, as an historic fact, than this—that no three or four individual members of the Church of England can be named, whose individual or conjoint labours have done more to advance the cause of Christianity in this part of India, than those whom we have now named in connection with the Baptist and Independent denominations.

Whatever may be our own private sentiments as individuals, our determination is, that, as Calcutta Reviewers, we shall not be found identified with any particular Christian denomination, or advocating the peculiarities of any. Our endeavour will ever be, to hold up the even balance of justice between all;—and, while we frown on *all exclusive* pretensions, to extol excellence and merit wherever these are to be found.

Apart from the present ground of complaint, we have no hesitation in warmly recommending Mr. Wilkinson's work to our readers. It is written in a simple, chaste and elegant style; it breathes throughout the spirit of evangelical piety; and contains a valuable digest of deeply interesting though widely scattered materials. The chief defect in the symmetry of its structure, is, that some topics of comparative unimportance are largely dilated on, while others of vastly greater intrinsic value are passed over with slight, cursory, inadequate notices.

Our advice to the excellent author is, that, in the event of another edition being required, he should either *qualify* his title page so as to bring it into conformity with the *limited* contents of the work, or *enlarge* the contents of the work so as to bring them into conformity with the *unrestricted amplitude* of the title page.

ART. IV.—1. *Minute on the Rise, Progress, and present state of Indo-British Law; the Hindu and Muhammadan laws of Inheritance, &c. Calcutta,* 1840.

2. *The Lex Loci; Government Gazette. January,* 1845.

3. *Statements and Propositions regarding Marriage and Divorce, chiefly as they affect Converts to Christianity. Calcutta, April,* 1845.

4. *Various Official Documents, containing opinions of Counsel, &c., (hitherto unpublished.)*

"THE improvement of the Law goes on steadily and systematically but slowly in India. What has been done is all in the right direction, though occasionally it has, most provokingly, halted suddenly where further progress was indispensable to the end avowedly in view. These short-comings are, probably, attributable to the timidity and prejudices of practical men, every where the greatest impediments to the cause of reform—of the men who, recognising, like Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone at home, right principles, torment the public by their bit-by-bit application, and who hold 'caution' to be the very acme of political wisdom."

Such are the terms in which a Home Journalist introduces a leading article on "Law Reform in India." The remarks themselves are substantially just. But, is not the spirit of them equally applicable, or at least applicable in slightly varying degrees, to the foremost countries in the civilized world—not even excepting Great Britain itself? We even question, whether,—on comparing the state and condition of jurisprudence in India and Britain respectively, at the date of the battle of Plassey, with the state and condition of our Indian and British codes of jurisprudence now,—it might not be found that the differential scale of progress was in favour of the former rather than the latter. Granting that the chariot wheels of legal as well as every other Reform in our Indian Administration, have been "driving heavily," yea, that they have often, for considerable periods of time, stuck fast altogether in the dense mass of inertness and ignorance, prejudice and timid caution, through which they had to move—may not the same observation be truthfully predicated of other and far more highly favoured lands? If so, it is scarcely fair to be for ever dealing out taunts and jibes, as if India itself were the dead sea of all salutary legislation, and our Indian Legislators the very pillars of Hercules that set bounds to all farther advancement into the

happier but unknown regions that lie beyond. Far, indeed, we are, very far, from having reached the *goal* suggested by our wishes, pointed at by our hopes, and demanded by our necessities. In this respect, we have done little else, than, in the immaturity of infancy, put forth our feeble nascent powers, and begun slowly to creep. But, in a purely *relative* sense, that is, in comparison with the cotemporaneous and kindred movements in other lands, our haltings and short-comings cannot, after all, be regarded as so singularly and pre-eminently conspicuous. On the contrary, we feel persuaded, that, vastly deficient as we confessedly are, and greatly behind in the practical application of every wise and beneficent principle of Legislative Polity, our progress from bad to better has, *relatively*, been neither unprecedentedly slow nor wholly insignificant. From the day on which the British assumed the sovereignty of these provinces, the successive changes and improvements in the entire spirit and fabric of our state policy, throughout every department of civil and criminal law, commerce and finance, have been so extensive and important, that the bare record of them might constitute an article of no small bulk or interest.

To attempt, however, to furnish any sketch of this sort, would be wholly beside our present purpose. That purpose having reference merely to a few points, connected with, or directly affected by, the comprehensive measure recently proposed under the designation of the *Lex Loci*, we can only cursorily glance at such leading facts as may serve to render the subject intelligible.

In reviewing the conduct of the British, in their capacity as Rulers in this land, there is a constant tendency to forget the original object of their mission, and how utterly repugnant the successful discharge of the newly assumed functions of sovereignty must have been to the successful prosecution of that object. What was their original design? *Solely, the acquisition of a share in the envied trade and commerce of India.* Of the aggrandizing and exhaustless resources of this trade the most extravagant opinions continued to prevail among all the European kingdoms. Fully to participate in its advantages was universally regarded as tantamount to a permanent increase of national prosperity. Originally, therefore, territorial possession, whether obtainable by treaty or conquest, was not even so much as dreamt of. Commerce, and commerce alone, was the paramount object towards the extension and monopoly of which all the energies of the British nation, as represented by the East India Company, were exclusively directed. Accordingly, the qualifications required of the Company's servants were altoge-

ther of a commercial character. When, therefore, in subordination to the Parent state, they suddenly and unexpectedly found themselves called on to assume a *delegated sovereign power* over rich and extensive provinces, need we wonder at their inaptitude for its exercise? The narrow and restricted system pursued in a mercantile factory was but ill-fitted to train men for the arduous functions of Legislation and Political Government, with all the new and onerous duties connected with the administration of Justice, National Revenue and Police.

Nor was this the only source of embarrassment and difficulty. Had the people of India in any degree resembled those of the west, in their various institutions, social, civil, political and religious, the knowledge, requisite for the creditable discharge of the novel duties which the exercise of sovereignty unavoidably imposed on a body of mere merchants, might have been more speedily acquired. But the task seemed not only a difficult one, but one of hopeless accomplishment, when it was found that our Indian dominions extended over a surface exceeding in extent the half of Europe—that the inhabitants consisted of various and distinct races, differing internally from each other, in origin, language, religion, manners, habits, and customs, as widely as all of them diverged from any type or model known to the nations of the west.

Nor did this view of the case exhaust all the difficulty. Had the British nation been fully enlightened on the subject; had it been able at once to rise to the full conception of its new relationship and responsibility towards the subjugated people of India; had it, in consequence, been led clearly to discriminate between its commercial dealings and its exercise of sovereign power;—suitable and adequate measures, corresponding to such marked diversity, might have been framed and applied. But this was not the case. As commerce was originally the *sole* object, so, for many years subsequent to the assumption of sovereignty, did it continue the *chief* and *paramount* object. The immense territorial possessions, with their princely revenues, were viewed merely as *accessories* of the Indian trade. Under the influence of such a predominant spirit, it is easy to see what object would claim and secure the largest share of attention.

Nor was even this all. Another and a crowning difficulty arose from the peculiar circumstances in which the sovereignty was first acquired, and the peculiar tenure by which it was first held. It has been gravely stated—and the statement has been so frequently and partinaciously repeated, that, from sheer dint of repetition, it has passed current for truth—that, "anterior to the establishment of the British power,

the Indians had lived in that golden age, in which nature spontaneously dropped her store into the hands of the innocent defenceless natives, all whose miseries have arisen from the wars, oppressions and cruelties of the English." A statement this, as utterly fabulous as the poetic fiction of the golden age itself, to which reference is made! Placed in contrast with indubitable historic facts, it can be viewed only as the fond illusion of ignorance, or the disingenuous fabrication of malice—the devout imagination of dreamers, or the perverse invention of designing men. For what are the facts? Before the era of the Muhammadan conquest India did not present the spectacle of one undivided consolidated Monarchy, under the mild laws of a paternal Government. Quite the reverse. Split up and cantoned into scores of petty kingdoms, states and principalities, these were constantly engaged in mutual hostilities and bloody strife—which furnished materials for all manner of martial legends and heroic song. At a still earlier period, the great National epics of the Ramayan and Mahabharat exhibit the state and condition, not of a happy and united people, but of a people habituated to all the horrors of intestine commotion and civil war. From such a deplorable state of things, the establishment of the Muhammadan empire was no relief. Founded on rapine and violence, it continued to be maintained with all the rigors of a relentless despotism. Actuated, too, by a blindfold and headlong propensity to propagate the intolerant faith of the Koran, the Mussalman Rulers converted the civil power into a terrific engine of religious tyranny. Fire and sword, with all the unhallowed weapons of savage persecution, were their only arguments. No wonder though their yoke came to be regarded by the millions of India's children as hateful and insufferable. Then, what was the history of the imperial family itself? What, but one continued narrative of massacre and treachery—a narrative, in which regicides, parricides, and fratricides appear as the most conspicuous actors. And what the history of the imperial administration throughout the provinces? What, but one continued narrative of usurpation and anarchy, grinding oppression and social misery. Torn and rent, throughout the entire period of its existence, by contending factions, the empire at last began to moulder into decay. The vital energy at the heart having slackened, the pulsation of life could no longer be transmitted or felt towards the extremities. Then sprung up a mushroom growth of provincial Dynasties, whose rapacity was cruel and insatiable, in proportion to the short-lived period of their duration. The Lord paramount of to-day became the imprisoned captive of to-morrow; while the

crouching slave of this year appeared as master of the palace on the next. Still, the title of Emperor of Hindustan continued to belong to the lineal descendant or representative of the house of Timur. And, though stripped of all real power, such was the veneration which centuries of supremacy had secured for the name that it was from firmans or imperial rescripts, genuine or counterfeit, that even the usurpers were believed to derive their right to govern or to reign.

It was in the midst of such chaotic and revolutionary movements that the star of British ascendancy began to emerge from the political horizon. Of their factories or seats of trade, some had been "obtained from the Moguls before the fall of their empire; others, from the first usurpers of the Mogul power." But, amid the desperate struggles of rivals contending for an ephemeral sovereignty, all alike were threatened with ruin. "Presents and new tributes," as history has recorded, "were now to be almost daily repeated to every new usurper, whose armies required supplies, or whose power could levy contributions." The very instinct of self-preservation, therefore, constrained the British to appear as actors on the troubled and tumultuous stage of political affairs. Their seats of trade must be defended from never ending aggression and exaction. Hence the necessity of resorting to arms. The resort to arms, under brave and intrepid commanders, secured them victories. Victories gave them territorial possessions. The acquisition of such possessions involved the assumption of sovereignty. The assumption of sovereignty entailed a whole train of novel and responsible duties.

The peculiarity of the circumstances in which the sovereignty was acquired will still farther appear from the following particulars. The empire had been divided into *soubahs* or *provinces*. At the head of each was the Political Head or Viceroy, called *Soubahdar*, "armed with absolute power in every thing but what regarded the collection of the revenues." The amount of revenue was fixed by the Emperor; the duty of collecting and of remitting it to the imperial treasury, was assigned to a special officer, called the Dewan. Hence, as has been remarked, "the source of a two-fold species of oppression; the Dewan levied more money than the stipulated revenues, and secretly paid the Soubahdar for winking at his extortions; and the Soubahdar levied contributions on those articles which were not taxed by the Mogul." Nor was this system of oppression limited to the Mussalman Soubahdars and Dewans only; it was quite as extensively practised by the Hindu Rajahs or Princes who were often allowed to retain "a degree of sove-

reignty in their districts, upon their becoming bound to pay a larger tribute than the Muhammadan officers could have levied." In the same manner, the Naib-Rajahs and Naib-Nawabs, "superiors often of only a few Purgunahs (police subdivisions,) and the zemindars, or superiors of a few farms of those Pergunnahs, bribed, oppressed, became rich, and often independent." As to the distribution of justice, the annals of the times amply prove, that "the courts of law pronounced decisions, in almost every case, in favour of the party who could buy them ; and that the natives entertained no other ideas in going to a court of law, but those of being supported by the friends they had bought, under the specious refinement of giving presents, to mark their respect for the judge."

And if the circumstances, in which the sovereignty was acquired, were peculiar, not less so was the tenure by which it was ostensibly held. The source of the tenure was of a strangely mixed character. There was conquest: of that there can be no doubt. But it was so managed that the provinces which fell to the British, appeared to fall to it, "not as an absolute conquest, but under treaties authorizing the East India Company to assume the rank of officers of the Mogul, or of allies and partakers of power with Native Princes and States." The tenure of sovereignty, therefore, in few words, may be said to have originated in *sunnuds, firmans,* rescripts or treaties, purchased or extorted, partly from the great Mogul, and partly from the subordinate but usurping Soubahdars, Nawabs, and Rajahs. In this way it came to pass, that the British were regarded by the people of India as virtually "the officers, representatives or successors of their own fallen sovereigns." In this view of the case, what could be more natural than for the new subjects to expect something like a continuance of the same general system of government and law, which for ages had prevailed amongst them? What more natural than for the new Rulers—not merely from the peculiarity of the circumstances in which the sovereignty fell to them and of the tenure itself, but also from their own professional inaptitude for so novel, vast, and multiplex an undertaking,—to volunteer, *in a general way,* to perpetuate the prevailing system? Their own ignorance and utter helplessness left them no other alternative. To it they were driven by a force somewhat equivalent to that of a resistless necessity.

The only part of the ancient system, however, with which we have at present to do, is the *judicial,* and to it we must strictly confine ourselves.

It is often asserted, that, *every where,* the Mussalman conquerors, along with their own government, introduced their own

law, founded exclusively on the Koran, *without any modification or change*. The assertion, though true to a very great extent, needs to be slightly qualified. In *all* criminal cases, it would appear that the Muhammadan Fouzdary (criminal) courts *alone* decided, according to the spirit, maxims and forms of Muhammadan law. In *all* civil cases, which respected property, where *one* of the parties happened to be a Mussalman, the decision was uniformly regulated by the strictest reference to Muhammadan law. But in other minor cases, alike civil and spiritual, in which no "true believer" had any personal interest, or for which no special provision had been made in the Muhammadan code, it would appear that an appeal to Hindu Pandits was, for the most part, allowable. And the same system, in degrees more or less modified, was made to extend even to those districts or provinces in which the ancient Hindu Chiefs were allowed to enjoy the rights of sovereignty—subject only to the species of feudal dependance already referred to, and the payment of a certain amount of quit-rent or tribute, under the denomination of Revenue. Thus, for centuries, had the institutions and usages of Hindu law, with a few insignificant exceptions, been entirely subverted or held in complete abeyance; while the institutions and usages of Muhammadan law were made to ride rough shod over the necks of the prostrate millions of India. The amount of cruelty, injustice and wrong thus every where inflicted on the dense and down trodden masses of the Hindu population, it were impossible to conceive and difficult to exaggerate.

Such having been the long-established state of the judicial power, when the British assumed the sovereignty, it required the lapse of time and the operation of many circumstances, to point out its glaring defects, inconveniences, and one-sided partialities. But the expediency, or rather the necessity of change was at last forced on the attention of the new governors—trained though they were under the predominance of mercantile principles, and accustomed to be influenced almost exclusively by commercial ideas. But, was not all change precluded by solemn pledge or compact, and the consequent obligation to preserve the national faith inviolable? Woe to the Hindus if it had been so! For what would be the inevitable result of the existence and unchanging maintenance of such alledged compact? What, but to uphold for ever the Muhammadan code with all its unrighteousness and barbarism?—what, but to withhold for ever from the Hindus the application of the principles and usages of their own ancient and venerated jurisprudence? Happily, however, for the

Hindus, no such unreasonable pledge was ever given—no such iniquitous compact was ever entered into. "When," as *the Friend of India* lately remarked, "we received the Dewany, which included the internal management of the country, the descendant of Timur made no stipulations for the protection of his own creed, still less for the restoration and perpetual maintenance of the sacred laws of the Hindus, which the Muhammadans had trampled in the dust for six hundred years."

The British, thus left entirely free, and animated by the beneficent spirit which their better faith had inspired, ultimately resolved to redress the grievous wrongs under which the Hindu people had for ages groaned. Accordingly, in 1772, the Court of Directors, finding itself quite unfettered by any pledges or treaties, voluntarily took upon itself the charge and reponsibility of attempting to reform the existing inequitable system of Indian jurisprudence. With this view, a plan was prepared by the then Governor, Warren Hastings, on the express principle of adapting its provisions to "the manners and understanding of the people, and exigencies of the country, adhering, *as closely as possible*, to their ancient usages and institutions." In 1773, the British Parliament, for the first time, vigorously entered on the business of Indian legislation. The Supreme Government was vested in a Governor-General and four Councillors; while, for the due administration of justice, a Supreme Court of judicature was established at Fort William, to consist of a Chief Justice and three other Judges. The power of this Court was to extend to "all persons residing within the town of Calcutta; as well as to British subjects, (natives of Great Britain or their descendants) resident in any part of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa," as also to "certain descriptions of the natives of India, though not inhabitants of the town of Calcutta, on account of their being employed by the Company or by any of his Majesty's British subjects."

But, what system of law was to be administered? This too, was defined by specific enactment. In the case of all British-born subjects, the laws of England were to be applied, as interpreted and enforced in British Courts of Justice. In the case of natives of this country, it was especially enacted and provided that "their inheritance and succession to lands, rents and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party, shall be determined, *in the case of Muhammadans, by the laws and usages of Muhammadans; and in the case of Gentoos, by the laws and usages of Gentoos; and where only one of the parties shall be a Muhammadan or Gentoo, by the laws and usages of the defendant.*" Thus, in all matters of inheritance, general property, and other

civil rights, was the privilege of being directed and judged by their own law *restored* to the Hindus, as *a free boon spontaneously conferred by the British Government, and not as the result of any promise, or pledge, or compact, or treaty whatsoever.* And thus did the British appear, *not in the hostile attitude of lordly oppressors,* but *in the gracious attitude of* FRIENDLY DELIVERERS FROM OPPRESSION.

Casting aside, then, as preposterously fabulous, the vamped up figment about alleged compacts and treaties which never had any existence except in the inventive imagination of the fabulists, it may be asked, whether the British did not *volantarily* bind themselves to *uphold* Hindu and Muhammadan law in its *original unmodified form?* The Acts of Parliament and the whole subsequent course of legislation in India and Britain, flatly negative any such supposition. Even as regarded the Supreme Court, it was empowered *to frame forms of process of its own, which might be observed in all suits, civil or criminal, against the natives!* While it was deemed politically wise or expedient to ordain that "such forms of process and such rules and orders for the execution thereof, should be accommodated to the religion and manners of such natives," it was expressly added, that such accommodation should be observed only "*so far as the same may consist with the due execution of the laws and the attainment of justice.*" And, as regarded the millions of Native subjects beyond the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and under the immediate cognizance of the Company's Courts, the case is still more decisive. So far from pledging itself to administer Hindu and Muhammadan law in their unmitigated spirit, the British Parliament *formally pledged itself to the direct contrary.* For, in the very act of 1773, in which it spontaneously restored, *in a general way,* their long violated rights to the Hindus, it expressly declared it to be "lawful for the Governor-General and Council of the United Company's settlement at Fort William in Bengal, *from time to time, to make and issue such rules, ordinances and regulations for the good order and civil Government* of the said United Company's settlement at Fort William aforesaid, and other factories and places subordinate, or be subordinate thereto, *as shall be deemed just and reasonable;* such rules, ordinances and regulations not being repugnant (to what? not to the Hindu and Muhammadan codes of Jurisprudence, but) *to the laws of the realm,*" that is, the realm of Great Britain and Ireland. Accordingly, from this very date, many important regulations began to be framed and issued by the Governor-General in Council, some of which, in point of fact, *greatly modified, and others wholly superseded certain native laws and usages of a capricious, arbitrary or ferocious*

*character.** In 1793, under the government of the Marquis Cornwallis, an Ordinance was passed for "forming into a regular code, all regulations that (had been, or) might be enacted for the internal Government of the British territories in Bengal; while, in 1797, this momentous Ordinance itself was ratified by Act of Parliament, and thus became incorporated with the laws of the British Empire.

Thus emphatically, and in every conceivable form, has the British Government, for the last *seventy* years, been disowning and repudiating the absurd fiction, that it had voluntarily bound and obliged itself to uphold intact the entire system of Hindu and Muhammadan law. By word and deed, in theory and in practice, by Act of Parliament and Indian regulation, it has, for the last *seventy* years, been loudly proclaiming to the whole world, that its own understanding of its voluntarily contracted obligation has been *the very contrary* of what has been so pertinaciously but groundlessly imputed to it. Apart altogether from the indisputable facts of the case, such an imputation must be viewed as antecedently incredible. For, what government, favoured with the combined light of science, philosophy and

* One or two examples will tend to set this matter in the clearest light.

Of the actual innovation or total supercession of Hindu Law the following is a decisive instance. To comprehend its full force and significancy, it may be stated that as 'the Dayabhaga is reckoned the standard work on the law of inheritance, by the natives of Benga', so is the Mitakshura, by Vignaneshwar, regarded as the standard work on the same subject, throughout the Upper Provinces, and a great part of the Dakhan. Now in the latter work is contained the following authoritative decision. Mitakshura. Ch. I. Sec. I. Art. 27. "Therefore, it is a settled point, that property, in the paternal or ancestral estate, is by birth, (although) the father have independent power in the disposal of effects other than immovables, for indispensable acts of duty, and for purposes prescribed by texts of law; as gifts through affection, support of the family, relief from distress, and so forth; but he is subject to the control of his sons and the rest, in regard to the immovable estates, whether acquired by himself, or inherited from his father or other predecessor; since it is ordained, 'Though immovables or bipeds have been acquired by a man himself, a gift or sale of them should not be made without convening all the sons. They who are born, and they who are yet unbegotten, and they who are still in the womb, require the means of support: no gift or sale should, therefore, be made.'" Now, it is the fact, that, under Regulation VII. 1825, and the Regulations to which it refers, *Hindu ancestral landed estates, in the Upper Provinces, have been always considered saleable by public auction, in satisfaction of decrees of court, not only for revenue due to Government, but even for private debts incurred by the occupants for the time being.* And all this, in utter disregard of an authority commonly reckoned sacred and inviolable!

Of the actual innovation or supercession of Muhammadan Law, the following will suffice as an example,—Besides many other great improvements of the Muhammadan Code, (on which criminal law, as administered by the Honorable Company, is founded,) introduced by Regulation IV. 822, one very important and salutary alteration, very much in point, has been introduced in the case of murder by Musalmans. By the Muhammadan Code it is enacted, that no Musalman should be liable to *kissas* (i. e. death by retaliation) for murder, unless *one of the witnesses be a Musalman.* This restriction being justly deemed contrary to impartial justice, a regulation was passed by which the *Mufti* is directed to give his opinion, whether the accused is guilty, or not guilty, by the evidence, *had the witnesses been Muhammadans*; and sentence is passed accordingly. And all this, in direct defiance of the highest Islamite authorities!

Revelation, if not temporarily bereft of reason, could pledge itself to stereotype the errors, the crudities, and the crimes of bye-gone dynasties—arrest the wheels of improvement—roll back the advancing tide of modern civilization—and perpetuate, without modification or change, institutions and usages which represent the mind and condition of society two or three thousand years ago? Whatever others may think, we at least must be permitted to exclaim, "credat Judæus!" Happily, however, there is no room for speculation or for doubt in the matter. The British government, if it proceeded slowly, proceeded surely, and we may add, on the whole, wisely. Penetrated with the conviction that long established prejudices, customs, and usages are not to be eradicated in a day—that sudden innovations of a substitutionary or revolutionary character are often dangerous, seldom safe—that the bare fact of the long continued existence of particular institutions is a proof that they embody some element or principle coincident with the prevailing bias of the national mind—that, without harmonizing in some considerable degree, with predominant opinions, practices and habits of thinking, every institution must either become a dead letter or a curse—and, consequently, that improvements on existing systems of jurisprudence must always be preferable to the universal introduction of new, extravagant, or inapplicable measures;—penetrated, we say, with a full conviction of all this, the British government, from the first, with the sagacity of experienced statesmanship, resolved prudently to regulate, not recklessly to destroy—gradually to improve, not rashly to innovate—discreetly to reform the old, not indiscriminately to substitute what was new—vigorously to lop off excrescences and withered arms, not violently to tear up trunk and all by the very roots,—in a word, to extract the deadly poison of ancient partialities, degrading distinctions, and insulting wrongs, and to supply, instead, the healing and the kindlier balm of improved sentiment, elevated feeling, and equitable law. Accordingly, in point of fact, one main end and design of all Acts of Parliament and Codes of Indian Regulations has ever been, to preserve to the different classes of natives, whether Muhammadan or Hindu, their respective institutions, usages and laws—*attempered, however, by the mild spirit of British Legislation*, and bounded by the limits of right reason, equity and good conscience;—there being always a distinct reservation, expressed or understood, in favour of such modifications of former institutions and usages, or such additional laws and regulations as matured experience might, from time to time, suggest, or the inevitable progress of circumstances imperatively demand.

It thus appears that, for the last seventy years, *four* great and distinct systems of law have been cotemporaneously administered by British functionaries in India. To British-born subjects, whether resident in Calcutta or scattered throughout the provinces, the Supreme Court is bound to deal out British law. To the native inhabitants of Calcutta, whether *Hindu* or *Muhammadan*, the same Court is ordained to administer their *respective* codes of law, without any reference to the alterations and amendments of the local Government. To the millions of natives in the interior, the provincial Judges and Magistrates are equally astricted by parliamentary statute to administer Hindu and Muhammadan law, as *altered*, *modified*, and *improved* by successive regulations of the Governor-General in Council. Now, in the acknowledged expediency or felt necessity of administering so many codes of law, not only mutually diverse, but often wholly contradictory, in spirit, principles, and end, who may not perceive at least *one* main source of inextricable confusion, embarrassment, and uncertainty?

But this was not all. In the framing or recognizing of these distinct codes of law, British legislators had all along contemplated only *three* classes or races of people in India;—namely, British born subjects, technically so called, together with *Hindus* and *Muhammadans*, *adhering to their respective ancestral faiths*. For these *three* classes *alone* was specific provision made by statute law. This was a great political blunder or oversight—the result, at first, probably much more of sheer ignorance than of inconsideration or intentional injustice. Time and experience gradually showed that there were other important classes or races of men, some of whom might be indefinitely increasing in number, wealth, influence and respectability. There were East Indians, Parsis, Armenians, Jews, Greeks, indigenous tribes who never bent beneath the yoke of Brahmanism or Islamism, and the growing community of Native Christians. For all of these, there has been, properly speaking, no statutory provision of any kind. Their legal situation, therefore, in this country, has been of a singularly anomalous character. The necessities of society often compelled parties to sue for justice. But, in the absence of fixed recognized statutory law, what was to be done? There being no Legislative enactment of binding authority on the subject, every Court, metropolitan and provincial, was left almost entirely to its own discretion. In Calcutta, more especially with regard to the rights of inheritance, the Supreme Court usually obliged the litigants (not being *Muhammadans* or *Hindus*) to conform to the English law. In the provinces, cases have been decided, sometimes by Hindu,

and sometimes by Muhammadan law; here, by the laws of the parent nation to which the sueing parties respectively belonged, and there, by the English or Canon law (that of the Pandects) according to the varying sentiments or caprice of the acting Judge. From all this, what could be expected to arise but a growing "confusion worse confounded?"

Now, it is with the express design of providing, if possible, an effectual remedy for this latter and most anomalous state of things, that the Supreme Government has, at last, projected the assimilating and comprehensive measure known under the designation of the *Lex Loci*. It proposes at once to remove all doubts and uncertainties, inconveniences and difficulties, by authoritatively declaring, in reference to all classes of inhabitants, not of the Hindu or Muhammadan persuasion, that, as at present, "the English substantive law is the law of the place in such parts of the territories subject to the government of the East India Company as are *within* the local jurisdiction of Her Majesty's Supreme Courts at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay," so, henceforward, "the substantive law of the place in the territories subject to the government of the East India Company, *without* the local jurisdiction of Her Majesty's Courts aforesaid, shall be so much of the substantive law of England as is applicable to the situation of the people of the said territories, and as is not inconsistent with any regulation of the codes of Bengal, Madras, or Bombay, or with any act passed by the Council of India, or with this Act." It is proposed, moreover, to be enacted, "that no Act of Parliament passed since the thirteenth year of King George the First (1727) shall be held to extend to any place in India by virtue of this Act, unless there be in such Act of Parliament a special provision for extending it to India."

It is not, however, with the general principle of this measure, the expediency or necessity of its restriction to English Law as it existed antecedent to the period specified, or its special provisions, as a whole, that we have at present to do. Our more immediate object is simply to inquire, in what way, or to what extent, it affects one or two subjects of pressing urgency and almost universal concern. We refer more especially to the subjects of *marriage* and *inheritance*.

Up to a comparatively recent period, the subject of the marriage of British subjects in India does not appear to have been formally brought before any of the higher authorities of the State. No doubts or apprehensions respecting the validity

or legality of marriages performed by dissenting ministers, or others, seem to have arisen, or at least assumed any tangible form. From the time of the establishment of the British power in Bengal, not only the clergy of the Established Church of England, but of the Roman Catholic, the Greek and Armenian Churches, and of the various Protestant Bodies dissenting from the Church of England, as also Magistrates, Judges, and Officers of the army, respectively performed the ceremony of marriage. Marriages, solemnized by these several parties, have been recognized by society at large, and, so far as we have been able to ascertain, have never been called in question, by any competent Legal Tribunals, either in Britain or India.

Immediately, however, after the arrival of Bishop Middleton and Dr. Bryce in 1814,—the former, as the first Indian Dignitary of the Church of England, and the latter, as the first Chaplain of the Church of Scotland, in consequence of the negotiations and provisions connected with the charter of 1813—the long reign of peace was suddenly and violently disturbed. The validity, in particular, of marriages solemnized within the British Territories in India, by "ordained ministers of the Church of Scotland as by law established," was fairly challenged. Doubts and uncertainties of all kinds began to start up like an armed host. The trumpet of war was sounded. The leaders on both sides were doughty champions. "Surrender" was not a term to be found in the vocabulary of either. Each stood on the high ground of constitutional right and national prescriptive usage. The public journals were employed as a battle field. The highest authorities in the State were appealed to as umpires in the mighty strife. But, on the banks of the Ganges, no influence could be found of sufficient potency to allay it. The ultimate decision is referred to England.

In the first instance, the question, "whether marriages solemnized at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, by Scotch Chaplains (not being ministers of the Church of England) according to the law of Scotland would be valid," being referred to the King's Advocate, Sir Christopher Robinson, and the East India Company's then standing Counsel, Mr. Sergeant Bosanquet, these gentlemen on the 4th March, 1816, delivered the following conjoint opinion:—

"We are of opinion that the law by which marriages are governed in India is the law of England as it existed antecedent to the Marriage Act, 26 Geo. 2 C. 33.

According to that Law any Minister of the Church of Scotland is not considered as a person in Holy orders—a marriage therefore celebrated in India by a Minister of that Church can act only as a contract of marriage

per verba de presenti, not as a marriage solemnized in facie ecclesiæ, or otherwise by a person in Holy orders.

By the law of England, previous to the marriage act, a contract of marriage per verba de presenti constituted a matrimonial engagement which bound the parties to some effects, and particularly so as to render a second marriage void, whilst the engagement subsisted; but it did not carry with it all the rights which the law of England annexed to a marriage solemnized by a person in Holy orders. If the husband should die seized of lands in England, it seems that his wife would not be entitled to dower (see Hales' Notes on Co. Lit. 33. A Note 10 in Hargrave and Butler's Edition; Perkin's dower 306). If the wife should die, it has been decided that the husband would not be entitled to administration of her effects, (Haydon *v.* Gould 1 Talk 119). Whether the issue of such a marriage would be legitimate does not appear to have been expressly decided. There seems to have been a disagreement on this point between some dicta of great authority in the common Law and the doctrines of Ecclesiastical Courts.

We cannot therefore advise that the marriages described in the case are valid in the sense in which we presume the question is asked, that is, so as to afford a complete and undoubted protection to all the very important civic rights that are connected with lawful marriage.

(Signed) C. Robinson.
„ J. B. Bosanquet."

This opinion, if regarded as final, decided the contest. Victory was declared on the side of the Bishop, and no alternative seemed to remain for the worsted Scotch Chaplain but to submit. Submission, however, was no part of his nature. He inherited the unyielding tenacity and indomitable perseverance which seem to peer as indigenously out of the moral soil as the heather out of the mountain sides of his father-land. And we hope that these sterling qualities and essential conditions of success will ever be found amongst the predominant characteristics not of Scotchmen only, but of all other men, embraved by the righteousness of their cause, and nerved by a consciousness of their own rectitude of motive and of end.

Accordingly, it was next resolved to take the opinion of not fewer than *ten* of the most eminent Counsel of the day, as well common lawyers as civilians. On the 24th February 1818, *eight* of the gentlemen referred to, including the King's Advocate, the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, delivered a conjoint opinion in the following terms:—

"We are of opinion that marriages of British subjects in India are governed by the law of England, but that the particular provisions of the marriage Act. 26th Geo. 2 C 33 do not extend to India.

That marriages celebrated in India by ministers of the Church of Scotland are not to all purposes a legal marriage.

That such marriages are binding upon the parties so that a subsequent marriage by either during the life of the other with a third person would be void.

That such marriages in Courts of common law would be considered as marriages de facto and would entitle the husband de facto to maintain personal

actions in respect of the property of his wife but not real actions, that the wife would not be entitled to dower or to bring an appeal of death, or the husband to curtesy of lands in England.

That it is at least doubtful whether they would be entitled to administration of each other's goods, or whether the children of such marriage would be entitled to inherit dignities or lands in England or to administration of the personal property of their parents, or whether in case of a second marriage an indictment for bigamy could be maintained.

That as doubts have prevailed upon this subject, it is highly expedient that an act of parliament should be obtained to legalize such irregular marriages as have already taken place and to declare the law for the future.

(Signed)	CHRISTR. ROBINSON.	(Signed)	WM. COOKE.
„	S. SHEPHERD.	„	J. B. BOSANQUET.
„	R. GIFFORD.	„	M. SWABEY.
„	JOHN LENS.	„	S. LUSHINGTON.

February 24, 1818."

The other two gentlemen consulted, Sir Arthur Piggott and Sir Samuel Romilly, not concurring in all points with the learned Counsel, nor entirely with each other, wrote separate opinions. In one essential point, however, these unhesitatingly concurred with the rest, viz., that the *then existing English Marriage Act did not extend to the East Indies.* Sir Samuel Romilly declared that "if the common law of England with respect to marriages was established in the East Indies, marriages, solemnized by the Scotch Chaplains according to the forms of the Church of Scotland, though valid and effectual to *some* purposes, did not confer *all* the lawful rights of marriage." But, then, the question, "Whether the common law of England, with respect to marriages, ever was established in the East Indies," was one, "upon which he entertained much doubt." Sir Arthur Piggot, on the other hand, without proffering an opinion relative to the extension of the common law of England to India, but looking simply at the specific question before him, was led to give a more favourable judgment. That the marriages mentioned in this case were "at least to many purposes valid," is what, according to him, "no person had denied." More than this,—"considering the place in which they were contracted, and considering also the provision and establishment which had been made there for the Church of Scotland, &c." he was "inclined to think" that the said marriages were "to all intents and for all purposes valid." But, notwithstanding this strong opinion, in which he differs entirely from the whole of his coadjutors, he freely confesses, with Sir Samuel Romilly and all the rest, that, as grave doubts on the subject had been entertained by "persons of experience and authority," it would be "highly advisable that some legislative provision should, if

possible, be obtained to remove all doubts and quiet such a question."

In the face of such a formidable array of hostile opinions—relieved only by a single solitary exception, and even that exception coupled with an earnest recommendation to sue for a legislative remedy,—it would not have been boldness but foolhardiness—not moral courage but insensate obstinacy—to persevere in the celebration of marriages without attempting to secure a full legal recognition. Such an attempt was soon made, and crowned, if not with complete, at least with considerable success. An Act was introduced and received the Royal assent on the 5th June, 1818,—legalizing all past marriages performed by the Scotch Chaplains,—and declaring all similar future marriages "between persons, *both or one of such persons being members or member of, or holding communion with the Church of Scotland*," to be "of the same and of no other force and effect as if such marriages were had and solemnized by Clergymen of the Church of England." Respecting this Act, however, it has been remarked by the learned person who prepared the case for the consideration of Counsel, that, while it enacts that future marriages of the kind described, "shall be good if solemnized with certain preliminary declarations, it does not say that such marriages shall be invalid if these preliminary declarations shall be omitted"—that, while it provides that "no such marriage shall be had and solemnized, till the declaration prescribed shall have been made," it "does not say that the omission to make it shall be fatal to the marriage." It should seem that "the parties disobeying the Act would be guilty of a misdemeanour, but not to follow that the marriage would be void. And the Act in truth seems to leave the law in all cases where marriages should be solemnized otherwise than under its provisions, as it was before the passing of the Act." So much for the "glorious uncertainty" of even a special Law, designed to remove all uncertainty and doubt! When will Legislation cease to be little better than a burlesque on common sense—and the fruits of legislation a congeries of enigmas and riddles, fitted to exercise the ingenuity of the subtle and the evasive faculty of the sophist, rather than the sagacity of the sage and the noble aspirings of the generous?

Doubts having next arisen respecting the validity of certain marriages solemnized abroad, by "a minister of the Church of England in the chapel or house of any British Ambassador or Minister residing within the country to the court of which he is accredited, or in the chapel belonging to any British Factory abroad, or in the house of any British subject residing at such

Factory, or within the British lines by *any chaplain*, or *officer*, or *other person officiating under the orders of the commanding officer of a British Army* serving abroad," an Act was passed in the year 1823, which declares and enacts, "that all such marriages as aforesaid shall be deemed and held to be as valid in law as if the same had been solemnized within his Majesty's dominions with a due observance of all forms required by law."

These are the only two specific Acts ever passed by the Imperial Parliament bearing directly on the legality of Indian marriages. And from the whole it appears clear—clear beyond all debate—that the general question of the validity of marriages solemnized between British subjects by persons not in Holy orders, and not within the provisions of the aforesaid Acts, was left involved in as much uncertainty and doubt as ever. No wonder though the minds of many were filled with grief and alarm; seeing that the peace and honour of their families, not less than their dearest temporal interests were seriously imperilled by such continued uncertainty and doubt.

From the official documents before us, it would appear that, in 1833, the present Bishop of Calcutta addressed two separate communications or letters to the Supreme Government, in which he "enters at very great length as well into what he conceived to be the law prevailing in India in reference to the marriages of British subjects, as into what he conceives ought to be the law in that respect." Upon this, however, the Government of India remarked that, "as the law of marriage was understood to be under the consideration of the British Legislature, and as the matter was one which it would obviously be improper to regulate locally without any reference to what might be determined on with regard to other British Colonies and Settlements, it had not been thought necessary to found any proceedings on the letters in question." And thus, for a little space longer, the perplexed and unsettled subject received its quietus.

The new English Marriage Act, introduced in 1835 and finally passed in 1836, did not extend to India—its operation being limited to England and Ireland. Fresh difficulties and embarrassments having in consequence arisen, the opinions of Counsel were taken anew, about the middle of 1837, by various parties interested in the adjustment of the question.

The Advocate General was of opinion, 1st, "That the marriage Act of England did not extend to this country; 2nd, that the question of marriage in this country resolved itself therefore into one of general principle; 3rd, that, on the general principle, marriage is a natural contract with which law can have little to do farther than property is concerned; 4th, that, in

looking at it in this light, the intervention of a priest in Holy orders was not necessary to its validity."

Mr. Longueville Clarke delivered his opinion at greater length. It is as follows:—

"I am of opinion that a marriage in the East Indies, when the ceremony is performed by a dissenting Minister or a Judge and Magistrate, is invalid unless it be celebrated within the British lines, under an authority from the Commander-in-Chief, according to the 4 of G. 4 C. 91. This of course only refers to British subjects, who are natives of England and Ireland. The decision regarding the *Nati* and post *Nati* in Colvins, case, 7 Rept. 1 has long settled that no act of Parliament extends to India, since the first introduction of English law here in the 13 of Geo. 1,1726, unless that extension be specified in the act itself: consequently the English marriage act 26 Geo. 2d C. 33. A. D. 1753, it is not the law for this country. The law of marriage which prevails in India is the law which obtained in England previous to 1726, that is, common law altered by two statutes the 53. G. 3. C. 84 relating to marriages between natives of Scotland by Ministers of that Church and the 4 G. 4. C. 91 authorising the solemnization of marriages within the British lines by *any person* officiating under the orders of the officer commanding the British army.

The following are the legal positions on which this opinion rests. By law, dissenting Ministers are laymen; priests in orders being persons canonically ordained by Bishops, whether Catholic or Protestant.

By the common law, priests in orders can alone perform the marriage ceremony between natives of England and Ireland. This was not the case previous to the Council of Trent, but it is stated in Bunting's case, Moore's Rep. 169 "Le solemnization de marriages ne fuit use in l'Englise devantque 'le Pope Innocent le 3 Ceo. ordaine premis mesdevant ast ordinance de 'marriage fuit solemnize en liet forme," &c. &c. &c. The authority of this decree was never acknowledged in Scotland; but in England it has always been acted upon. This point I can put beyond a doubt: the 12 Charles 2, C. 33, was passed to legalise the marriages performed by laymen during the rebellion: in more modern times the 57 G. 3, C. 51, was passed to legalise similar marriages which had been inadvertently performed in Newfoundland; and in Haydow v. Gould and Salk 119 (A. D. 1710) the marriage of Sabbattarians by one of their own ministers was set aside as a lay marriage. Here then is the authority of acts of Parliament and the decision of the Court against lay marriages; and a dissenting clergyman is in law a layman, although a Catholic Priest is not: Teedeesdale v. Le Four 2 Marsh. If the dissenting Minister can obtain an order from the Commander-in-Chief and will marry the parties within cantonments, the marriage will then be valid, but not otherwise. I have had occasion to consider this subject very often and have spared no pains in my researches, not a little stimulated from an anxiety to make out the law different from what I find it to be. I wish it were otherwise, and I will willingly lend my aid to procure an act of Council to alter it.

(Signed) LONGUEVILLE CLARKE.

1st August, 1837."

In consequence of these partly hostile and partly conflicting opinions a memorial was addressed in 1838, by various Protestant dissenting Ministers in India, to the Honorable the President and members of the Legislative Council. The memorial was

very courteously received; and in reply, Mr. Secretary Maddock was instructed to say that "a reference on the subject of the legality of marriages performed by dissenting Ministers in India had been made to the home authorities, who were requested, in case of there appearing a necessity for the measure, to give the necessary directions for a legislative enactment to remove, with as little delay as possible, all doubts on the subject of the legality of such marriages."

The Court of Directors, much to their credit, took up the subject with considerable energy. It was fully and fairly submitted to the Law officers of the Crown and of the East India Company, in the following precise and definite queries:—

1. "Whether marriages solemnized in the British possessions in India between British subjects by persons not in Holy Orders, and not within the provisions of the statutes 58 Geo. 3rd Cap. 84 and 4 Geo. 4 C. 91 above cited are valid and effectual for all, or any, and what purposes?

2. Whether, if such marriages be not valid for all intents and purposes, it is competent to the Governor-General of India in Council under the powers given by the 3d and 4th Wm. 4 C. 85 S. 43 to pass an act which shall have the effect of giving them such validity, and that either prospectively only or retrospectively?

3. Whether, in accordance with the recommendation contained in the opinion of the late Sir Arthur Piggott hereinbefore quoted, it will be desirable to endeavour to obtain some legislative provision to remove all doubts, and to quiet the questions hereinbefore adverted to, by declaring that the presence and intervention of a Priest in Holy Orders at the contract of marriage were not, and for the future are not essential to the validity of any marriage in any of the British possessions in the East Indies for any purpose whatever?

Or, whether it will be expedient to adopt any other and what course with a view to the quieting the doubts as to the past and settling the question for the future?"

To the queries thus clearly and pointedly put, the following replies were returned:—

1. "We are of opinion that marriages solemnized in the British possessions in India by persons not in Holy Orders and not within the provisions of 58 Geo. 3 Cap. 84 and 4 Geo. 4 Cap. 91 are not valid marriages for many of the most important civil purposes, and we concur in the opinion set forth in this case given in 1818 by many of the most eminent Lawyers in every branch of English Law in consultation on this subject. In this opinion the purposes for which such marriages would be ineffectual or of doubtful validity are specified, which it is unnecessary therefore to repeat.

The doctrine indeed that marriages may be good for some purposes, though not good for all is very difficult to comprehend, and it is explained by a learned modern author to mean this, that such marriages as those under consideration are in themselves invalid, and must so be found upon the point of legality directly raised, but that in certain forms of proceeding by particular parties for particular purposes, and by the rules of evidence applicable to such forms of proceedings, inferences and presumptions may be admitted to give the effect of marriage even contrary to the *fact* of *legal* marriage where strict legal marriage was not required to be proved.

Perhaps therefore the more correct doctrine is that such marriages are not in themselves valid for any purpose as marriages in the Ecclesiastical Courts (which the courts of Common Law follow where the Ecclesiastical Courts decide directly on the point of lawful marriage independently of Statute) though under the old Law till altered by act of Parliament these constituted a *præ-contract* by which a subsequent marriage might have been declared void.

2. We are of opinion that, by the powers of Legislation conferred by 3 and 4 Wm. 4 Cap. 85 Sec. 43, the Council of India *is competent* to pass an act or regulation to render marriages, in any form prescribed, *valid in the British possessions in India, and consequently every where for the future.* We have doubts, however, whether an *ex post facto* law made by a local and limited legislature, though operative within its own limits, would be effectual to supersede the rights of third parties in England, for instance, in a dispute with one whose legitimacy might depend upon a marriage illegal at the time and legalised only by such *ex post facto* law. As much ground of doubt and litigation might still remain we think that an act of the Imperial Parliament would be the most effectual for quieting all doubt and uncertainty respecting the *past* marriages in question, if the circumstances are deemed such as to call for its interference.

3. We do not think it necessary or expedient by any Legislative Act to declare as in this query suggested. It will be sufficient, if it is thought proper to legislate at all, to proceed, as the Imperial Parliament and several of the Colonial Legislatures have done, to enact affirmatively in what form and under what cautions marriages shall be contracted and solemnized. The Newfoundland act 5th Geo. 4 Cap. 68 referred to and the English marriage Act 6 and 7 Wm. 4 Cap. 85 contain useful precedents, for compiling a new marriage code, adapting of course the provisions to the state of Society in India. It might be proper also to provide suitable penalties to be inflicted on persons not authorized by the Act or Regulation, presuming to celebrate marriages. We may add, however, that the subject of marriage being of universal concern, seems more proper for Imperial than Local Legislation, and it would not be advisable for a local and limited Legislature to enter upon it without great consideration and urgent necessity

(Signed) J. Dodson.
„ J. Campbell.
„ Thomas Wilde.
„ R. Spankie.

Doctor's Commons, 26th Nov. 1840."

From this it will appear that the Counsel now consulted, consisting of her Majesty's Advocate, and the Attorney and Solicitor General, and the Company's standing Counsel, concurred in the opinion given by the majority of those who were consulted in 1818, as to the effect of marriages solemnized in the British possessions in India by dissenting ministers and others, and as to their invalidity for some of the most important purposes. They were also unanimously of opinion, *that the Legislative Council of India is competent to make a law, rendering future marriages solemnized in British India, in any form which may be prescribed, valid there, and consequently every where;* but they entertained much doubt as to the *retrospective* effect of any ex post facto law.

Since, therefore, much ground of doubt and litigation might still remain, they strongly recommended an Act of the Imperial Parliament to be obtained, as that which "would be most effectual for quieting all doubt and uncertainty respecting the *past* marriages in question." Mr. Lawford, the Company's Solicitor, in reporting this opinion to the Court of Directors, deemed it proper to state that, "at the consultation upon the case, Her Majesty's Advocate informed them that he had very recently received a communication from the Foreign Office, forwarding a correspondence which had taken place with the Bishop of London, respecting the marriages of British subjects in foreign parts, expressing the concurrence of Lord Palmerston in the opinion which appeared to have been expressed by the Bishop of London, that the uncertainty of the law respecting such marriages was a very serious evil, and that some measures ought, forthwith, to be adopted to remedy it." The Queen's Advocate further declared that, in conjunction with the proper authorities, Lay and Ecclesiastical, he was actually about "to prepare for the consideration of Her Majesty's government, some plan to remedy the evil complained of." In these circumstances, Mr. Lawford simply "submitted the expediency of endeavouring to ascertain the course likely to be recommended to the Queen's Government, and the general Bill which might be proposed for introduction, previously to the determining upon the course to be adopted by the Hon'ble Court, in reference to the very difficult question under consideration."

In a despatch from the Hon'ble Court to the Indian Government, dated 1st January, 1841, transmitting copies of all the legal documents, the Directors who sign it, *thirteen* in number, after stating that the matter was "under their serious consideration," conclude by saying, "*We trust that the subject will be disposed of as suggested by Mr. Lawford,* IN THE ENSUING SESSION OF PARLIAMENT." The mode suggested by Mr. Lawford was that which had been unanimously pointed out by the Learned Counsel to whom the case had been referred. It simply proposed to avoid any formal declaration relative to the necessity of the "presence and intervention of a Priest in Holy Orders at the contract of marriage," and to proceed at once, "as the Imperial Parliament and several of the Colonial Legislatures had done, to enact *affirmatively* in what form and under what cautions, marriages shall be contracted and solemnized." Of this despatch, with its enclosures, copies were politely forwarded on the 1st March, 1841, by order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, to the parties who had originally memorialized the Indian Government.

Hence it appears, that the leading parties, directly or indirectly, interested in the subject—the dissenting Ministers in India backed by their numerous adherents, the Indian Government, the Court of Directors, the Home Foreign Office, and the Crown and Company's Lawyers,—all, with one accord, concurred in setting forth the desirableness of some Legislative enactment, prospective and retrospective, to remove all doubts, and place a question, so fraught with importance to the weal of Society, on a satisfactory, secure and permanent basis. With so many potent influences co-operating in favour, it was not doubted that a speedy adjustment must follow. Early in 1841, the Court of Directors, as we have seen, expressed not a hope merely but a confident "*trust*," that, in the "*ensuing* session of Parliament," or the session of 1841, "the subject would be disposed of," in the equitable manner suggested by their own Solicitor. To strengthen the hands of their friends at home and abroad, the dissenting Ministers in Calcutta lost no time in memorializing the two branches of the Imperial Parliament on the subject. And yet, strange to say, the session of 1841 passed away, without any thing of a satisfactory character being done, or even attempted to be done! And not only so, but the subsequent sessions of 1842-3 and 4, have, in like manner, passed away, and still no adequate measure whatever forthcoming! Whence all this procrastination? How came consultations so big with promises to be so barren of performances—professions so rife with hopes to be so prolific of disappointment? We cannot tell. From the official papers before us, it appears, that, about the time when the Indian Government was memorialized, a fresh communication was forwarded to the state authorities by the Bishop of Calcutta, "deprecating all legislative interference on the subject, at least until time should have been granted to himself and the Bishops of Madras and Bombay for remarks and observations, and urging especially that the Archbishop of Canterbury might have time allowed to favour them with his advice upon the matters as they arose." Whether this deprecatory communication stood in the relation of *cause* or *occasion* to the prolonged delay in the settlement of so vital a question, we have no certain means of knowing. But the *fact* itself of the delay, even up to the present hour—painful and injurious as that delay must be accounted to be—is as we have stated it.

Here, then, the important question arises, How, or in what way, will the subject of marriage be affected by the *Lex Loci*, on the supposition that it has passed the Legislative Council, and become part and parcel of the law of the land? In one word, we may answer, that, according to our best judgment,

it will leave the entire subject exactly as it found it—that is, involved in precisely the same amount of doubt and uncertainty as ever—without any abatement or modification of any kind.

For how stands the case? All authorities at home and abroad are in perfect unison as to the opinion, that none of the English marriage acts extend to India. With the exception of only one, who simply entertained doubts on the subject, all the high legal authorities consulted appear unanimously to hold, that "the law by which marriages are governed in India is the law of England as it existed antecedent to the Marriage Act 26, Geo. 2. C. 33"—that, by that Law, marriage solemnized by an individual not in Holy orders, though valid for some purposes, is not valid for all; while endless differences may arise as to the purposes for which such marriage is, or is not, valid. Now, the *Lex Loci* merely proposes, henceforward, to render the English substantive law, as it existed previous to the 13th year of his Majesty George the first, the law of the place, in all the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company. Consequently, as it does not introduce any of the English Marriage Acts, and does not substitute or supply any enactment of its own, it leaves the subject of marriage to be regulated as before, solely by the law of England as it existed prior to the Legislative measure passed in the reign of George the second. The entire evil is thus left as unmitigated and unremedied as ever.* Nor is this all;—it is extended to new classes and races of men—to breed and germinate amongst them all manner of new and unheard of mischiefs. Armenians and Parsis and various mixed or non-descript tribes, together with the thousands of native Christians in Bengal and the tens of thousands elsewhere, are all be subjected to its disturbing influence and pernicious operation. And every day, and month and year, the evil will be augmenting in indefinite progression. Who, without being appalled, can seriously contemplate the darkening spectacle? Look at the anxious doubts and painful uncertainties—the jealousies and the rivalries—the disquietudes and the apprehensions—the strifes and the litigations—that must arise and multiply with an ever-encreasing revenue of domestic misery and social wrong;—and then say, whether it needs any gift of eloquence glowingly to depict, or any power of declamation turgidly to exaggerate the nature and magnitude of the threatened calamity?

* This, we understand, is the view taken of the subject by the parties principally concerned. These, as we have learnt, in the month of April last presented a new memorial, respecting Marriage and Inheritance, to the Governor-General of India in Council.

Let our Indian Legislators. then, rise up to the full height of their privilege and their duty in this emergency. The highest Legal authorities in Great Britain unanimously assure them that, under the special provisions of the Parliamentary Charter, it is perfectly competent for them at once to pass an Act legalizing *for the future,* all marriages of the nature so often described, whether solemnized among British born subjects, technically so called, or Armenians, or Greeks, or mixed races, or Native Christians. And what their hands find to do, ought they not to do it with all their might? Their doing so, would be the recognition of an inalienable right, and the conferring of an inestimable boon. Moreover, it is altogether within their jurisdiction, as a Local Legislature, to pass, if deemed necessary, any enactment legalizing the past marriages of Native Christians and other natives of the soil; since the only reasons, which might render such *retrospective* local legislation doubtful in its efficacy, as regards certain contingent rights and privileges devolving by inheritance or otherwise on British born subjects, do not exist in reference to the indigenous population of this land. And if, as regards the *past* marriages of British born subjects, it be held expedient and desirable, for the sake of authoritatively removing all doubts and uncertainties, to apply for and obtain a Legislative measure from the Imperial Parliament, why not promptly and vigorously take the requisite steps to ensure the early enactment of such a salutary and righteous measure? The Court of Directors "trusted," that from the Parliament of 1841, it would be obtained. And must the session of 1845 pass away without it? We fear it must. Even with the aid of steam, a requisition could scarcely now be in time for the Home authorities, to act upon it. Ere it reached the shores of England, the Imperial Legislators for a hundred and fifty millions of the human race might be scattered abroad—inhaling the fresh breezes of the Atlantic or gazing in rapt astonishment at the temple columns of Staffa—surveying the magnificent scenery of the Rhine or recruiting their exhausted energies at the Spaas of Germany—hunting the red deer on the slopes of the Grampians, or bravely buffetting the glaciers and the avalanches of the Alps. But, would it not be a burning scandal and disgrace were another session of Parliament allowed to transpire without the reparation of a neglect not less mischievous than it is inexcusable—the rectification of an evil not less disastrous than it is easily remediable? A single word from Sir Henry Hardinge to his friend "the great Duke" might suffice. And in achieving such civic triumphs, in contempt of the bigotries and the prejudices of the past, these chieftains among heroes, could not fail to be still adding fresh laurels even to the immortal wreath of Waterloo.

But, supposing the general question of Marriage, hitherto involved in so much uncertainty, alike painful to the feelings of individuals and destructive of the peace of society, were satisfactorily adjusted by the introduction of a simple but comprehensive measure—a measure, extending to all classes of British Residents, naturalized foreigners, and native born inhabitants not Mussalmans or Hindus,—a measure, founded on and embodying *the principle* of the present English law of Marriage, passed by the Parliament of 1836, subject of course to such modifications of details, in the mode and manner of its application, as the obvious difference of locality and other circumstances would naturally suggest,—there would still remain various important points, arising out of the present transition state of native society, whose settlement would call for a distinct legislative provision.

Amidst the present tendencies to innovation and change, it is surely the part of true wisdom to investigate their causes, note their direction, take the measure of their strength, and anticipate their possible issues. Say, for example, that the case of an adherent of Hinduism or Muhammadanism is already provided for—that the cases of the adherents of every other religious creed have, in like manner, become the distinct subjects of legislation;—what is to be *the legal position and relationship of parties renouncing their ancestral faith?* This question plainly demands an equitable solution, whether the renouncing parties are led to embrace any other form of faith, or not. But since, in point of fact, numbers of the natives of this land have already forsaken Muhammadanism and Hinduism and made a public profession of Christianity; and since these numbers promise in future to increase and multiply at an accelerated rate;—reason, justice, and the advancement of the common weal unite in demanding the seasonable intervention of the State authorities in their behalf.

But what, it may be asked, are the specialties for the authoritative settlement of which the interposition of the State is demanded? To enter upon all the details would only be to perplex and embarrass the mind of the reader. We must, therefore, restrict ourselves to the two or three leading points. When a married native renounces his or her ancestral faith and embraces the Christian instead, *how does the change affect the previous conjugal alliance?* Is it thereby *dissolved or not?* If not, *what steps can be taken, in order to ensure the fulfilment of its obligations?*

These and other collateral subjects have, as might have been expected, deeply engaged the attention of Christian Ministers

and Laymen of different denominations. Left wholly unregulated by any recognized Law, the evil must be a great and a growing one. Every year and month and day intensifies the call for some commensurate remedy. In the total absence, however, of any authoritative or Legislative measure on the subject, the Missionaries, after repeatedly discussing the different points in their varied bearings and relationships, have, for their own guidance as well as for the sake of securing general uniformity of practice, embodied the result of their deliberations in the form of certain definite propositions and suggestions. These, on account of their gravity, sobriety, practical wisdom, and paramount importance in the present stage of Indian amelioration, we shall here extract with the accompanying notes from the last of the pamphlets at the head of this article :—

"The Bible being the true standard of morals to a Christian Government and its Christian subjects, it ought to be consulted in every thing which it contains on the subjects of marriage and divorce; and nothing ought to be determined evidently contrary to its general principles.

"This proposition is too self-evident to require any comment.

"It is in accordance with the spirit of the Bible, and the practise of the Protestant Church, to consider the State as the proper fountain of legislation in all civil questions affecting marriage and divorce.

"This is one of those propositions which has been not improperly pronounced "nearly a truism." "No marriage or divorce," as has been remarked, "is legal unless it be according to the law; and whatever the law enacts, or even recognizes, is to be held valid: thus the law practically *defines* marriage and divorce. It may define wrongly, and place them on other than a scriptural foundation; but so it may do in regard to every thing with which it meddles. Under these circumstances, the duty of the Christian is plain. He needs not to seek for such marriage or divorce as is forbidden by the Blble, though legally free to do so: and if the law refuses what the Bible allows, he must submit to its ordinance." Rom. xiii. passim.

The duty of the minister is a little more complicated.

Though the State may tighten or loosen the marriage tie, more than the Bible sanctions, it is plain enough that it has no power to force him to use improperly the authority it may have delegated to him; and accordingly, it may be his duty in certain cases to refuse both marriage and divorce. But it seems impossible to deny the validity of either, when sanctioned by the State, on the ground of its wanting the authority of Scripture: otherwise, as Christians are commanded to marry only in the Lord, we would be unmarrying nearly the whole world. The law, for instance, might allow two persons to marry within the forbidden degrees of relationship; but, however much he lamented this, no Christian minister would feel himself at liberty to remarry one of those persons to a third party, while the other was still alive, and the *legal* union undissolved. If the contracting parties were Christians, and aware of their guilt, it would be a case for church discipline; but in other cases, surely common sense and charity require, that the offender should be excused. To conclude, marriage and divorce are to be held legal and valid when recognized in any way by the State; but there may be cases where, though the Christian allows the legal right, he denies the moral rightness: it is his duty to suffer them, but not to form or share in them, to bear his testimony against them, and to search the Scriptures, that he may be enabled to choose his own path aright.

"A mere contract, oral or written, between the parents of two parties, proposed to be united in wedlock, without the actual celebration of the marriage ceremonial, not being regarded by the natives themselves as of

the essence and validity of marriage, ought not to be so regarded by the Christian Church or the Christian legislature.

"It is found on inquiry that such contracts are occasionally entered into; but that they are not held by the contracting parties themselves to be of the essence or validity of actual marriage. Either parent may resile from his promise,—only the party so resiling is liable to reproach or disgrace.

"When the marriage ceremonial, authorized by Hindu and Muhammadan law and custom, is formally celebrated between the parties, whatever be their age, we are called on by reason and Scripture to regard such marriage as *civilly and legally valid*, and, consequently, its obligations as mutually binding.

"It ought ever to be borne in mind that marriage is a contract *both civil and religious*. As its essence seems to consist in the union of a man and woman, who are *pledged to* live *together as husband and wife*, its *validity* cannot depend on the *mode* or *form* of the *ceremonial* by which it is ratified. That ceremonial may be wholly civil, or partly civil and religious,—and it may vary indefinitely with the manners, customs and sentiments of different nations in different ages. In every country, whether civilised or barbarous, there is some act, form or ceremony, which is generally held to constitute marriage and to legitimate the children. When the question therefore is raised, whether we, as Christians, are called upon to regard those marriages as valid and legally binding, which are considered as such, by the tribes or nations to whom the married parties belonged at the time when the matrimonial alliance was contracted and the matrimonial rites duly celebrated?—It is humbly submitted that we are so called upon. The very expression of the Apostle, "unbelieving *wife*, unbelieving *husband*," i. e. *heathen wife, heathen husband*, of necessity imports that he regarded them as *legitimately*, husband and wife, while in their heathen state—because so constituted and accounted by their own customs and laws. So our Saviour, when he says, "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder," seems to imply that those were "joined together by an ordinance of God," or lawfully married, or were so united and regarded by the laws and customs which prevailed in his time, though none of the parties had then become believers in Christ.

"Renunciation of Hinduism or Muhammadanism being regarded by Hindu and Muhammadan law and usage as tantamount to civil or legal death, the non-renouncing party is at liberty to treat the other as repudiated or divorced; but the Christian convert, is not entitled to avail himself or herself of the Hindu or Muhammadan law, and regard his or her voluntary renunciation of ancestral faith as, *of itself*, releasing him or her from the obligations of the previous conjugal alliance, or as rendering him or her free at once to contract another.

"The law of the unbelieving party may entitle it to regard the other as civilly dead or legally repudiated. But the law of the believing party does not entitle it to regard the other, as *ipso facto*, civilly dead or legally repudiated. A change of religious opinion does not, according to *Christian law*, dissolve any previously contracted bonds or obligations. Should the unbelieving party, therefore, not avail itself of the conceded right or permission of its own law, but still *think it good or well* (Συνευδοκει) *i. e.* consent, wish, or will, to live with the believing party, and discharge, as before, the duties of husband or wife, it is concluded that the latter or believing party is bound by the previously contracted obligation, to treat the unbelieving party as husband or wife, precisely as if no change of religious sentiment had taken place. (See 1 Cor. 12. 13. 14.)

"If the unbelieving party willfully desert or appear obstinately to refuse to live with the believing party, as husband or wife, such wilful desertion or continued refusal being presumptive evidence of a real or an intended divorce, it is supremely desirable that some legal plan or measure should be devised for universal adoption, whereby the believer might satisfactorily ascertain whether he or she has been definitively cast off or formally repudiated.

"This proposition assumes it as indisputable that in no case whatever save that of adultery, is the believer entitled to sue for divorce (see Matt. xix. 6–9, and 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11.) Whether the Hindu or Muhammadan law declare a renunciation of Hinduism or Muhammadanism to be, *ipso facto*, a just ground of divorce or not, the law of the Christian utterly disclaims the validity of any such ground. Accordingly, if the unbelieving party be willing to abide by the antecedently formed nuptial bond, the believer has no option—no alternative—as, in that case, there neither is, nor can be, any dissolution of the original marriage. But, if, in consequence of the permission and sanction of Hindu or Muhammadan law, the unbeliever *depart*, i. e. separate himself or herself—in other words, finally and formally cast off, repudiate or divorce the believing party—the latter, *not being in this case the divorcer but the divorced*, must be accounted as freed, by the wilful and deliberate act of the former, from the ties and obligations of the previous matrimonial union; and consequently, at liberty to contract another. (See Cor. vii. 15.)

"So much for the great *principles* which the subject involves. But, in *practice*, difficulties do arise, for the effectual removal of which the Supreme Legislature alone is competent. From the present constitution of Hindu society, and the entire want of any legislative enactment on the subject, it is often impossible to learn the real mind of the unbelieving party; particularly, if that party be the wife. She may be herself in close confinement in her father's house or in that of some other friend. Her husband, on his conversion, becoming an out-cast, may be positively debarred all access to her. How then is he to discover her own mind—her own unconstrained will or desire—concerning the continuance of her conjugal alliance with himself? How is he to know whether she is obstinately bent and determined to avail herself of her own law, and so to disown and repudiate him for ever?—or, whether, from natural affection towards him or any other cause, she is willing to forego the right and privilege conceded by her own law, and consequently willing still to live with him, in conjugal union? Some authorised plan or method by which these important points can be legally ascertained without doing unnecessary violence to natural feeling or national custom, seems imperatively demanded alike by the conditions of private and social well-being, and the pressing exigency of circumstances.

"But what plan or method, it may be asked, can be proposed, for the due attainment of so desirable an end? Without presuming to dictate in so delicate and important a point, the Missionaries unanimously offer the following suggestion, viz.

"*That, in order to ascertain the true sentiments of the unbelieving party, the magistrate be authorised, on petition of the believing party, to have the former, (being at least* 14 *years of age, in the case of a male, and* 12 *in the case of a female,) brought before him, in open court, or in his own private house, or in any other convenient place, there to be questioned in the presence or hearing of the petitioning party and friends as to his or her willingness or unwillingness to live with and be considered the husband or wife of the latter—that, if the unbelieving party be found willing thus to live with the other, he or she be at once pronounced at liberty to do so, and immediate steps be taken to ensure the consummation of such voluntarily expressed wish;—but that, in the event of a positive refusal on the part of the unbeliever, at the first examination, the same party, (after the lapse of at least a twelvemonth, during which there may be ample scope for reflection on the one hand, and conciliation on the other,) be again brought before the magistrate and similarly interrogated as before—that, after all possible means of conciliation have been tried, should the refusal be still persisted in, the fact be publicly announced and officially recorded,—and that a copy of such record, countersigned by the magistrate, be furnished to the petitioning party, as the voucher of a legal divorce.*"

We presume, that, under the expression "ample scope for reflection on the one hand and conciliation on the other," must be included not merely the official interrogation in presence of the Magistrate but free and unrestricted access, at proper seasons and under equitable regulation, to the unbelieving party. Without this, what means of conciliation can be applied? What opportunities of subduing or counteracting prejudices can present themselves? If the unbelieving party be the wife, she is peculiarly helpless. Already, in a peculiar sense, the victim of ignorance and superstition, heathen relatives and interested priests will be sure to ply her with all kinds of wicked stories, absurd inventions, revolting fancies, and blasted hopes. The infamy of apostacy will be depicted in terms expressive of loathing and horror. The manners, habits, and customs of the Christians will be represented as the vilest and most contaminating. The fearful consequences, in the present world and the next, not merely to herself but to all her kindred to latest generations, will be painted in the most dismal colours. The curses of ancestors, of potent sages and of the gods will be described as about to burst, in one fell cataract, on her devoted head. Under the mingled feelings of excitement and terror thus produced, the poor creature is utterly enervated and paralysed. She is not the mistress of her own thoughts; and cannot give free utterance to her own genuine and spontaneous desires. For all this, what remedy can be devised? We know of none, save the concession to the husband, of a clear legal right of occasional intercourse and fair conference—not in the immediate overawing presence of the Magistrate or amid the distracting colloquies of hostile and wily relatives—but with herself alone. Or, if this were deemed too much, and it were thought advisable to prevent any suspicion of unfair or unjustifiable means being employed at such interviews, it might be so managed that the parties could be *within sight*, though *not within hearing*, of the Magistrate, or some other official personage, whose testimony would be altogether unimpeachable. On this point we cannot write too strongly or positively. Those who, apart from experience, merely theorize on the subject, cannot possibly conceive or realize the nature and extent of the timidity, shyness, bashfulness and backwardness of respectable Hindu females, of good caste, in opening their lips or unveiling their faces in the presence of male strangers of their own race,—and how much more in the presence of Mlechchas, or unclean foreigners? Their habits of seclusion, early training, imbibed prejudices, and hereditary national customs—all tend unfailingly to such a result. Now, in the case of any one male or female adult, or

minor, taking refuge in the house of a Christian, under the influence of a desire to join the Christian Church, this right of access is at once conceded to the heathen friends. Were they to seek for access to the renouncing party, and all access were denied, such denial would instantly be construed into a *prima facie* evidence of *forcible restraint;* and a Court of Law would, on application, authoritatively interfere. And is it even-handed justice freely to allow the exercise of a natural right to one party, which is peremptorily refused to another? Impossible.

Understanding, then, the proposition in this enlarged and comprehensive sense, we have no hesitation in saying, that an order or enactment of the nature suggested, if once formally promulgated, would go far to secure the great practical object, the realization of which, the interests alike of justice and humanity unite in demanding. Sooner or later, the day must come, when our Legislators can no longer evade or postpone the determination of the present, and other similar questions—the equitable determination of which, on the great broad principles of Catholic jurisprudence, ought to constitute one of the prime vocations of a Civil Government, and one of the chief ends of its very being. A shrinking cowardice in timeously grappling with such subjects, is not weakness merely; it is a wrong;—a wrong against those classes of the community whose natural rights and privileges demand the protection of Government, as much as their peaceful demeanour and principles of unshaken loyalty, merit a return of gratitude and esteem. For they, whose grand maxims of religious and civil polity are, "Fear God, honour the King," will ever be found not good Christians merely, but the best of citizens.

The next topic that claims our immediate attention is that of Inheritance,—not Inheritance in general, but Inheritance as ordained by Hindu and Muhammadan law, and now proposed to be modified and regulated by the *Lex Loci,* in the case of persons renouncing the Hindu or Muhammadan religion.

In order to comprehend this matter aright, it is necessary first to state what the Hindu and Muhammadan laws of Inheritance, in reference to such a contingency, really are.

The *Hindu* Law, as briefly and accurately represented in one part of the Minute at the head of this article, in its original unmodified form,is, that "a Hindu, on becoming a Christian or Mussalman, is considered as having *lost caste;* and hence that he and his heirs, being Christians or Mussulmans, are declared to have

certainly forfeited all right to the ancestral (and probably also the self-acquired) property he possessed, or had a claim to, at the time he changed his religion."

The evidence, establishing this point, is clear and conclusive. The following is the deliverance of the highest Hindu authority on the subject:—"Eunuchs and *outcastes*, persons born blind or deaf, madmen, idiots, the dumb, and such as have lost the use of a limb, are excluded from a share of the heritage."—Sir W. Jones' translation of the Institutes of Manu, Chapter ix. Section 201. That this law, as it regards persons who have *lost caste* by renouncing Hinduism, would *yet be enforced*, seems equally evident. Mr. Colebrooke, whose extensive acquaintance with Hindu Law is universally acknowledged, says:—"I do not think any of our courts would go into proof of one of the brethren (of a family) being addicted to vice or profusion, or of being guilty of neglect of obsequies and duty towards ancestors. But *expulsion from caste*, leprosy, and similar diseases, natural deformity from birth, neutral sex, unlawful births, resulting from an uncanonical marriage, would *doubtlessly now exclude;* and I apprehend it would be so adjusted in our Adalats."

The late Sir W. H. Macnaghten, whose comprehensive knowledge of both Hindu and Muhammadan Law is generally admitted, seems to be of the same opinion. In his Principles and Precedents of Hindu Law, a work published at the expense of the Bengal Government, for the use of their courts, in the chapter on "Exclusion from Inheritance," (Vol. ii. p. 131.) this gentleman, who appears not to have inserted any opinions which he deemed erroneous, mentions a case quite in point, which came for decision before the Patna Court of Appeal. In this case the following question being proposed to the Native Law Officer—"A person of the Hindu persuasion having become a convert to the Muhammadan faith, on whom will the property which descended to him from his forefathers, and that which he himself acquired, devolve?"—the Pandit delivered it as his opinion, and the opinion seems to have been admitted as correct by the Court, that:—"WHATEVER PROPERTY the indivi-al, previously to his conversion, was possessed and seized of, will devolve on his nearest of kin who professes the Hindu religion." Several gentlemen, too, holding important judicial situations in the Hon'ble Company's Service, in Bengal, who have been privately consulted on the question, as to whether conversion to Christianity would exclude a Hindu from inheritance, have been compelled, after reference to the best authorities on the subject, to declare it as their opinion, that were the Hindu law to be as usual regarded, such must be the consequence,—the conversion

necessarily creating incompetency to perform the funeral obsequies—the performance of which is the foundation of all claim to inheritance!

That, in the Presidency of Madras as well as Bengal, the same law is considered in full force, we infer from Sir Thomas Strange, who, in his Elements of Hindu Law, chapter 9, thus refers to the Law of Inheritance, as there administered:—"It remains to consider one case, that may be said to be, with reference to personal delinquency, *instar omnium* occurring in every enumeration on the subject, as a cause of exclusion, viz. degradation, or the case of the *outcaste*. Accompanied with certain ceremonies, its effect is, to exclude him from all social intercourse; to suspend in him every civil function; to disqualify him for all the offices, and all the charities of life. He is to be deserted by his connexions, who are, from the moment of the sentence attaching upon him, to 'desist from speaking to him, from sitting in his company, *from delivering to him any inherited or other property*, and every civil or usual attention!' so that a man, under these circumstances, might as well be dead."

Though the same law exists in the *Bombay* presidency, it appears to have practically fallen very much into desuetude there. According to the summary of Hindu Law and Custom, made by the late Mr. Steel, under the authority of the Government of Bombay, it seems however there are yet some enactments recognized, which open the way to most serious oppression. He says:—"A man *entirely losing caste, by changing his religion*, from *motives of avarice*, has no right to share in *the partition of family property*, unless he did so, in return for a grant to the whole family of a *wuttan*, &c. when he would be allowed a share. If the change of religion were operated by force, the relations might, at their option, reserve to the party a maintenance." p. 225. Why may not the *Hindu* relations of any one who becomes a Christian, make a successful attempt to prove that he did so *from motives* of *avarice*, and thus get him excluded from his share of the inheritance?

The *Muhammadan* Law on this subject is equally express and quite as oppressive as the Hindu.

It is laid down by Sir W. H. Macnaghten, in his Principles and Precedents of Muhammadan Law, p. 1, as a *principle* of Inheritance, according to the *Suni* doctrine, that "Slavery, homicide, *difference* of *religion* and difference of allegiance, exclude from inheritance;" and by a precedent quoted at p. 86 of that work, it is evident, that although apostacy from Muhammadanism would not invalidate the descendant's right to property devolving on him by the death of his ancestor *before*

his *conversion*, he would be entitled to none whatever *originally* devolving on him *after his change of religion*. See also Sect. vi. p. 21, of the same work, where it is assumed that "entire exclusion" from inheritance is produced by becoming an infidel. That the *Schia* doctrine of inheritance on this point agrees with the *Suni*, is mentioned in the same work, p. 40, and of course the results, by this interpretation, would be equally oppressive. It must also be added, that, by the most express enactments of the Koran, on which the code of civil law is founded, a Mussalman, on becoming an infidel, is liable to deprivation of the property he has himself acquired, as well as of that which descends to him by inheritance.

From the whole of the preceding facts and statements what is the legitimate conclusion? It is this;—that, according to Muhammadan law, "*a renunciation of Islamism necessarily deprives the convert of all right to property ancestral or acquired;*" —and that, according to Hindu law, "*a renunciation of Hinduism, necessarily excludes the convert from the present and disqualifies him for the future possession of any ancestral property, and also, according to many authorities, of any property that is self acquired.*" And yet, such were the laws which the British government, in their redundant but mistaken generosity, had unwittingly adopted and voluntarily undertaken to administer! No wonder though the head and heart of every man, who had imbibed the enlarged principles of modern toleration, revolted at the anomaly of an enlightened government becoming a party to the enforcement of such persecuting enactments. On the evil nature and injurious consequences of such barbarous laws it were almost idle now to dilate. Some of these have been briefly pointed out in the forecited Minute; and with the quotation of a few remarks we must at present be satisfied:—

1. "The law, when viewed simply in reference to mere civil rights, must appear to every enlightened man grossly to violate the first principles of natural justice; and such a law, therefore, as no wise and enlightened Government ought ever to sanction or enforce.

It is not necessary here to point out the advantages of the institution of property, or the source from which the right of property is derived. For our purpose it is sufficient to know, that, in every civilized society, the advantages are acknowledged to be so manifold, as vastly to outweigh all conceivable disadvantages; and that there is attached to the right an inviolability almost approaching to sacredness. These facts are so indisputable, that one end, if not the chief end, of every wise Government is, to protect and secure property, by the interposition of legal sanctions and penalties. And in cases which concern the fulfilment of righteous contracts, or conspiracy against the Government, and in these alone, is it deemed just to alienate property? The justice of the former is founded on the very principles that recognize the right of property: the justice of the latter is founded chiefly on the nature of that act which

aims at the subversion of government; as the voluntary effort to overthrow that which alone protects, necessarily annihilates every claim or title to protection.

What then must wise and enlightened men think of this new case, in which a Government, instead of controlling the outward actions, or directing the visible efforts of men for the best interests of society, appears to overstep its proper limits, and in cases of a conscientious change of private opinion, sanctions the infliction of penalties which almost equal in magnitude, those attached to that crime, which ranks the highest in the view of every Government? As, in the case of high treason, where the penalty of death is inflicted, forfeiture of property affects all generations; so, in the present instance, a mere change of sentiment, on a subject that may no more affect the stability of Government, or the general welfare of society, than the change of opinion on a question respecting the relative motions of the earth and sun—but may eminently promote the best interests of both,—not only subjects a man to exclusion from "all the offices and charities of life," and disqualification for holding or inheriting any species of property; but also involves his posterity in the miseries of the forfeiture—and renders them outcasts, not only from all society, but apparently from all law.

"Surely," may every enlightened man, yea, every man who makes any pretence to the knowledge of what is just and righteous, indignantly exclaim,—"Surely this is a case purely fictitious, or it is a highly coloured statement of some of the darkest features of the Inquisition, or an exaggerated representation of some practise prevalent among the ferocious hordes of the desert, or an imaginary picture of what may be reckoned an instance of the most consummate injustice, of which even the most ignorant and polluted creature can be guilty!"—"No such thing," will be the astounding reply; "it appears to be none other than a barbarous enactment of Hindu Law, sanctioned by the British Government."

We leave it to the heart of every wise and enlightened Briton to feel, in silence, the sudden surprise, and dreadful humiliation, of such a statement.

2. We next observe, that, viewing the subject in reference to religion in general, every sound Theist must pronounce the enactment impious.

When he reflects that, from the defects of man's knowledge, and the limitations of man's power, he is utterly incapacitated for penetrating the recesses of the heart, and deciding upon its motives, and pronouncing upon its judgments, and estimating the soundness of its convictions, and denouncing penalties on its decisions; and that to the Omniscient God alone belongs the high prerogative of penetrating, without the possibility of concealment, and pronouncing sentence, without the possibility of error:—he can scarcely regard an act which, without the pretension, virtually implies an usurpation of this high function of Omnipotence, in any other light, than as involving real, though it may be, unintended impiety.

Or when, from the inquisitorial nature of the enactment, he directs his thoughts to its outward effects, and views these in connection with the moral and physical constitution of the universe:—when he reflects that for reasons to him unknown, and yet for reasons, which appear to infinite wisdom and goodness to be sufficient, the Eternal God causes his sun to shine on the just and the unjust, sending down rain to fertilize the soil, and ensure a rich abundance of fruit for the sustenance of the inhabitants of every clime, and the professors of every religion:—and when, in perfect contrast to all this, he considers a human ordinance that appears to

condemn the constitution established by an all-wise and all-gracious God, by involving the principle that in one portion, at least, of the habitable globe, teeming with myriads of rational beings, a conscientious change from one system of religious belief to another, both of which are alike tolerated in the great system of providence, necessarily disqualifies for the enjoyment of those bounties of nature so richly provided, and formerly, it may be, so amply possessed:—he cannot possibly regard such an ordinance in any other light than as an impious contradiction to the divinely constituted order of things.

3. Once more, we observe that, viewed in reference to Christianity and a Christian Government, the real Christian must feel such a law to be in palpable contradiction to all the feelings and principles by which he ever professes to be actuated, and which he believes to be enstamped with the signature of Divinity, as well as a glaring outrage to the revealed will, and declared purposes of the Infinite Mind.

As a man of enlightened understanding, he clearly perceives that the law is subversive of the first principles of justice: as one who is convinced of the existence of an Almighty Superintending Power, he cannot divest it of the charge of impiety: but as a Christian, he sees it accompanied with other and *peculiar* aggravations:—*peculiar*, we say, because in his mind it stands connected with new facts, combined with new principles, and associated with new manifestations of the Divine mind.

His first thoughts might be, that deeds which involve injustice and impiety may be accounted equally unjust and impious whether committed by a professing disciple of Christ, or an abandoned reprobate; yet that, regarded as the acts of the latter, they maintain a character of perfect consistency; while, regarded as the acts of the former, they betray an inconsistency so monstrous, that no language can supply an adequate expression for it.

And the inconsistency would appear greatly aggravated, when he reflected, that the particular deed in question, which even when viewed apart from Christianity, involves injustice and impiety, also tended to counteract the revealed intentions of the Almighty, by opposing a powerful obstacle to the spread of that religion, which its Divine Author designed to become universal, and in furtherance of the design, commanded his disciples to promulgate, as the richest blessing, to all nations under heaven.

On farther reflecting that from the wretched constitution of society in India, the embracing of Christianity is, in other respects, attended with consequences the most injurious and distressing,—such as, loss of home, employment, reputation, &c., he might be inclined to exclaim: What!—as if the dreadful result were not sufficient to excite commiseration,—shall a Christian Government, by an apparent refinement of cruelty, proceed a step further in the progress of actual, though it may be unintended persecution, and deprive the individual who has been unfortunate enough to embrace the Christian faith of the very means of subsistence?—and that too, by sanctioning an enactment which implicates posterity in the same miserable fate, and which if it continue to be enforced, however numerous may be the persons converted to Christianity who have been in respectable circumstances, must suddenly reduce all of them and as far as this law shall operate, their posterity also to a state of total destitution and beggary: and thus a whole community be established, to become a burden, instead of a blessing to society!"

A state of Law so unjust in itself, and so derogatory to the

character of the British Government could not fail to attract the attention of all earnest Philanthropists. In 1830, the subject was largely discussed, more particularly by the representatives of the different branches of the Christian Church in Calcutta and its neighbourhood. Early in the following year, a statement and appeal on the subject was prepared and extensively circulated. Of it, as stated in the forecited minute, several copies were forwarded to leading individuals and committees of Societies at home, who had embarked on the enterprize of Indian renovation. A partial agitation was in consequence commenced. The Court of Directors, after been duly memorialized, took up the question. Early in 1832, *they sent out a despatch to the Governor-General in Council, directing inquiry to be made and some adequate legislative remedy to be provided.* Did the Indian government of those days pause or hesitate as to the path of duty? No. Lord William Bentinck was not the man to succumb to the intolerant spirit of an effete antiquity, or pander to the cravings of an insensate bigotry. In conformity, and let this be specially noted, *in strict conformity with the declared sentiments and express request of the Honorable Court, the Supreme Government lost no time in giving the matter a full and deliberate consideration.* The gratifying and satisfactory result soon appeared. Among the Regulations of 1832, 16th October, was promulgated the following:—

"Clause VIII. Such part of Clause II. Section 3, Regulation VIII. 1795, enacted for the province of Benares,—which declares that, in causes in which the plaintiff shall be of a different religious persuasion from the defendant, the decision is to be regulated by the law of the religion of the latter, excepting when Europeans or other persons, not being either Muhammadans or Hindus shall be defendants, in which case the law of the plaintiff is to be made the rule of decision in all plaints or actions of a civil nature,—is hereby rescinded; and the rule contained in Section 15, Regulation IV. 1793, and the corresponding enactment contained in Clause I. Section 16, Regulation III. 1803, shall be the rule of guidance in all suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage and caste, and all religious usages and institutions that may arise between persons professing the Hindu and Muhammadan persuasions respectively."

"Clause IX. It is hereby declared, however, that the above rules are intended, and shall be held to apply to such persons only, as shall be *bona fide* professors of those religions at the time of the application of the law of the case; and were *designed for the protection of the rights of such persons, not for the deprivation of the rights of others. Whenever, therefore, in any civil suit, the parties to such may be of different persuasions; when one party shall be of the Hindu, and the other of the Muhammadan persuasion; or when one or more of the parties to the suit shall not be either of the Muhammadan or Hindu persuasions,—the laws of those religions shall not be permitted to operate to deprive such party or parties of any property to which, but for the operation of such laws, they would have been entitled. In all such cases, the decision shall be governed by the principles of justice, equity, and*

good conscience; it being clearly understood that this provision shall not be considered as justifying the introduction of the English or any foreign law, or the application to such cases of any rules, not sanctioned by those principles."

This important Regulation tended, to a very great extent, to correct the crying evil throughout the Mufassil districts of the Bengal presidency; while, by its *formal sanction of a right principle and formal establishment of a sound precedent*, it opened up the prospect of an ultimate complete consummation. The deficiencies under which it laboured were *threefold.* It left matters as they were, under the old intolerant regime, in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. It left untouched the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court: any native resident in Calcutta, being subject to that Court, which, in this respect, is governed by Hindu and Muhammadan laws, in their unregulated forms, continued as liable as ever to forfeit his property. And lastly, it did not sufficiently clear up the disputed cases of property being heritable or retainable, when saddled with *conditions of a superstitious or idolatrous character*, which the inheritor or holder might find it impossible for him conscientiously to perform.*

Here, then, the *Lex Loci* comes in to the rescue. In two of its special clauses, it apparently proposes to embody, in a clearer and more definite form, the principle of Lord William Bentinck's enactment. These clauses are the following:—

XI. "Provided always that no Hindu or Muhammadan shall, in consequence of any thing in this Act contained, by renouncing the Hindu or Muhammadan religion, lose any rights or property, or deprive any other person of any rights or property."

* Respecting the *vagueness*, on this point, with which Lord W. Bentinck's law was worded, and the little advantage which could be expected from it, if any case under it were to be considered by an European Judge or native law officer, who was unfriendly to Christianity, a recent writer in the *Hurkaru* has the following pertinent remarks:—

"For what is the common and usual state of the case, in regard to the property of Hindus? A father makes his Will in a few words, in an unartificial manner, telling his sons to take possession of his property and his dwelling house, and to maintain the worship of the family idols, and to perform his funeral obsequies. It is easy and plausible to contend that the property thus bequeathed, is held on the trust of performing, with it, the idolatrous rites which the Will prescribes. But these, a Christian cannot conscientiously perform. How convenient an excuse, then, is here, for a nominal Christian or a native law officer, by whom native Christians are hated, to deprive them of all their property! Such Judges or Magistrates as we read of in Henry Martyn's Life, following in the Muhurrum processions, or building Hindu Temples, would, of course, take advantage of this pretext, and be quite blind to the equity of considering how much of the property really was designed or required for the idols, and what proportion of it might be set aside for the worship mentioned in the will, and what other proportion might afterwards remain to be divided between the descendants. *Their* minds would be absorbed by an inflexible sense of absolute justice to the Hindus; they would tremble lest they should disturb the ashes of the testator, were they to take one rupee from his hoards to provide for his evangelized children, even though superabundant lacks might still remain to pay (aye! that is the key of all false religion) to *pay* for the worship of his idols."

XII. "And it is hereby enacted, that so much of the Hindu and Muhammadan Law as inflicts forfeiture of rights or property upon any party renouncing, or who has been excluded from the communion of either of those religions, shall cease to be enforced as Law in the Courts of the East India Company."

The immediate extension of such a righteous law, agreeably to what we presume to be the design of the Supreme Government, to *all* the territories of the East India Company, *within* and *without* the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and in *all* the *three* Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, would at once implement and supply the first two deficiencies. The reasonable supposition that all property, ancestral or acquired, was *honestly meant* to be declared heritable or retainable, *irrespective of all inequitable conditions, connected with idolatrous or superstitious usages*, would implement and supply the third and last deficiency. But, as much ambiguity evidently still lowers over this branch of the subject, it could at once be removed by formally declaring, "that in the event of such conditions as those now alluded to being attached to property—conditions, the imposition of which may be pronounced unwarrantable as being opposed to, and therefore superseded by, the higher obligations of natural justice and revealed law—conditions, the performance of which may be adjudged intolerable, as being subversive of the dictates of reason and the rights of conscience;—the Judge or Magistrate be empowered and required, in accordance with the spirit of British law and the practice of the High Court of Chancery, to review, overrule, modify, or cancel such unreasonable conditions altogether, or otherwise adjudicate for the relief of the party concerned, agreeably to the first principles of natural equity and the suggestions of a good conscience."

On the understanding that such might be regarded as the import and significancy of the proposed law, and such the nature and extent of its application, in the view of its framers, we could have no hesitation in pronouncing it one of the wisest, most righteous, most compendious and at the same time comprehensive measures which has ever emanated from the halls of Legislation.

Apart, however, from our doubts respecting the operation of a law, which contains the expression, that no one, "by renouncing the Hindu or Muhammadan religion, lose any rights or property, or *deprive any other person of any rights or property*;"* apart,

* On this point, the writer in the *Hurkaru*, already quoted, remarks as follows:—

"How can a convert really deprive any other person of property? But what a convenient handle is here to those who seek one! Take the case I have given of a man's property bequeathed in general terms to his family, with a recommendation or direction, that the worship of the family idol should be kept up. Why here, every unfriendly judge would say, that the Christian convert in the family ought not to take any share of the property.

also, from the absence of any distinct, explicit, definite clause designed to nullify or set aside unreasonable conditions;—our satisfaction is not a little abated, in consequence of some of the equivocal and restrictive provisions of the XIII., or clause immediately following—provisions, which, in our calm and deliberate judgment, must go far to defeat and neutralise the just and beneficent object seemingly contemplated by the XI. and XII. or two preceding clauses. The objectionable supplementary clause is as follows:—

XIII. "Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, that if, in any case falling within the provisions of Section XI. and XII., it shall appear to the Court that the application of any of those provisions would *outrage the religious feelings of any party against whom the Court is called upon to apply them*, the Court shall state the facts of the case and submit the statement for the decision of the Court of Appeal, who shall decide *whether the provisions are to be applied or not*, and with what modifications, and whether *any* and what compensation shall be given to any party for *the loss* which such party *may* sustain in case the said Court of Appeal should decide that the said provisions should not be applied."

After having, as we supposed, fairly escaped from the thickets of the wilderness, and found our way cleared of all further obstructions, we are here made suddenly to stumble on a "thick-set hedge" of briars and thorns—presenting new entanglements, and interposing new and unexpected difficulties.

The very introduction, in connection with such a subject at all, of such an expression as the "outrage of religious feelings," is highly inexpedient; inasmuch as no case of the nature contemplated can possibly arise, in which one or other or both of the parties concerned, may not plausibly allege that their "religious feelings" have been "outraged;" and thus the door will be thrown wide open, or rather an express challenge and invitation offered, under the sanction of law, to the presentation of interminable complaints, leading to vexatious litigation and endless strife. If, in order to meet certain unforeseen contingencies which may possibly arise, license is to be granted for *qualifying*, in extreme or peculiar cases, the provisions of section XI. and XII., surely the substitution of some such general expression as "grievous personal inconvenience or disturbance of the public peace," instead of the more irritating and provocative one of "outrage of religious feelings," would answer every reasonable

because he would "deprive" the rest of the family of the property which was held on trust for the worship of the idol. And thus, lacks upon lacks might be retained, while a few thousands or hundreds of rupees only, were, in fact, required for the idol. Without any refinements or provisos, let us have a distinct, explicit, sincere recognition that no man shall forfeit his property on account of his religion, and let this law be so promulgated as to show that the Government is in earnest about it, and I venture to say, that we shall find the judicial servants of the Company discovering, that so simple an enactment requires nothing whatever, but honesty and firmness on their part, to secure for it the same popular assent as every tolerant measure which liberal statesmen have carried in our own country now possesses there."

end of justice, and help to obviate or allay one of the greatest of human evils—the exasperation of religious bigotry.

Again, the introduction of the restrictive words, "and whether *any*," in the latter part of the clause must also go far to neutralize the benefits obviously and humanely intended by the equitable provisions of section XI. and XII; inasmuch as, even in cases in which positive "*loss*" is supposed to be sustained by the non-application of these provisions, it is thereby left at the sheer discretion or option of the Court, "whether *any*" compensation for such acknowledged "loss" is to be made at all. Is this equitable? We decidedly think not. The limiting words, "and whether any," ought most assuredly to be altogether omitted—retaining simply the words, "what compensation, &c.;" —rendering it thereby imperative on the Court to grant *some* adequate compensation, in strict accordance with the sacred principles of justice, equity, and good conscience.

That this supplementary clause XIII., in its present form, might be made to operate most injuriously, we think but too clear from the very note of illustration which is appended to it. The note is as follows:—

"The sort of case which Section XIII. is intended to meet may be thus exemplified. A married Hindu man renounces his religion and becomes subject to the *lex loci*; according to that law he might sue for a restitution of conjugal rights if his wife refused to cohabit with him. But according to Hindu law the wife would have a right to separate herself from a husband who had become outcast, and nevertheless, to have her maintenance out of his property."

To render coercive by law the provision relative to maintenance, in the case supposed in this note, would involve a principle of more than doubtful equity, and might lead to the greatest abuses in practice. By Hindu and Muhammadan law, the party renouncing his religion is regarded and treated as civilly or legally dead; the non-renouncing party is consequently at full liberty to cast off or repudiate the other. The renouncing party, however, if a Christian has no such right or liberty; inasmuch as his voluntary renunciation of ancestral faith does not *of itself*, in the eye of Christianity, release him from the obligations of the previous conjugal alliance, or render him free at once to contract another. Now, in such circumstances, would it not appear wholly inequitable and contrary to the general spirit of British Law, in all cases, to compel the renouncing party to furnish maintenance to the other, who, merely because of a change of religious sentiment on the part of her husband, refuses to live with him and to fulfil the ordinary

conditions of the matrimonial contract ? More especially would not this appear unreasonable, when it is remembered, that, in the retention and exercise of her own religious sentiments and practices, she may, so far as her husband is concerned, be left altogether free and unfettered ?

Besides, to provide by law, that, in all cases, such maintenance *must be* furnished by the repudiated husband, would be uniformly to ensure and almost necessitate a continued separation, with all the grievous inconveniences and evils to both parties, as well as to society at large, inevitably attendant thereupon ; inasmuch as the lure of such maintenance would always be sure to operate on the friends and relatives of the repudiated wife, in the way of a bounty or bribe to induce and enable them to prevent the possibility of a re-union, however much such re-union might accord with the spontaneous wishes of her own unbiassed mind. From all this, it seems to us abundantly clear, that, if any such explanatory yet restrictive clause is to be inserted at all, the very utmost which ought to be ordained, should be, to render " maintenance" in no case, *ipso facto*, obligatory on the repudiated party, but to leave all cases open for the investigation and decision of a Court of Equity.*

Dismissing, however, all details, we must earnestly plead for the desirableness and necessity of a clear and explicit, a large, tolerant and comprehensive measure, suited to the exigencies of

* The case selected as an example by the learned framer of the Draft Act we cannot but regard as in all respects a singularly infelicitous one. A more clear and unexceptionable case would be the following :—Suppose a family mansion, according to the principles of Hindu inheritance and the usages of Hindu Society, to be equally divided and partitioned between two sons and their families ; suppose one of these to renounce Hinduism and to embrace Christianity or any other faith ;—it is clear, that, in the *present state of the law of caste* and of *the condition of native society generally*, it would be impossible for the two brothers to live together in the same house without endless and nameless broils and inconveniences. It would be for the peace, comfort and happiness of both, that one of them should retire from the house altogether. Now here is a fair case for a Court of Equity, acting in the capacity of Umpire or Arbitrator, to decide upon. It might, on a deliberate review of all the circumstances of the case, be called upon to say, *which of the brothers ought to withdraw*, and, in doing so, *what compensation ought to be made to him for the share of heritable property which he was required to abandon*. In like manner, in cases where part of the property is, by the will of the Donor, to be devoted to the worship of an idol or any other religious object, a Court of Equity could be at no loss in determining the average amount of such specified offering. And, in the event of one or more members of a family renouncing their ancestral faith, all that justice or equity could demand, would be, that their share of such idolatrous apportionment should be deducted from the aggregate amount devolving on them by inheritance, and handed over to the non-renouncing members of the family.

As this page was passing through the press, the report reached us, that the clauses respecting Inheritance were to be taken out of the *Lex Loci*, and made a separate measure.

the case, and commensurate with the wants and requirements of modern civilization. It is a matter of deepest interest and concern to all the leading parties which constitute the body-politic.

The *Hindus themselves,* the most *orthodox* not less than the most heterodox, are, or ought to be, especially interested in the introduction of a new and improved Law of Inheritance. Indeed they, of all others, are, or ought to be, the most deeply concerned in the passing of such a salutary measure. How so? it may be retorted—Have they not been concocting petitions and presenting memorials against it? Doubtless they have. But in this, they have been acting a most suicidal part. Blinded by excessive zeal for their temporal interests, or bewildered by the rage of exasperated bigotry, they have been conducting themselves, in the face of the civilized world, like men who "know not what they do." They have been memorializing the Supreme Government to uphold inviolate the laws and institutions of Hinduism. If they had only soberly considered and were led to understand aright what they were thus, in the simplicity of a profound unconsciousness, really praying for, they would be the first to stand aghast at their own rashness, and the perilousness of the position into which they had ultroneously brought themselves. What! suppose the Supreme Government, wearied at length and worn out with their incessant and reasonless importunities, were, in righteous retribution, to grant them the object of their petition in all its plenitude? What would be the result? Why, it would be none other than this—that, all the while, these Native gentlemen had been earnestly beseeching the Government to do that, *the doing of which might inevitably lead to the deprivation of almost every Rajah, Zemindar, and Babu in Bengal, of the whole of his property!* Truly, may they bless the day when a Superintending Providence favoured them with a paternal government, which, knowing their best interests, better than they do themselves, has manifested its fatherly tuition and defence, by refusing the prayer of petitions that would, if granted, involve so many of its children and loyal subjects in indiscriminate ruin.

But how, it may be asked, do we make out this to be the real though unintended end and scope of the Native memorials? The process seems to us simple, direct, and conclusive. Renunciation of, or apostacy from, Hinduism undoubtedly entails *loss of caste.* Loss of caste, according to the highest Hindu legal authorities, as undoubtedly entails a forfeiture of heritable property. Now mark the connection. The law, respecting the loss of

caste, as it affects the right of inheritance, is *not a separate or isolated law.* The case of the outcaste is *constantly associated with many others that operate as causes of disinheritance.* We might quote at large from the Institutes of Manu and other standard authorities on the subject; but a single extract from Macnaghten's Precepts and Precedents of Hindu law, (vol. ii. p. 133,) in which the author furnishes an epitome of the whole, will amply suffice. "According," says he, "to the Hindu law, an impotent person, one born blind, one born deaf or dumb, or an idiot, or mad or lame, one who has lost a sense or limb, a leper, one afflicted with obstinate or agonizing diseases, one afflicted with an incurable disease, an outcaste, the offspring of an outcaste, one who has been formerly degraded, one who has been expelled from society, a professed enemy to his father, an apostate, a person wearing the token of religious mendicity, a son of a woman married in irregular order, one who illegally acquires wealth, one incapable of transacting business, one who is addicted to vice, one destitute of virtue, a son who has no sacred knowledge, nor courage, nor industry, nor devotion, nor liberality, and who observes not immemorial good customs, one who neglects his duties, one who is immersed in vice, and the sons whose affiliation is prohibited in the present age, are incompetent to share the heritage; but these persons, excepting the outcaste and his offspring, are entitled to a suitable provision of food, raiment, and habitation." On which the author remarks: "Were these disqualifying provisions indeed rigidly enforced, it may be apprehended that but *very few individuals would be found competent to inherit property,* as there is hardly *an offence in jurisprudence,* or a *disease in nosology,* that may not be comprehended in some one or other of the classes."

What say our Native Memorialists to this? It is in vain for them to shirk or attempt to evade the awkward and perilous predicament into which, by their own reckless and suicidal act, they voluntarily bring themselves, by alleging, or pretending to allege, that many of the causes of disqualification here enumerated have become obsolete, or fallen into practical desuetude. The same reputedly sacred, divine, and inviolable authority which ordained any one of them, equally ordained all the rest. The Lawgiver meant and intended *all* to be alike unalterable and eternal. Either, therefore, all are absolutely binding, or none is. There is no alternative here. According to Hindu opinion and belief all are, or ought to be, held as unchangeably obligatory. Neither the law in general nor any part of the law has been repealed by any competent authority. And for any private indi-

viduals to presume to make a selection,—to declare, according to their varying judgment or caprice, what parts of the law shall be regarded as having become obsolete, avoidable or void, and what not—that is, what parts of the law shall be observed or obeyed, and what not,—would be to arrogate the functions of the Supreme Lawgiver, and to assert their own superiority over him, to whose paramount authority they all the while profess to bow with implicit and adoring reverence. While the law itself is unrepealed, no matter however much it may, from a variety of circumstances, be temporarily held in abeyance, or its special provisions lapse into a state of dormancy; it is still THE *law*. And though, by *habit*, *custom*, or *sufferance*, none of the disqualifications mentioned were now allowed to operate, yet it would be by *sufferance* only. It is not by any *legal right*, that individuals now living, or any of their forefathers, to whom might attach one or more of the orthodox and established disqualifications, have entered on the possession of property, or are permitted to retain it. Consequently, any rigid stickler for antiquarian barbarism, or any evil disposed person, has, at any moment, the power legally to annoy, and if mere law were rigidly administered, certainly to disinherit them. Only suppose the Hindu Law, in all its integrity, to be now in full force; and suppose any friend or relative or member of a family, who might be heir at law, were to appear before a Court, bound to enforce that law in its unmitigated form, saying, "Here is such a Rajah, Zemindar, or Babu who labours under one or more of the divinely prescribed disqualifications for inheriting or holding property, such as, being born blind or deaf or dumb—having lost a sense or limb,—being afflicted with obstinate agonizing or incurable disease,—having illegally acquired wealth or shewn himself incapable of transacting business,—being addicted to vice, or destitute of virtue, sacred knowledge, courage, industry, devotion, or liberality,—neglectful of duties or inobservant of immemorial good customs,—I insist, upon it, therefore, that the law be rigorously applied, that he be disinherited, and that I may at once be authorized to enter on the legal possession of the heritage, for holding which he is by law proved to be wholly disqualified;"—suppose, we say, such application could be made, in such hypothetical circumstances, what proprietor in all Bengal would, at this moment, venture to say that his estate is to him worth half a month's purchase?* No.—All, or almost all would

* Of this a curious, significant, though withal, incidental proof was lately furnished at the meeting of Hindu inhabitants, whose contemplated object was "the

be found disqualified together. And the only result of the prayer of the present Hindu memorialists, if fully and unconditionally granted, would be a concession, amounting, in effect, to a law establishing such general disqualification, as might lead to an *almost universal disinheritance!* Seeing, then, that the maintenance of the Hindu law inviolate would place in jeopardy the continued possession of all, or almost all existing property; the only legal safety of the present race of Hindu Proprietors must consist, first, in withdrawing their present suicidal petitions, and secondly, in uniting anew to memorialize the only competent authority—the Supreme Government of these realms—to declare and enact, that, as many of the unreasonable disqualifications of inheritance may now be considered practically obsolete, so, henceforward, all of them shall be considered in the same light,—none of them being any more allowed to operate, and all property being ordained to descend in the proportions directed by Hindu Law wholly irrespective of such proposterous grounds of disqualification.*

destruction of all Missionary schools in Calcutta." According to the authentic report of proceedings which appeared in the *Englishman*, a Mufassil Babu, understood to be Kalipersad Babu of Collecena in Taki, rose up and spoke as follows:—"What the worthy President has said is quite true, but it is a matter of regret, that the present meeting cannot in any way oppose the conversion of the people. *The sons of the wealthiest of the natives have for a series of years feasted on beef and burgundy* (and thereby have, *according to Hindu law*, completely *lost caste*;) their fathers are aware of the same, for Davy Wilson's (a famous European Provisioner) bills are presented to them for payment; but these improper practices are not put a stop to, nor are *such sons excommunicated from Society, nor are they deprived of their heritage.* If then there is so much liberality at home, how can it be expected, that it is to be suppressed abroad? The educated children of the natives are now *without any religion;* they have long abandoned Hinduism, and become *free-thinkers and free-eaters.* The question, therefore, is not whether the natives should be Christians, but simply this, *whether the Dharma Sabha is to countenance that in private which is detested by them in public?*" The plain out-spoken address of this speaker was not, as might be expected, much relished, by those whose consciences must have been stung with a sense of guilt as the sound of such undeniable but impalatable truths rung in their ears. The gentlemen assembled could not certainly do better than take a hint from the old proverb, that, "they who live in glass houses should take care to throw no stones."

* As the final proof sheet, containing these remarks, was about to be returned to press, the *Hurkaru* of the 4th June, came to hand. We make no apology for extracting from it, the following admirable editorial:—"Some misconception, we believe, exists both at Madras and in this presidency, as to the principles which govern the policy of the British Government towards the different religious systems prevailing among the natives of India. Universal toleration is the rule, and, as a consequence, universal liberty. Liberty to believe, is liberty to disbelieve; and no change of faith can alter the relation established between Government and its subjects. If all the Christians in India were to turn Muhammadans, Government would view the change with indifference: equally so, if all the Muhammadans were to turn Christians.

While the Government is thus pledged to the principle of universal toleration in its own conduct and relations, it is impliedly bound to prevent the infraction of the principle by the followers of any particular faith or religion. Manifestly, it is entitled to call on all for that mutual forbearance which it shows towards all, and to

Again, the *educated* Hindus, Philanthropists of every name, as well as the *Supreme Government itself* are, or ought to be, specially interested in the introduction of a new and improved Law of Inheritance.

How stands the case? By an express Act of the British Parliament in 1813, it is enacted that, "whereas it is *the duty* of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, *such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, of religious and moral improvement:* and, in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing those *benevolent designs*, &c." From the fact, that, in this clause, "religious and moral improvement" is as expressly contemplated and provided for as "the introduction of useful knowledge," it is clear, that our

renounce the right of persecution. We take this to be a self-evident proposition. And the only question of doubt in any case is as to its application. Does it at all apply, and how, to the case of native Christians? In order to answer the question, let us ask, what is persecution. We take it that the infliction of any injury, in consequence of the holding of an obnoxious faith, is persecution. Who demurs to this definition, let him give us a sounder one; who doubts it, let him exclude from his mind the bias which he may have conceived from a particular case, and test it, by some case easily supposable, which is indifferent to his feelings. A better cannot be put than that of an English father disinheriting his child because of the heterodoxy of his opinions,—perhaps because, while the father thinks baptism means dipping the whole body in the water, the son, a worse Greek scholar, but a better ecclesiastical antiquary and historian, chooses to consider it to mean sprinkling. We say that is persecution; and a law which should, of itself, inflict disherision for mere error of opinion, would be a law of persecution. Now, is that, or is that not, in substance, the Hindu Law, for which the Petitioners contend, and from which relief is sought by native Christians. We confess, it appears to us so to be, and consequently, we regard the Law as repugnant to the great fundamental principle of universal toleration, which is the rule of the British Government.

Are we right, and is the consequence for which we insist disagreeable to the general body of the Hindu people? We counsel them to reflect, in that case, on the immense profit they themselves derive from the principle. A firm and undeviating adherence to it protects them from fanaticism of which they have little conception.

Reflecting on this, let them beware how they narrow the application of the principle. Their own safety consists in the universality of its enforcement. Let them only reflect what might ultimately be the consequences to themselves of a persecution of native Christians.

Be it observed that we are only contending against a law of intolerance, and such we regard that which disinherits for religious opinions: and we rest our argument, at present, only on the one great duty and right of Government—of securing equal rights, and liberty of conscience. But there are many other considerations. The forfeiture inflicted on the native Christian results from a theory of the institution of property, which is utterly unphilosophical, barbarous, superstitious, indefensible. The institution of property ought to have in view the good of the living. The forfeiture alluded to, is a violation of this principle. To allow the interests of the living to be sacrified to those of the dead, would be unworthy a civilized Government. We are sure there are many unconverted Hindus who are sufficiently enlightened to entertain this opinion. In conclusion, let us observe, we merely throw these remarks out for reflection, and shall pursue the subject further, when we are favored with a copy of the answer of Government."

British legislators were prepared to anticipate any possible changes which might arise from the peaceable inculcation of true "religion and morals;" and to regard these changes as the "accomplishment of benevolent designs."

Now then, arising out of the present educational movements of Government itself, not less than the operations of Societies and individuals, *all of them alike sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament*, there is a reason of resistless force and efficacy. This reason has been set forth in the Minute on Indo-British Law, in the following terms:—

"What is the natural—the inevitable effect which must ensue, not merely from the directly evangelizing measures in progress, but from the success of the Government and other Educational schemes for the enlightenment of this mighty people? From the nature of the component parts of Hinduism—contrasted with the range of European Literature, Science, and Theology—is it not demonstrable, that one grand effect, wherever a high English Education is imparted, will be, the demolition of those errors which constitute at once its basis and superstructure? Is not such abstract or theoretic demonstration borne out by numberless *facts?* Listen to the testimony of one, whose experience and position in native society must invest his assertions with authority. The *Reformer*,—an English newspaper, conducted several years ago by a native Editor of rank, learning and wealth; and the organ of a large and influential body of educated Hindus,—contrasting the *visible* fruits of *ordinary* Missionary exertion with those realized by the Hindu College thus proceeded emphatically to ask:—"Has it (the Hindu College) not been the fountain of a new race of men amongst us? From that institution as from the rock from whence the mighty Ganges takes its rise, a nation is flowing in upon this desert country, to replenish its withered fields with the living waters of knowledge! *Have all the efforts of the missionaries given a tithe of that shock to the superstitions of the people which has been given by the Hindu College?* This at once shews that the means they pursue to overturn the ancient reign of idolatry is not calculated to ensure success, and ought to be abandoned for another which promises better success."

Without being at all pledged to the accuracy of this *comparative* estimate, must we not hold such *a genuine native testimony* to be conclusive as to the *operative power of a superior English Education in overturning the superstitions and idolatries of India?* If so, must not the Government perceive, into what a predicament of inconsistency it reduces itself, as well as all the friends of Native Education, if the law of inheritance and succession be not speedily ameliorated, and made co-extensive with the wants and exigencies of the entire body of the people? An awakening and enlightening knowledge is commmunicated which sweeps away the gross absurdities of Idolatry and Superstition from the minds of those who acquire it. In this land, almost all property is left, burdened with *conditions of an idolatrous and superstitious character*. Mark, then, the dilemma into which, in consequence of the Government and other Educational measures, the educated Hindu is brought! *If* he performs the superstitious or idolatrous conditions, in order to secure his property, he must, by such performance, *do violence to his reason, his conscience, and his publicly avowed sentiments*;—in a word, he *must act the part* of *a wicked and deceitful hypocrite! If*, on the other hand, he

has moral fortitude enough to resist any temptation and suffer any loss rather than submit to the sacrifice of reason, conscience aud character, he must, while the law remains unaltered, by his non-fulfilment of the superstitious and idolatrous conditions, *forfeit all right to property*;—in a word, as if the acquired possession of superior intelligence were a crime of the first magnitude, he must, in consequence of his being the happy possessor of such intelligence, submit to the infliction of one of the highest penal severities!

But, as there is in human nature an extreme repugnance to the loss of property; and as time will show, that, however much power and wealth may be flattered by the interested and the needy, a course of systematic hypocrisy must eventually call forth the contempt and indignation of an enlightened community;—what may we expect to be the operation of the present law, as it affects the *future spread* of sound knowledge and intelligence among the Natives? What can we expect except that the spread of both will be vastly and indefinitely retarded? What a solemn mockery to be, on the one hand, holding out all manner of encouragements—in the shape of salaries to qualified teachers, and stipends and scholarships to promising students — to stimulate to the pursuit and cultivation of superior knowledge and intelligence:—and on the other, by a continuance of the present law, holding out positive discouragements of a nature too appalling to fail of fatal success! And herein lies the strength of these discouragements. Superior intelligence, *if accompanied by a good conscience*, may become *penal*, by being attended with the deprivation of all one's possessions—and that too, in such trying circumstances as to loss of caste and reputation, that the immediate punishment of death might often be more tolerable. Surely that man knows little of human nature who does not perceive in this, the surest check to all *inquiry*, and the most powerful *restraint* on every *desire* to acquire or cultivate any knowledge which must, without a violation of conscience, issue in such disastrous results. The good things of this life take far too firm a hold of the heart of man, to admit of a different inference being drawn:—yea, such is the strength of that hold which the perishable treasures of this world take of all the powers and faculties of his soul, that man is not only apt to become insensible to the glories of an eternal inheritance, but apt to listen to any account of them with positive dissatisfaction; and is too often willing to forego the anticipated enjoyments of God's favour, and brave the terrors of God's wrath, rather than be induced on any account, to withdraw the strength of his affections from his present possessions.

If such be the power of opposition which the enjoyment of the good things of this life ever presents to the ready reception of all *truth*,—as opposed to error, prejudice, self-seeking, or sinful compromise—even in circumstances, the most favourable, when no demand is made but the reasonable and salutary demand, not *exclusively* to direct towards them the affections of the heart, but transfer these to a far more glorious and enduring inheritance:—who can estimate the force of resistance, which a mind, pervaded in all its powers by an almost superhuman avarice, must present to the very first proposal, as well as to the incipient desire, practically to embrace any improved system of knowledge—any scheme of unbending principle, whether human or divine—the embracement and tenure of which may involve, irrecoverably, the *total* forfeiture of all that the soul naturally most values? Accurately to estimate the power of such resistance, till the lapse of time and experience have sufficiently illustrated the awful nature of the dilemma, is altogether impossible. But it is very possible, yea, very easy, to perceive how inevitable

is the certainty of its existence;—since the slightest consideration will suffice to shew that the supposition of its non-existence would imply, that the usual processes of nature are reversed and the constitution of man unhinged —that actions the most prejudicial to every worldly interest are conducted without a motive, and extraordinary effects produced, either entirely without, or directly contrary to the ordinary operation of natural causes."

To these remarks we need add nothing farther. Only let the Government of this great empire awake to a full sense of its solemn—its tremendous responsibility—and all may yet go well with us. Among all the functions which it is called on to discharge, there is none more grave or momentous than that of sound legislation and the administration of justice. On its right fulfilment depends, in a pre-eminent degree, the peace, happiness and prosperity, social, civil and domestic, of the millions of the people. At present, we must make up our minds to the existence of at least *three* distinct codes of law amongst us—the British, Hindu, and Muhammadan. But, though distinct in some of their general features, and many of their specific details, these need no longer be opposed or contrary in their *essential spirit* or *fundamental principles*. The necessity for distinct codes, in the case of distinct races of people, springs from the obvious consideration, that laws, in order to be practically available and advantageous, must, in their general spirit, shape and complexion, be adapted or conformed to the people for whom they are framed.* "They should," says Montesquieu, "be relative to the climate of each country, to the quality of its soil, to its situation and extent, to the principal occupation of the natives, whether husbandmen, huntsmen, or shepherds; they should have a relation to the degree of liberty which the constitution will bear; to the religion of the inhabitants, to their inclinations, riches, numbers, commerce, manners and customs. In fine, they have a relation to each other, as also to their origin, to the intent of their legislator, and to the order of things on which they are established." It is on this principle that Mr. Harrington has declared that "the fixed habits, manners and prejudices, and the long-established customs of the people of India, formed under the spirit and administration of an arbitrary government, totally opposite in principle and practice to that of England, would not admit of a more general application of British

* On this particular point, some able and excellent remarks lately appeared in the Editorial columns of the *Star*, which, if the present article had not already exceeded the bounds originally prescribed to it, we would willingly have inserted here. It is to be hoped that the learned writer will again return to the important subject, and, bringing all his forensic lore to bear upon it, endeavour not merely to enforce the principle, but to exemplify its application with reference to new and improved systems of Legislative and Administrative Policy.

laws to the inhabitants of this country: nor would such laws be suitable or applicable, if they could be also extended, to a people whose religion, laws, customs and manners, have hitherto fixed such insuperable barriers to all assimilation." In the same strain, Mr. Verelst writes of the impossibility of introducing English laws, as the general standard of judicial decision in these provinces, without violating the fundamental principle of all civil law, that they ought to be "suitable to the genius of the people, and to all the circumstances in which they may be placed."

But though, for these and such like reasons, we must, in the meanwhile, make up our minds to the necessity of several distinct though not essentially antagonistic codes, there is no reason whatever why such necessity should always continue to exist. Quite the contrary. Under the shadowing wings of a paternal Government, let all arbitrary, capricious, and barbarous enactments be gradually softened, modified or removed; let there be a wholesome and almost insensible infusion of the spirit and principles of a civilized jurisprudence; let the minds of the people be at the same time opened up, developed, and regulated by "the means and appliances" of vivifying and illumining knowledge; let the vital heat and energy thus imperceptibly imparted at length diffuse itself throughout all the members of the body-politic, till the clustering assemblage of antiquated manners, customs, and usages begin to relax and drop away like molten feathers;—and then, may the long wished-for day arrive, when, through the assimilation of the different races of inhabitants in improved sentiment and feeling, all existing laws may be amalgamated in one consistent and harmonious code, extending equally to British, Muhammadans and Hindus—to East Indians, Armenians and Parsis—to the entire body of Native Christians, with the various indigenous races that now roam the forest or traverse the wilderness. When this auspicious era once dawns on a distracted and benighted land, all these names, now indicative of the presence of essential generic differences and immiscible elements, shall either merge into one common appellation of universal brotherhood, or cease to import aught beyond the slightest external diversities, of a purely denominational or territorial character. To hasten on its glorious manifestation should be the stedfast aim and untiring effort of all the true friends of India and of the world at large. Let all lawful instrumentalities, whether of a higher or lower grade, be put under requisition!—Let enterprise, with its stirring activities, open up new fields for speculation and research. Let busy commerce, by

creating new wants, furnishing new supplies, and summoning into being the dormant resources of all lands, encourage the industry, multiply the comforts, and augment the temporal happiness of the nations. Let secular philanthropy every where display its unrelaxing energy in the establishment of schools, hospitals, and other humanizing institutions. Let Science and Philosophy, in the discharge of their important office, continue to explore the secret recesses of the mental economy, ransack the earth and traverse the visible heavens—calling forth from all, their hidden treasures of useful knowledge and practical wisdom. Let Revelation, in fulfilment of its lofty mission, scatter with large and bountiful hand, all minor blessings, in its march and progress towards the attainment of infinitely higher and nobler ends. Let all available human agencies, superior and subordinate, in friendly alliance, co-operate in furthering the mighty renovative process !—Let the men of wealth freely and ungrudgingly contribute from their superabounding stores. Let the men of official rank and power lend the *prestige* of their sanction and the weight of their influence. Let the men whose talent consists not in wealth, or rank or power, but in the possession of high character and moral worth, shed around them the brightening radiance of a spotless example. Let the ministers of salvation, in the unwearied exercise of their high and holy calling, be ever found where ignorance and error plead for the impartation of knowledge and of truth—cruelty and revenge, for the interposition of meekness and mercy—superstition and its teeming brood, for faith and all the heavenly charities—sin and disease, for the application of the "balm of Gilead" and the healing of the great Physician. Above all, with more especial reference to the subject of this article, let the Supreme Government of these realms, "prove faithful to the God of providence by dealing out perfect righteousness and judgment to the multitudes over whom it has, in a way so marvellous and unprecedented, been constituted the protector and the guardian ;—and the God of providence will smile propitious on its efforts, and render its administration a source and surety of abounding prosperity to itself—a guarantee of reviving hope to the millions of the present generation—a fount of reversionary bliss to future myriads, who, as they rise in long succession, may joyously hail the continued waving of the British sceptre, as the surest pledge of the continued enjoyment of their dearest rights and noblest privileges !"

ART V.—1. *Asiatic Annual Register. Oude State Papers.*

2. *Minutes of Evidence. Volume VI. Political Affairs of the East India Company.*

3. *Hamilton's Rohilla Affghans. A. D.* 1787. *London.*

4. *Butter's Topography and Statistics of Southern Oude, Calcutta :* 1839.

5. *Imad-ool-Saadut, by Golam Ally Ruzwee. Persian Manuscript.*

THE publications placed at the head of this article, are all familiar, at least by name, to Indian readers; but we must say a few words respecting the Persian manuscript, the title of which we have given. Golam Ally's work was prepared under the instructions of Colonel Baillie, for several years Resident in Oude. It is a chronicle of the lives of Saadut Khan, and his successors, written during the viceroyalty of one of them, Saadut Ali. Two copies having fallen into our hands, we bring the work to public notice, rather as a curiosity than for any intrinsic value it possesses. If history, as written in Europe, contains little to improve the heart or ripen the judgment, what can be said of Oriental annals? They seldom contain more than fulsome panegyrics on those in power, mingled with interminable details of slaughters, of countries lost, or provinces acquired. These records are a catalogue of Kings, Generals and Ministers, and bestow not a thought or a word on the people whose transfer from one chief to another is mentioned with as much indifference as if the human livestock were so many head of cattle. Golam Ally's book is no remarkable exception to the rule. Doctor Butter's "Outlines" is a very creditable little volume. It is one of a series of Reports prepared under the authority of the Bengal Medical Board, and published by order of the Goverment of India. It contains much valuable statistical information concerning the southern districts of Oude. Had we such a volume on each district, or even province of India, the country would be better known.

No portion of India has been more discussed in England than Oude. Affghanistan and the Punjab are modern questions, but for half a century, country gentlemen have been possessed of a vague idea of a province of India, nominally independent in its home relations, but periodically used as a wet-nurse to relieve the difficulties of the East India Company's finances.* The

* "The King of Oude's sauce," has found its way into London shops, and even Charles O'Malley's "Man for Galway" tells us that" The King of Oude is mighty proud."

several attacks that were made on Warren Hastings, Lord Wellesley, and the Marquis of Hastings, have all served to keep up the interest of the Oude question. Scarcely had the case of the plundered Begums and flagellated eunuchs been decided, and the folios of evidence elicited by Warren Hastings' trial been laid before the public, than proceedings scarcely less voluminous appeared regarding the territorial cessions extorted by Lord Wellesley. These were followed in turn by attacks on Lord Hastings' loan measures, with the several vindications of his Lordship's policy. We are among those unfashionable people who consider that politics and morals can never be safely separated; that an honest private individual must necessarily be an honest official, and *vice versa;* but we confess that we have been staggered by a study of Oude transactions. Most assuredly Warren Hastings, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Wellesley, Lord Hastings, and Lord Auckland would never have acted in private life, as they did in the capacity of Governors towards prostrate Oude. Lord W. Bentinck, and Lords Cornwallis, Minto, and Ellenborough, appear to have been the only Governors-General who did not take advantage of the weakness of that country to dismember it or increase its burthens.

The earliest offender against Oude was Warren Hastings. Mr. Gleig undertakes to give a true and correct picture of Mr. Hastings' private character and public administration. With the former we have here nothing to do, beyond remarking that the very lax morality of the clerical biographer, when treating of domestic life, vitiates his testimony, and renders his judgment on questions of public justice valueless. Mr. Gleig's theory, moreover, that the wrong which is done for the public good is a justifiable wrong, tends to upset the whole doctrine of right. When he vindicates his hero by asserting that, "if Mr. Hastings was corrupt, it was to advance the interests of England that he practised his corruption," and proceeds in a similar strain, of what he seems to consider, exculpation, he asperses the illustrious person he would defend, far more than do Mr. Hastings' worst enemies. We have *a higher* opinion of Hastings than his biographer appears to have had, but we have *a very different* opinion from that of Mr. Gleig regarding the duty of a Governor-General. Thorough going vindication such as Mr. Gleig's does far more injury to the memory of a sagacious and far-seeing, though unscrupulous, ruler like Warren Hastings, than all the vehement denunciations of Mill the historian. Oude affords but a discreditable chapter in our Indian annals, and furnishes a fearful warning of the lengths to which a statesman may be carried, when once he substitutes expediency and his own view

of public advantage, for the simple rule of right and wrong. The facts furnished by every writer on Oude affairs, all testify to the same point, that British interference with that Province has been as prejudicial to its Court and people as it has been disgraceful to the British name. To quote the words of Colonel Sutherland, an able and temperate writer, "there is no State in India with whose Government we have interfered so systematically and so uselessly as with that of Oude." He most justly adds, "this interference has been more in favour of men than of measures;" a remark, by the way, applicable to almost every case in which our Government has intermeddled with Native States. It is through such measures that Moorshedabad, Tanjore, and Arcot, have perished beneath our hands. Nagpoor we were obliged to nurse for a time; Hyderabad is again "in articulo mortis," and Mysore is under strict medical treatment. At Sattara, we are obliged to put down the puppet we had put up. Kholapore, another principality of our fostering, has, for nearly a twelvemonth, given employment for more troops than its revenues will pay in twenty years. Already, and almost before the ink of the subsidiary treaty is dry, the regular troops at Gwalior have been employed in police duties. The Minister of our selection has had his life threatened; and we are, again, in the predicament of being pledged to support a Government, whose misdeeds we cannot effectually controul. In short, wherever we turn, we see written in distinct characters the blighting influences of our interference.

The only unmixed advantage of despotism is its energy, arising from its indivisibility. An able and virtuous despot may dispense happiness; the same ruler, saddled not only with a Minister but with a Resident, can only diffuse wretchedness. He has no possible motive for exertion. He gets no credit for his good acts, and he is not master in his own country. Much casuistry was expended some years ago, on the defence of the Dewani and double government system, which, was at best, but one of the poor cloaks of expediency, and was gradually thrown off as our strength increased. The subsidiary and protected system is, if possible, worse. If ever there was a device for insuring malgovernment, it is that of a Native Ruler and Minister, both relying on foreign bayonets, and directed by a British Resident. Even if all three were able, virtuous, and considerate, still the wheels of Government could hardly move smoothly. If it be difficult to select one man, European or Native, with all the requisites for a just administrator, where are three, who can, and will, work together, to be found? Each of the three may work incalculable mischief, but no one of them *can* do good if thwarted

by the others. It is almost impossible for the Minister to be faithful and submissive to his Prince, and at the same time honest to the British Government; and how rarely is the European officer to be found who, with ability to guide a Native State, has the discretion and good feeling to keep himself in the back ground—to prompt and sustain every salutary measure within his reach, while he encourages the Ruler and Minister by giving them all the credit—to be the adviser and not the master—to forget self in the good of the people and of the protected Sovereign! Human nature affords few such men, and therefore, were there no other reason, we should be chary of our interference. From Tanjore to Gwalior the system has been tried, and every where has equally failed. In Oude each new reign has required a new treaty to patch up the system. Having little legitimate scope for ambition, the sovereigns have alternately employed themselves in amassing and in squandering treasure. The hoards of Saadut Ally were divided among fiddlers and buffoons: the penurious savings of the late King have been little more creditably employed by his successor: and the Government of Oude, like that of the Deccan, is now as bankrupt in purse, as in character. And yet there are men who advocate interference with Native States! Satisfied as we are of the evils of the system, and desirous, by a record of the past to offer a beacon for the future, we shall present a brief sketch of Oude affairs, and will then venture to suggest the policy which under existing circumstances, appears fittest for our Government to adopt.

We will first briefly set before our readers a sketch of the kingdom of Oude, as it was and as it is.

Ajoodhya, or Oude, is celebrated in Hindoo legends as the kingdom of Dasaratha, the father of Rama, who extended his conquests to Ceylon and subdued that island. The Mahomedan invaders at an early period conquered Oude, and it remained, with fewer changes than almost any other province of India, an integral portion of the Mogul empire until the dissolution of that unwieldy Government. Under the Delhi Kings, the Soubadaree, including what are now the British districts of Goruckpore and Azimghur, comprehended an area about one-fourth greater than the limits of the present kingdom. Abulfazel states, that "the length, from Sircar Goruckpore to Kinoje, includes 135 coss; and the breadth, from the northern mountains of Seddehpore to the Soobah of Allahabad comprises 115 coss."

During the decadence of the Delhi empire, the Visiers Saadut Khan and Sufder Jung, each employed his power, as

minister of the pageant King, to increase the bounds of the Oude viceroyalty. Both cast greedy glances on Rohilcund, and Sufder Jung made many attempts at its acquisition; but it was not till the time of Shooja-oo-doulah that it became subject to Oude. The dominions of that prince, when he first came in contact with the British Government, extended over the greatest portion of Soubah Allahabad, including the districts of Benares and Ghazeepoor. While our troops defended Allahabad and Oude proper, he took advantage of the absence of the Mahrattahs in the Deccan to seize and occupy the middle Doab, or districts of Futtehpoor, Cawnpoor, Etawah, and Mynpooree, close up to Agra. During the ensuing year, Colonel Champion's brigade, by the decisive battle of Kutterah near Bareilly, placed the province of the Rohilcund at his feet, and enabled him to seize Furruckabad as a fief. Thus Soojah-oo-doulah not only owed his existence as a sovereign to the clemency, or perhaps to the fears, of his conquerors after the battle of Buxar, but his subsequent accessions of territory were the fruits of British prowess. He left his successor a territory paying annually not less than three millions of money, and capable of yielding double that sum. On the conquest of Rohilcund, in 1774, he at first rented that province at two millions; but it yearly deteriorated, so that not a quarter of that amount was obtained from it when ceded to the British in 1801. The cessions then made were estimated at 1,35,23,474 Rs. or, in round numbers, at one and a third million of money, being above half the Oude possessions; but, by improvement and good management, the ceded districts can scarcely yield, at the present time, less than two and a half millions. The area of the Oude reserved dominions is estimated to contain 23,923 square miles. They are bounded on the North and N. E. by the Nepal mountains; South and S. W. by the River Ganges; East and S. E. by the British districts of Goruckpore, Azimghur, Juanpoor, and Allahabad; and West by Rohilcund. The kingdom is very compact, averaging about two hundred miles in length by one hundred and twenty in breadth. Lucknow, the capital, in N. Latitude 26° 51′ and Longitude 80° 50′, is admirably situated on the navigable river Goomtee, nearly in the centre of the kingdom. The Oude dominions form an almost unbroken plain. The general flow of the rivers is towards the South East. The Ganges, the Gogra, the Sai, and the Goomtee, are all navigable throughout their respective courses within the Oude territory, but owing to the long unsettled state of the country, and the impositions practised on traders, the three last are little used, and, even on the Ganges, few boatmen like to frequent the Oude bank, for

fear of being plundered in one shape or other. The population is estimated at three millions, four-fifths of whom, perhaps, are Hindoos, and they furnish the best disciplined Infantry in India. Three-fourths of the Bengal Native Infantry come from Oude, and recruiting parties from Bombay are sometimes seen to the East of the Ganges.

A few remarks on the past and present capital of Oude, the only part of their dominions which Indian rulers much regard, will not be out of place here.

The ancient city of Ajoodhya, which either receives its name from the province, or gives its own name to it, must, even from present appearances, have been a place of prodigious extent, though we do not pledge ourselves to the *precise* accuracy of the dimensions given by Abulfazel, who states its length at 148 coss, and its breadth at 36 coss. Ajoodhya is a place of Hindoo pilgrimage, and is situated on the south side of the river Gogra, in N. Latitude 26° 48′, and E. Longitude 82° 4′. Its ruins still extend along the banks of the stream, till they meet the modern, but already decayed, city of Fyzabad. This last town, Shoojah-oo-doulah made his capital, and adorned with some fine buildings, but it was abandoned by his successor, Asoph-oo-doulah, and has consequently fallen into decay, and bears little trace of any former magnificence. Lucknow, the present capital, consists of an old, and a new city adjoining each other; the former, like other native towns, is filthy, ill-drained, and ill-ventilated. The modern city, situated along the south bank of the river Goomtee, is strikingly different, consisting of broad and airy streets, and containing the Royal Palaces and gardens; the principal Mussulman religious buildings; the British Residency, and the houses of the various English Officers connected with the Court. This part of Lucknow is both curious and splendid, and altogether unlike the other great towns of India, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan. There is a strange dash of European architecture among its oriental buildings. Travellers have compared the place to Moscow and to Constantinople, and can easily fancy the resemblance. Gilded domes, surmounted by the crescent; tall, slender pillars; lofty colonnades; houses that look as if they had been transplanted from Regent Street; iron railings and balustrades; cages, some containing wild beasts, others filled with "strange, bright birds;" gardens, fountains and cypress trees; elephants, camels and horses; gilt litters and English barouches; all these form a dazzling picture. We once observed at Lucknow a royal carriage drawn by eight elephants, and another with twelve horses. Yet, brilliant and picturesque as Lucknow is, still there is a

puerility and want of stability about it, characteristic enough of its monarchs. The Shah Nujeef or royal Imam-bara, forms a striking feature in the group of buildings, half Frank, half Asiatic, that meets the eye, after passing through the Room-i-durwaza,* a gateway, said to be built on the model of one at Constantinople. The Imam-bara is a lofty and well proportioned building. Hamilton gives the dimensions of the centre room as 167 feet long, by 52 wide, but its contents resemble those of a huge auction room or toy-shop, where the only object is to stow away as much incongruous splendour as possible. Mirrors, chandeliers, gigantic candlesticks, banners, manuscripts, brocades, weapons of all sorts, models of buildings, gaudy pictures, and a thousand other things, all bespeak a ruler who possesses wealth, without knowing how to employ it. That this is no mere vague assertion our readers will believe, from the fact that Asoph-oo-doulaw expended £150,000 sterling on double barrelled guns, a million of money on mirrors and chandeliers, and 160,000 gold mohurs, or £320,000, on a single taziah.†

The Fureed Buksh palace is a place of some interest. In 1837, it was the scene of the only insurrection which has occurred during our connexion with Oude. The event, though recent, is comparatively forgotten, for the tumult was promptly crushed. With less energetic measures there might have been a rehearsal of the Cabul tragedy. On the night of the 7th July, 1837, when Nusseer-oo-deen expired, the Badshahi Begum forcibly placed on the throne the boy, Moona Jan. During the twelve hours' tumult that ensued, the Resident, his suite and the rightful heir to the throne, were all in the hands of an infuriated mob. Armed soldiers with lighted torches and lighted matchlocks in their hands, held possession of the palace, stalked throughout its premises, and spared no threats against the British authorities, if they did not assent to the installation of their creature, Moona Jan. The nearest succour had to come five miles from the cantonment. Five companies of Sepoys, with four guns, however, soon arrived. The Resident managed to join his friends. He then gave the insurgents one quarter of an hour's grace. When that had expired, the guns opened,—a few rounds of grape were thrown into the disorderly mass, who thronged the palace and its enclosures. Morning dawned on an altered scene; the rioters had succumbed or dispersed; the dead were removed; the palace was cleared out; and, by ten o'clock in the forenoon,

* Gate of *Room* or Constantinople.

† Model of the Tomb of the Martyr Hoossein.

the aged, infirm, and trembling heir to the crown was seated on the throne that, at midnight, had been occupied by the usurper. The Resident placed the crown on the new King's head, and the event was announced to the people of Lucknow by the very guns which a few hours before had carried death and consternation among the Oude soldiery.

The Fureed Buksh palace is built close to the Goomtee, and viewed from the opposite side of that river, has a very pleasing effect. But within, there is nothing to satisfy the eye or the mind. Enormous sums have been expended in decorating the rooms, but all these luxuries give the idea of having been collected from the love of possessing not from the desire of using them. The apartments are so crammed that there is no judging of their height or proportion. The room containing the throne is long and has a dismal appearance. It is laid out after the European fashion, with glass windows and scarlet cloth curtains, but these are dirty, musty and moth eaten. The throne itself must be of great value; it is a large, square seat, raised several steps from the ground. The sides are, if we remember right, of silver, richly chased, and gilt, set with a profusion of precious stones. Of these, many were plundered during the insurrection mentioned above, as they have not been replaced, the throne, with all its splendours, partakes of the prevaling air of incompleteness.

The neighbourhood of Lucknow, still more than its interior, differs from other cities of Hindoostan. At Delhi, Agra, and elsewhere, one is struck with the bleak, desolate aspect of the country, up to the very walls. Lucknow, on the contrary, is surrounded by gardens, parks and villas, belonging to the King and his nobles. Besides these, there is the fine park and house of Constantia, the property of the late General Martine. The life and death of this soldier of fortune, are illustrative of Indian, and especially of Oude politics. He bequeathed £100,000 to found a school at Calcutta to be called La Martiniere, and a sum nearly equal in amount for a like institution at Lucknow. Martine's will shews his estimate of Saadut Ali's conscience. He dreaded lest his estate of Constantia, where he intended the school to be built, should be seized by the Nawab after his death. A Mussulman might violate property, and even frustrate charitable intentions, but he would reverence a grave. The General, therefore, ordered that his own body should be interred in one of the underground apartments of his house, thus consecrating the whole building as a tomb. The buildings intended for the Lucknow chartible institution are now, after

the lapse of nearly half a century, in progress of erection; and we hope ere long to see the Lucknow Martiniere diffusing the blessings of education through the Oude territory.

The soil of Oude is generally fertile, though light; when properly cultivated and watered, it is capable of producing all crops. Not only are rice, wheat, barley, with the many kind of vetches, and oil plants grown, but opium, sugar-cane, and indigo are produced. From the numerous large rivers and numberless small streams as well as the the proximity of water in wells, irrigation, that first necessary to the Indian farmer, is easy and cheap. Indeed, in no division of India has nature done more for the people; in none has man done less. Elsewhere, famine, cholera, and the invader's swords have reduced gardens to wastes; but to no such causes can the progressive deterioration of Oude be attributed. For eighty years the country has not known foreign war; the fertility of the soil and its facilities of irrigation have usually averted from this province the famines that have desolated other parts of the country; and its general salubrity is not to be surpassed by any portion of India. What then has laid waste whole districts, driven the inhabitants to emigration, or, still worse, compelled them, like beasts of prey, to take refuge in the forests, and abandon their habitations to the stranger and to the licensed plunderer? The answer is easily given. A double Government. An irresponsible ruler, ridden by a powerless pro-consul.

It may seem that we are exaggerating the evils of the system. Theoretically, it might be argued that a King, freed from all fear of foreign aggression, secured from domestic insurrection, and commanding a large, and what might be, an unencumbered revenue, would have leisure for the duties of a good ruler, and would make it his ambition to leave some record of himself in the grateful remembrance of his people. Experience, however, proves that slavery, even though its fetters may be concealed or gilded, works the same mischievous effects on nations as on individuals. Independent freedom of action is as necessary to develope the powers of the mind as those of the body. The Roman system very much resembled that which has hitherto prevailed in British India. The Roman Provinces were gradually broken into the yoke. The subject Kings, shorn of their independance, and bereft of all means of good government, were continued for a time, until each voluntarily surrendered his load of care, or until the outraged people called aloud for absorption. That which was the result of a systematic plan with Rome, has arisen chiefly from a fortuitous combination of

circumstances with Great Britain. During our weakness, we made treaties that have been a dead weight on our strength. These original arrangements have often dishonoured us, and have generally proved grievous to our protegees. Human nature is much the same in the East as in the West. The same principle holds good with nations as with individuals. The man, whether King or servant, who has no fears, has no hopes. The man who is not called on for exertion must be almost more than mortal if he bestir himself. We see the principle daily exemplified: the child born to competence, seldom distinguishes himself in life, while the beggar stripling often reaches the top of the ladder. Subject states and guaranteed rulers, now as of old, verify the same remark; and no better example can be offered than that of Oude. It has had men of more than average ability, and of at least average worth, as rulers and ministers, who, if left to themselves, would have been compelled in self-defence, to shew some consideration for the people they governed. Failing to do so, their exactions would have called into play the rectifying principle of Asiatic monarchies, and the Dynasty of Saadut Khan would long since have become extinct. But, protected by British bayonets, the degenerate rulers have felt secure to indulge in all the vices generated by their condition; sacrificing alike the welfare of their subjects and the character of the lord paramount.

Our arrangements, in Oude as elsewhere, have been the more mischievous because they have been invariably incomplete. Lord Wellesley's great measure was a most arbitrary one, but, if thoroughly carried out, in the spirit in which it was conceived, would only have injured one individual. Saadut Ali, alone, would have suffered; his subjects would have gained by it. But unhappily in Oude, as in other parts of India, one Governor-General and one Agent decrees and others carry out, or rather fail to carry out, their views. Not only does no systematic plan of action prevail, but no such thing as a general system of policy is recognized. The only portion of Lord Wellesley's treaty that was thoroughly carried out, was that of increasing the subsidy to 135 lakhs, and seizing territory to cover this enormously increased subsidy. In all other points, we played fast and loose, going on the usual see-saw practice which depends so much on the digestion of the local Resident and the policy of the Governor-General of the day. Saadut Ali, according to all report, was an extremely able, and naturally, by no means an ill-disposed, man. Learned, intelligent, and studious, he was one of the few rulers of Oude, who have been personally capable of managing

their country, and yet, practically, he was more meddled with, than even his silly predecessor, and very much more so than the silliest of his successors.

The British Government came to the reformation of Saadut Ali's administration with dirty hands. They commenced by depriving him of half his dominions, and could therefore hardly expect that their advice regarding the remainder should be kindly taken. Nor was it so; Saadut Ali's talents were henceforth employed in obtaining all the advantage he could from the Resident's presence, and in procuring from him the use of British troops to collect his revenues, while at the same time, he treated him and his advice with all the neglect and dislike that he dared to shew. The consequence was, that the British Government and its Agent were wearied out, and failed to enforce the very provision of the treaty which, at all hazards, should have been primarily attended to. In the acquisition of one-half the Oude territory we seemed to forget that we had become responsible for the good management of the other half. Having secured our subsidy, we not only abandoned the people of the reserved Oude dominion, but lent our bayonets to fleece them; and Saadut Ali who, under a different system, might have consecrated his energies to the improvement of his country, lived merely to extract every possible Rupee from his rack-rented people. It is hardly a stretch of imagination to conceive him deliberately blackening the British character by the use he made of their name in revenge for his wrongs, real and supposed. Mr. Maddock has recorded, that "His temper was soured by the perpetual opposition (thus) engendered, and his rule, though vigorous and efficient, was disfigured by cruelty and rapacity."

Such is the present misrule of Oude that, odious as was the revenue system of Saadut Ali, it is now remembered with considerable respect. Doctor Butter repeatedly refers to his reign as the period when there was some law in the land, "but since his death, no court of justice has been held by 'the Nawabs, and the Chakledars attend to nothing but 'finance." Further on he says, "during the reign of Saadut 'Ali, a single cannon-shot could not be fired by a Chackledar 'without being followed by immediate enquiry from Lucknow 'as to its cause: now a Chackledar may continue firing for a 'month without question." Again, "since the death of Nawab 'Saadut Ali, in 1814, no lease has been granted for more 'than one year." Thus the period which, not only the Resident of the day but, the Military Officers employed in Oude designated as a reign of terror, is now remembered as one of comparative mercy and tranquillity. Saadut Ali, being

a man of ability, plundered for himself; his imbecile successors suffer their minions to devastate the land. Under Saadut Ali there was one tyrant; now there are at least as many as there are local officers. Saadut Ali left his dungeons full of his ex-amils, and fourteen millions of money and jewels in his coffers.

Sir John Malcolm somewhere remarks that the quality of a Native Government may be estimated by the character of its district officers, and the infrequency of change among them. He might have offered a more brief and even a better criterion in "the revenue system." Throughout India, the land is the source of Revenue. Under almost every Native Government, the collections are farmed, and in no part of India are these vicious arrangements so viciously carried out as in Oude. On one occasion we were personally witness to a defaulting village being carried by storm; seven or eight of the inhabitants were killed and wounded, and all the rest were taken captive by the amil. Such occurrences are frequent.* While we write we observe in the daily papers, a detailed account of the death in battle of the amil of Burailch, and of the victorious Talookdar having, in consequence, taken to the bush, to be a felon probably for life, or at least until he pay the blood-money at Court. Year by year several of the largest landholders are thus temporarily outlawed. No man owning a fortalice thinks of paying the public revenue, until a force, large or small, is brought against him. Barely indeed is the sum demanded conformable to the agreement made. The demand almost invariably depends on the nature of the crop, and on the Zemindar's means, real or supposed, to pay or to withhold payment.

The present income of Oude may be estimated at a million and a half sterling, and it arises almost entirely from the land revenue. The fiscal divisions are arbitrary. Mr. Maddock in 1831 shewed twenty-four. Doctor Butter in 1837, twelve; and we have before us a list of twenty-five, large and small districts, obtaining during the present year. The charge of each chukla, or district, is generally sold by the Minister and his favourites to the highest bidder, or is given to a creature of his own. Lucknow bankers sometimes engage for large districts and appoint

* The injury done to British border districts by these affrays may be estimated from the fact that, on the occasion alluded to, seeing a number of armed British subjects flocking around the village, after the aumil's *army* had retired, we taxed them with participation in the fight. This they at first denied, but, on taking a matchlock from one of the men, we observed that it had been just discharged. The parties then allowed that they had come to join in the defence of the village, but were too late, it having been surrounded during the night and the assault made at daylight. Thus are our subjects taught club and matchlock law.

their own agents. These are by no means the worst cases, for low persons, who have risen to notice by the vilest arts, are often appointed amils. They have not only their own fortune to make, but to pay the Court bribes, while their friends remain in office; a change of Ministry turns the majority of them adrift.

The Revenue contractors have all the powers of Judge and Magistrate; they are, in short, unshackled, unchecked governors of their chuklas. Five of the present twenty-five divisions are under what is called amaunee management; that is, of salaried officers, who collect the Government rents; but this system only obtains in districts so deteriorated that no one will bid for farming them, and in such cases the Ameens are under so little check that the cultivators are at their mercy nearly as much as under the farming system. Mr. (now Sir Herbert) Maddock, in an able memorandum, published among the papers at the head of this article, shews the modes by which the situations of amils are procured, and the sort of people who in his time filled the office, including for instance, "Nawab Ameer-ood-dowlah," who has been raised to the dignity of an amil from the "very hum-'ble duties of a fiddler. His sister, formerly a concubine, or 'nauch girl, having gained the royal favour, is now one of the 'King's wives, designated by the title of "Tauj Muhul," and 'receives a Jageer, for the support of her dignity, of which her 'brother, the "Nawab Ameer-ood-Dowlah," is the manager. 'In like manner, the individual placed in charge of Annow, &c. 'was formerly the humble attendant upon nauch girls, but has 'lately been advanced to the title of "Nawab Allee Bux," 'through female influence in the palace." Sir Herbert Maddock furnishes a detailed list of nuzerana received by one Minister (Mohumud-ood-dowlah) amounting to more than seventeen lacs of rupees, and estimated that the amils share among them nearly fifty lakhs of rupees yearly.

Matters are far from improved since Sir Herbert Maddock wrote. The weak are still squeezed, while those who "are se-'cured by forts and backed by troops" continue to pay pretty much as they choose. The picture drawn by Sir Herbert of the career of an amil in the year 1830 stands good for the same official of to-day. Rules and rates, justice and mercy, are disregarded now, as they were then, and in his words it may still be truly said that, "a few seasons of extortion such as this lays 'waste the fields and throws a multitude upon the world, now 'almost deprived of honest means to gain subsistance. These, 'driven from their homes, betake themselves to crime, and goad-'ed by poverty, become thieves and robbers, infesting the coun-

'try on every side." "The amil or his officers, finding a year-'ly decrease of revenue, are naturally urged to further exactions, 'until, at length, the kingdom has arrived at such a crisis that 'hundreds of villages have gone to ruin, the former cultivation 'is now a waste, and the hamlets once occupied are now desert-'ed." The foregoing brief quotation is as applicable to the state of the police, and of the revenue, at the present day, as it was when Sir H. Maddock wrote. In the year 1806 when several gentlemen were examined before Parliament, on the Oude question, Major Ouseley, an Aid-de-Camp, and personal friend of the reigning Nawab, Saadut Ali, testified to the infamous state of the police. The evidence of all others was to the same effect.

Sir H. Maddock, Dr. Butter, and all modern writers, shew that the condition of the police is now, to the full, as bad as it was half a century ago. The latter gentleman states "that no-thing is said about a murder or a robbery; and, consequently, crime of all kinds has become much more frequent, especially within the last sixteen years, and in the smaller towns and vil-lages. Gang-robbery, of both houses and travellers, by bands of 200 and 300 men, has become very common. In most parts of Oude, disputes about land, and murders thence originating, are of very frequent occurrence; feuds are thus kept up, and all opportunities of vengeance laid hold of." Again, "Pipar, five 'miles N. N. E. of Gonda in Amethi, contains a population of '4000 ch'hatris who are robbers, by profession and inheri-'tance: every bullock and horse stolen in this part of Oude, 'find its way to Pipar." Also, "Sarangpur ten miles south of 'Tanda, has a population of 9000 Hindu thieves, dakoits, (gang-'robbers,) and t'hugs, whose depredations extend as far as 'Lak'hnau, Gorak'hpur, and Benares." In the same page, it is stated that "In November 1834, Tanda, and its neighbour-'hood were plundered by the notorious freebooter Fatteh 'Bahadoor of Doarka, who surprised and defeated the Faujdar, 'and a toman of 100 men stationed there, and carried off 'about 100 of the principal inhabitants, who on pain of death, 'were compelled to procure their own ransom, at sums varying 'from 50 to 400 Rupees. Of this outrage no notice was taken by 'the Government."

The Army is in much the same condition as it was when Sir James Craig declared that it would be useful only to the enemy. It is dangerous to the well being of the state; utterly useless for war, most mischievous during peace. In round numbers the Army may now be estimated at fifty-two thousand men, and its

expence at thirty-two lakhs of Rupees yearly.* Doctor Butter's account, written in 1837, describes its present condition with sufficient accuracy.

"The Army of Oude, excluding the brigade raised by Local 'Colonel Roberts, is an ill-paid, undisciplined rabble, employed 'generally coercing, under the Chakledar's orders, the "refrac-'tory" Zemindars of his districts; in conveying to Lak'hnau, under 'the exclusively military orders of their own officers, the revenue 'when levied; and occasionally, in opposing the armies of plun-'derers, who harass the eastern districts of Oude." And, again, "The nominal pay of the Sipahi is four rupees, but he receives 'only three, issued once in every three or four months, and kept 'much in arrears; he has also to find his own arms and ammu-'nition. He gets no regular leave to his home, but takes it 'occasionally for ten or fifteen days at a time; and little notice 'is taken of his delinquency by the tumandar. There is a 'muster, once in every five or six months; and the man, who 'is absent from it, gets no pay."

"This army has no fixed cantonments, no parades, no drill, 'and no tactical arrangement: when one pultan is fighting, 'another may be cooking. Encounters hand to hand are thought 'disreputable, and distant cannonading preferred, or a desultory 'match-lock fire, when no artillery is available. There is no 'pension or other provision for the severely wounded who, *de* '*facto*, are out of the service, and return to their homes as they 'can." * * * * "They have no tents; but when they make a 'halt, if only for two days, they build huts for themselves, cover-'ing them with roofs torn from the next villages."

We refer to Colonel Sleeman's little volume "On the Spirit of Military Discipline," pages 10 and 11, for a very striking anecdote, exemplifying at once the Oude Revenue System and the value of its present military force.

Having thus, from sources sufficiently independent, set forth the past and present condition of the finance, police, and military system of Oude, we shall now offer a brief historical sketch of the progressive causes of this condition.

Saadut Khan, the founder of the Oude dynasty, was one of the many bold spirits that came from the Westward to seek their fortunes in Hindostan. He combined with the usual qualities of a good Soldier, the rarer talents required for an able administrator. Mr. Elphinstone has fallen into the error of earlier historians in calling him a Merchant: he was, in reality, of

* There are, also, not less than a hundred thousand armed men, employed by the Talookdars and Zemindars, to defend their forts and fight *against* the Government.

noble birth, and his original name was Mahommed Ameen. In the year 1705, while still but a lad, he arrived at Patna, to join his father and elder brother, who had preceded him thither. On his arrival, finding the former dead, he and his brother proceeded to push their fortunes at Delhi. His first service was with Nawab Sirbulund Khan, whom, however, he soon quitted, resenting a taunt uttered by his Master on occasion of some trifling neglect. The youth took his way to Court, where he soon acquired favour; and having materially assisted his imbecile Sovereign in getting rid of Hosein Ali, (the younger of the Syuds of Bara, who were at that time dragooning the King,) Mahommed Ameen was rapidly promoted to the Vice-royalty of Oude, with the title of Saadut Khan. He found the Province in great disorder, but soon reduced the refractory spirits and greatly increased the revenue. He protected the husbandmen, but crushed the petty Chiefs who aimed at independance.

Modern historians question the fact of Saadut Khan having, in concert with Nizam-ool-moolk, invited Nadir Shah's invasion. We have not room to detail the evidence on which, our opinion rests, but a careful comparison of authorities leads us to believe that he was guilty of this treacherous deed. The atrocities committed by Nadir are familiar matters of history. The traitor Chiefs did not escape, and Nizam-ool-Moolk and Saadut Khan were especially vexed with requisitions. They were not only themselves plundered, but were made the instruments of extorting treasure from the distant Provinces. Nizam-ool-Moolk, jealous of the power and ability of Saadut, took advantage of the persecutions of Nadir Shah to execute a plan for getting rid of his rival. He affected to confide to him his own determination of suicide, and agreed with Saadut Khan that each should take poison. The latter drank his cupfull, and left the hoary schemer without a rival in the Empire.*

Saadut Khan, who had but a few years before been a needy adventurer, and had now been plundered by Nadir Shah, was still enabled to leave his successor a large treasure, estimated by some at nine millions of money. Though he accumulated so much wealth, he has not left behind him the character of an oppressor. On the contrary, he seems rather to have respected the poor, and to have restricted his exactions to the rich. He

* Mr. Elphinstone, noticing the current story of Saadut Khan's death, and of his and Asoph Jah's (Nizam-ool-Moolk) having called in Nadir, observes, "these fictions, like many others which are believed in times of agitation, disappear when full light is thrown on the period." We regret to say that this "full light" has yet to appear.

overthrew many lordlings, and established in their stead one stronger, and therefore better, rule. No qualms of conscience stood in his way. The aggrandizement of his own family was his one object, in furtherance of which he was regardless alike of gratitude, loyalty or patriotism. So long as his own territory escaped, he cared not that Persian or Mahratta should ravage the empire, and humble the monarch, in whose weakness he found his own strength. He reaped much as he had sown; his ability and management established a sovereignty; his faithlessness brought him to a premature and ignominious end. He proved no exception to the rule, that they who are busiest in entrapping others are themselves the easiest deluded.

On the death of Saadut Khan, his two nephews, Sher Jung and Sufder Jung, each applied to the all-powerful Nadir Shah for the investiture of Oude; the petition of the latter, who had married Saadut Khan's daughter, being backed by the Hindoo Vakeel of the late Viceroy, with an offer of a Nuzzur of two millions sterling, he was of course invested with the Government.* Nawab Sufder Jung was accounted an able ruler; for a time he sustained the tottering authority of the King of Delhi. In the year 1743 his son, Shoojah-ul-dowlah was married to the Bhow Begum, who, in after days became so conspicuous in Anglo-Oude annals. On Nadir Shah's death, Ahmed Shah Abdalli seized the throne of Affghanistan, invaded India, and killed the Vizier Kumer-ood-deen Khan at Sirhind. At this juncture Sufder Jung distinguished himself by his zeal and ability. Mahomed Shah the emperor of Delhi dying shortly after, his son Ahmed Shah appointed Sufder Jung to the post of Vizier; that nobleman also retaining his Viceroyalty of Oude. The first design of the new Vizier was, in 1746, against the Rohillahs, who were troublesome neighbours to his Oude viceroyalty. The period was favourable to his views; for Ali Mahommed, the founder of the Rohillah family, was dead, and Sufder Jung induced Kaim Khan† Bungush, the Affghan Chief of Furrukhabad, to conduct the war against his countrymen. Kaim Khan fell in the cause of his ally, who, in return, plundered his widow and seized the family jagheer, giving a pension to Ahmed Khan, the brother of the deceased chief. The Vizier made over his new acquisition, with the province of Oude, to his Deputy Rajah Newul Roy, and himself proceeded to Delhi.

* Indian Historians generally call these two millions cash taken from Saadut Khan, but, after comparing many authorities, we believe ours to be the correct version.

† The fine village, or rather town, of Kaimgunje in Furruckhabad is called after the old Chief.

It was not long before Sufder Jung tasted the bitter fruits of his own tyranny and ingratitude: the train of disaffection was laid, and a spark soon kindled it.

An Affghan woman of the Afredi tribe, who gained her livelihood by spinning thread, was maltreated by a Hindoo soldier of Newul Roy. She went direct to Ahmed Khan, the Vizier's pensioner, and crying for justice, exclaimed, "Cursed be thy turban, Ahmed Khan, who permittest an Afredi woman to be thus treated by a Kaffir. It had been better that God had given thy father a daughter than such a son as thou." Ahmed Khan was roused; in concert with bolder spirits, he plundered a rich merchant, and with the funds thus procured, raised an army, killed the Kotwal of Furrukhabad, seized the city, and, within a month, was in possession of that whole district. Rajah Newul Roy, who was a brave man, came to the rescue from Lucknow, was met near the Kalinuddy, by the Affghan army, defeated, and slain. The victors crossed the Ganges and were soon in possession of the whole viceroyalty of Oude. Sufder Jung, on hearing of the disaster that had befallen his Lieutenant, assembled a large army, estimated in the chronicles of the day at 250,000 men, and, accompanied by Sooruj Mul, the Jaut Chief of Bhurtpoor, moved against Ahmed Khan, who came out to meet him, at the head of a very inferior force, but, by a sudden attack on the wing of the army commanded by the Vizier himself, wounded him and drove him from the field. His troops, observing that their Commander's elephant had left the field, fled in confusion, and left Ahmed Khan undisputed master of the provinces of Oude and Allahabad. The Affghans had fought bravely, but they could not agree among themselves. Dissensions arose in Oude, and, after a brief struggle, the late conquerors were expelled the country.

Sufder Jung, as unscrupulous as the other leaders of the day, called in the Mahrattas to his support, and with an immense force again marched against Ahmed Khan, who alarmed at the formidable aspect of affairs, forgave the Rohilla chiefs the death of his brother, and entered into a treaty of mutual defence with them. Unable to meet the Vizier in the field, Ahmed Khan crossed the Ganges, and fell back on his Rohillah confederates, who, giving way to their fears, abandoned the open country, and allowed themselves to be hemmed in under the Kumaon mountains. There they were reduced to such straits that a pound of flesh was sold for a pound sterling. Terms were at length granted, and the Mahrattas returned to their country loaded with the plunder of Rohilcund, and their leaders enriched by two and a half millions of subsidy. Sufder Jung

was so far a gainer that he not only humbled, but crippled his Affghan opponents.

Factions soon arose at Delhi, and the Vizier was often sore pressed, and put to many shifts to retain his authority. The Queen mother was enamoured of a eunuch, of the name of Jawid, who, supported by the King as well as his mother, sought to supplant the Vizier during his absence in Rohilcund. Sufder Jung on his return to Delhi, settled the dispute by inviting the eunuch to a feast, and there causing him to be assassinated. The King was enraged at this act, and employed Ghazi-ood-deen, to avenge it. This youth was the grandson of Nizam-ool-Moolk, and had been brought forward by the Vizier himself. After some intriguing and bullying with varied result, the Vizier withdrew to his viceroyalty, and his rival assumed the functions of the Vizarut. No sooner had Sufder Jung retired, than the pageant King found that in his new Minister Ghazee-ood-deen, he had saddled himself with a hard master. Hoping to escape from this yoke, he wrote to recal his late Vizier; but the letter found Sufder Jung dying; and Ghazee-ood-deen, on hearing of the effort thus made to supplant him, caused both the King and his mother, to be blinded and raised one of the Princes of the blood to the throne under the title of Alumgeer the Second.

Shoojah-oo-dowlah, the son of Sufder Jung, had been brought forward during his father's life time, and on his death, was placed on the musnud of Oude, now become hereditary in the family of Saadut Khan. A rival to Shoojah-oo-dowlah, however, arose in the person of his cousin, Mahommed Kooli Khan, the Governor of Allahabad, whose pretensions were unsuccessfully supported by Ishmael Khan Kaboolee, the chief military adherent of the late Viceroy.

Ahmed Shah Abdallee on his third invasion of India in 1756, after capturing Delhi, sent Ghazee-ood-deen, the Vizier of the so-called Great Mogul, to raise a contribution on Oude. No sooner had the Abdallee retired than the Vizier, called in the Mahrattas, upset all the arrangements made by Ahmed Shah, and, in concert with his new allies, who had not only captured the Imperial City of Delhi, but had overrun a great portion of the Punjab, planned the reduction of Oude. Alarmed at the threatened danger, Shooja-oo-doulah entered into a confederacy with the hereditary enemies of his family, the Rohillahs, and when the Mahrattas invaded Rohilcund, carrying desolation in their path, and destroying thirteen hundred villages in little more than a month, Shoojah-oo-dowlah came to the rescue, surprised the camp of Sindea, the Mahratta Commander, and drove him across the Ganges. Ahmed Shah was at this time making

his fourth descent on Hindustan, and called on the Mahommedan Chiefs to join his standard against the Mahrattas. The Rohillahs did so, but Shoojah-oo-dowlah hesitated between the two evils of Affghan and Mahratta enmity. A move on Anopshuhur, on the Oude frontier, made by the Abdali, determined the choice of Shoojah, who, however, while he professedly joined the Affghan, kept up close communication with the Mahrattas. Throughout the battle of Panneput, which took place in January 1761, the Oude Ruler continued to temporize, holding his ground, but taking as little part in the action as possible. The entire success of either party was contrary to his views. He desired a balance of power, which would check a universal monarchy either Hindoo or Affghan.

We must here retrace our steps. In the year 1758, when the wretched Emperor, Alumgeer 2d, was in daily danger of death from his own Vizier, Ghazee-ood-deen, he connived at the escape from Delhi of his heir, Prince Alee-gohur (afterwards Shah Alum,) who after seeking an asylum in various quarters, was honorably received by Shoojah-oo-dowlah and by the kinsman of the latter, Mahommed Kooli Khan, the Governor of Allahabad. Thus supported, and having received from his own father the investiture of the Government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, Prince Alee-gohur crossed the Caramnassa River, with a design of expelling the English and their puppet, Nawab Jaffier Ali. At the head of a motley band of adventurers, the Prince appeared before Patna; and, so ill was that place supplied, that he might have taken it, had not his principal officer, Mahommed Kooli Khan, suddenly left him, in the hope of recovering the Fort of Allahabad, which, had been treacherously seized by his kinsman Shoojah. Alee-gohur was now obliged to relinquish his attempt; but, two years after, (in 1760) though driven, in the interval to the greatest distress for the very necessaries of life, he was again contemplating an attempt on Bengal, when his father was put to death,—another victim to the sanguinary Ghazee-ood-deen. The Prince, assuming the vacant title of emperor, appointed Shooja-oo-dowlah his Vizier, with a view of securing the support of that Noble; and now, appeared again as Shah Alum, before Patna, cut off a small British detachment, and might have got possession of that city, had he acted vigorously. It would be foreign to our subject to detail the circumstances by which the English were victorious, and Shah Alum was compelled to confirm their creature Cossim Ali, in his *viceroyalty* of Bengal. The crest-fallen Emperor prepared, as soon as possible, for his return to Delhi, on the guarantee of his new Vizier, of Nujeeb-oo-dowlah and other

Chiefs. He was anxious also to obtain the protection of a British escort, but though there was much desire to grant one he was only escorted, by Major Carnac, to the border of Behar.

In 1763, Cossim Ali was driven by the oppressions of the English, and their disregard of all decency in the matter of the inland trade, to abolish all duties on the internal commerce of the country. This measure, which should have been warmly encouraged by the British authorities, was the main cause of the hostilities that followed. One outrage brought on another. Mr. Ellis, the most violent and injudicious of the many violent men then in authority, precipitated matters at Patna. The result was, that Cossim Ali was removed and Jaffier Ali restored to the musnud. Cossim Ali could still muster some troops, with which he met the British, was defeated, and on his flight, perpetrated that massacre of his English prisoners which will brand his name, as long as it is remembered. After this act of butchery, he fled for refuge to Soojah-ood-dowlah, taking with him three hundred and eighty-five elephants loaded with treasure. The exile offered Soojah a lakh of Rs. for every day's march, and half that sum for every halt, as long as the war might last, with three millions sterling, and the cession of the Patna district, on the recovery of Bengal, if he would join him against the English. But Cossim Ali, desiring to have two strings to his bow, offered at the same time, a large bribe to the Emperor for his own appointment to the Viceroyship of Oude, in supercession of Soojah-ood-dowlah. The latter intercepted Cossim Ali's letter and forthwith placed him under restraint, after gaining over Sumroo and other Military Officers with their troops. A mutiny in the English Camp cramped, for a time, the British Commander, but on the 22d October 1764 the battle of Buxar decided the fate not only of Bengal and Behar, but of Oude.

The immediate result of the battle was the surrender of the unhappy Emperor, who, instead of having been reinstated at Delhi, had been detained prisoner by his Vizier. The latter also begged for terms, and offered fifty-eight lakhs to the English Government and Army. The victors refused to make any terms until Cossim Ali and Sumroo had been surrendered. The Vizier had plundered and arrested the former, but hesitated to surrender him: he offered, however, to connive at his escape, and to cause the assassination of Sumroo. As the British Commander would not accede to this proposal, the negociation with the Vizier failed; and arrangements were made with the Emperor, stipulating that he should be placed in possession of Shoojah-ood-dowlah's dominions,including Allahabad,and should in return grant Benares and Ghazeepoor to the British. Hosti-

lities were accordingly recommenced against the Vizier; the British Troops entered Oude, and took possession of Lucknow, the capital; while Shoojah-ood-dowlah, sending his family for refuge to Bareilly, sought for allies in every quarter. But when the news of the proposed arrangements reached England, the Court of Directors were exceedingly alarmed. They sent out positive orders against any such *demented* scheme of enlarging the British territory, and forbade all meddling with Delhi politics. The despatch arrived just in time to save the Vizier, who had been defeated in a skirmish at Korah, on the 3d May 1765. Deserted by his Rohillah and Mahratta allies, he came into General Carnac's Camp on the 19th of the same month, and threw himself on British mercy. Not being behind the scenes, the Vizier was astonished and delighted at the moderation of the terms granted to him, which were that he should pay fifty lakhs of Rupees to the British: that he should pledge himself not to molest Bulwunt Singh, the Zemindar of Benares, and that he should cede Allahabad and Korah to the Emperor. It is a curious feature in this case, and a damning proof how iniquitous had been our proceedings in Bengal, that the Vizier, now at the mercy of his conquerors and ready to cede all, or any portion, of his territory, yet demurred against admitting the English to trade, free of all duties. Government probably felt the justice of his apprehensions, for in the words of Mills, "Clive agreed, in the terms of the treaty, to omit the very names of trade and factories."

Next year, (1766) Lord Clive had an interview with the Emperor and the Vizier at Chupra. The latter again expressed his satisfaction at the terms of peace, and paid up the fifty lakhs of Rupees; and the Emperor again, vainly, requested an escort to Delhi. This first treaty did not involve any right of internal interference on the part of the British; yet little time elapsed before very stringent terms were dictated. They relinquished Oude because they would not, or it was supposed in England, *could* not, keep it. They did not give it to the Emperor, because they considered that such a gift would imply future protection, and involve them in the wars of Upper India, a dilemma from which Government believed itself to have escaped by restoring the Vizier. On the conclusion of these arrangements, a Brigade of British troops remained in the Allahabad district for the support of the King and the Vizier against the Mahrattas, without any provision for the payment of the Brigade by those who benefited by its services. In the year 1766, however, the Court of Directors wrote, "as all our views and expectations are confined within the Caramnassa, we are impatient to hear that

our troops are recalled from Allahabad." During the same year the Bengal Government became alarmed at the military schemes of the Vizier, at his "amazing improvement in making small arms," and at the large levies of troops entertained by him. In consequence of these suspicions, a deputation was sent to meet the Vizier at Benares, towards the end of 1768, when, after a warm discussion and much opposition on his part, he agreed to reduce his Army to 35,000 men, of whom 10,000 were to be cavalry and only ten battalions were to be trained sepahis.

About this time Shoojah seized one of his principal officers, Rajah Benee Bahadoor, and caused his eyes to be put out. An attempt was made to procure British interference in his favor, but the reply given was, "that the Vizier was master within his own dominions." The occasion was an ill chosen one for announcing the fact; but it would have been well had the law continued. In the year 1769, three of the Oude Battalions mutinied; they were promptly put down; but their conduct somewhat reconciled the Vizier to the late compulsory reduction of his troops. In 1771, the Emperor left Allahabad and threw himself into the arms of the Mahrattas, after having made some secret terms with the Vizier for the cession of Allahabad. The next year the Mahrattas threatened Rohilcund and thereby Oude. Upon this the Vizier entered into terms with the Rohillah Chiefs, and induced the Calcutta Council to allow Sir Robert Barker to accompany him with a British Brigade. The combined force however, did not prevent the Mahrattas from penetrating to the very heart of Rohilcund and even threatening Oude. It was during this campaign that the Vizier made the arrangement with the Rohillah Chiefs, to relieve them of their Mahratta scourge, in return for which they were to pay him a subsidy of forty lakhs of Rupees. The failure of payment was the excuse for the famous, or rather infamous, Rohillah war. In the year 1773 the district of Korah was included within the line of British defensive operations; but Colonel Champion, the commander of the advanced Brigade, was enjoined that, "not a single sepoy was to pass the frontiers of the Vizier's territories." The measure was induced by the forced grant of Korah and Allahabad by the Emperor to his jailors, the Mahrattas, which cession the British authorities determined to oppose and to reserve its ultimate destination to themselves.

Up to this time, the diplomatic relations between the two Governments appear to have been conducted by a Captain Harper who commanded a Regiment of Sepoys in attendance on the Vizier. Mr. Hastings however desired to have a person in his own confidence at Lucknow, and therefore recalled Cap-

tain Harper. The order was opposed by Sir Robert Barker the Commander-in-Chief, who, on his own authority, sent the Captain back to the Vizier. The Governor-General was not a man to be so bearded; he carried his point after some angry correspondence, the commencement of that acrimony which prevailed in the discussion of Oude affairs during Mr. Hastings's administration, and which has been so prominent a feature in most of the discussions that have since occurred regarding that Province. In September 1773, Mr. Hastings met Shoojah-ood-dowlah with a view of revising the treaty, "as the latter might call upon the Company for assistance, and yet was under no defined obligation to defray the additional charge thrown upon them by affording such assistance." On the 19th of the same month the new treaty was concluded, making over the districts of Allahabad and Korah to the Vizier, on condition of his paying to the Company the sum of fifty lakhs of Rupees, and stipulating that he should defray the charges of such portion of the British troops as he might require; which were fixed at two lakhs and ten thousand Rupees per month for each Brigade. At this meeting the Vizier felt the Governor-General's pulse as to the support he was likely to receive in his project, already contemplated, against the Rohillahs.

Mr. Hastings took the opportunity to arrange for the reception of a permanent British Resident at Lucknow, telling the Vizier at a private conference that, "he desired it himself; but unless 'it was equally the Vizier's wish, he would neither propose nor 'consent to it." Shoojah declared he would be delighted, and Mr. Middleton was accordingly appointed. Scarcely had the Governor joined his Council when the Vizier wrote that he understood Hafiz Ruhmut and the other Rohillah Sirdars were about to take possession of Etawah and the rest of the middle Doab, which he would never allow, especially "as they had not 'made good a daum of the forty laks of Rupees, according to 'their agreement." The Vizier added, "on condition of the 'entire expulsion of the Rohillahs, I will pay to the Company 'the sum of forty lakhs of Rupees in ready money, whenever I 'shall discharge the English troops; and until the expulsion of 'the Rohillahs shall be effected, I will pay the expences of the 'English troops; that is to say, I will pay the sum of Rupees '2,10,000 monthly." The Council affected some squeamishness about the Doab, which however they did not prevent the Vizier from seizing. Respecting the operations against Rohilcund, they gave a half-and-half sort of answer, *but held* a Brigade in readiness to await the requisition of the Vizier.

The tale of the Rohilcund campaign has been often told; we

shall not add to the number of narratives. Suffice it to say that the brunt of the battle of Kuttera fell on the British Detachment. Colonel Champion reporting that the Vizier had evinced the most "shameful pusillanimity." The English Commander was however not an unprejudiced judge. Shoojah-ood-dowlah, whatever were his faults, was never before accused of cowardice, and on several occasions, especially at Buxar, evinced great courage. It is to the credit of Colonel Champion that he did not like the work in which he was employed; and looking with abhorrence at the desolation caused by the Oude Troops, who had ill supported him in the fight, he was not chary of his remarks on them or on their Prince. But it is no proof that a Native chief is a coward because he does not fight. He often looks on to await the result of the day. The British Brigade were Shoojah's mercenaries; they were hired to fight his battles. He let them do so, and we are by no means certain that if the battle of Kuttera had gone against the British, and Colonel Champion had fallen instead of Hafiz Ruhmat, that the isolated English Brigade would not have found a foe instead of friend in Shoojah-ood-dowlah. This campaign, with all its concomitant circumstances, forms the darkest spot in Indo-British History. Little can be said in behalf of the Vizier, and no sophistry can extenuate the conduct of a Governor and his Council, who hired out their troops for butcher work, openly avowing that they did so because they required the offered subsidy to meet the pressure on the local finances and to answer the demands of the home Government. Having given this unqualified opinion, it is just to add that report greatly exaggerated the virtues of the Rohillahs as well as the atrocities of their destroyers. Warren Hastings' conduct was made a party question both in India and England, and his deeds were accordingly misrepresented by enemies and slurred over by friends.

The Rohillah war was scarcely concluded, when the new arrangements for the Government of India gave Mr. Hastings' opponents a majority in Council. They lost no time in pronouncing their disapproval of his measures; they recalled Mr. Middleton, the Resident he had placed at Lucknow, and gave the appointment to a Mr. Bristow, notwithstanding his being personally obnoxious to the Governor-General. The men, however, who thus stigmatized Hastings' measures carried their zeal for reform no further than words. They scrupled not to receive the wages of iniquity. They not only pressed the Vizier for payment of the subsidy, but took advantage of the critical state of his affairs to raise their demand on him. The earthly career, however, of Shoojah-ood-dowlah drew near its

close. He obtained Mr. Hastings' sanction for his return to Fyzabad, that he might make arrangements for liquidating his engagements to Government. On reaching his capital, he was seized with a violent illness which terminated his life. He expired on the 26th January 1775, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mirza Amanee, who assumed the name of Asoph-ood-dowla.

No public man, not Cromwell himself, has ever been painted in more opposite colours than Soojah-ood-dowlah. Taking Colonel Duff's version, the Vizier was "the infamous son of a 'still more infamous Persian pedlar," * * "cruel, treacherous, 'unprincipled, deceitful; possessing not one virtue except per-'sonal courage." Yet the same writer shews that when danger gathered round, Shoojah had sufficient resolution to relinquish the pleasures of the Harem, and the field sports to which he was addicted, that he might set himself to reform the discipline of his troops, and retrieve the embarrassments of his finance. On the other hand, Francklin describes the Vizier as "an excellent 'Magistrate, a lover of justice, and anxiously desirous of the 'prosperity of his country." Still stronger is the praise bestowed by Jonathan Scott. He says of Shoojah-ood-dowlah that, "as a prince he was wise and dignified in character, as a private 'man, affable, humane, and generous." * * * "Sincerely 'beloved by his own subjects, even the sons of Hafiz Rhamat 'wept at his death." From these discordant materials, and the fact that after having virtually lost his sovereignty at Buxar, he not only recovered his position, but left to his son an inheritance nearly double what he had received from his own father; it may be inferred that Shooja-ood-dowlah was an able, energetic and intelligent prince, and that he possessed at least the ordinary virtues of Eastern Rulers.

Asoph-ood-dowlah lost no time in sending a peshcush, or offering, to the Emperor, with five thousand men; they arrived just in time to relieve the unfortunate Monarch from the hands of Zabita Khan, and the opportune aid secured for their sender the post of Vizier, in succession to his father. The province of Oude had now descended to the fourth generation, and the office of Vizier to the third. On the accession of Asoph-ood-dowlah, the Calcutta Council affected to consider that the treaty with his father died with his death. After much discussion, the new Resident, Mr. Bristow, negociated fresh terms, on the 21st May 1775, the chief clauses of which were, that the Vizier should cede Banares and Ghazeepoor, worth 23 lakhs annually, to the Company; raise the monthly subsidy from Rupees 2,10,000 to 2,60,000 for the service of a British Brigade, and agree to dis-

miss all foreigners from his service, and to deliver up Cossim Ali and Sumroo, if they should ever fall into his hands. He further consented to pay up all arrears due by his father. In return for these advantages, the English undertook to defend Oude, including Corah and Allahabad, as also the late conquests in Rohilcund and the Doab. The services of a second Brigade, entitled "the temporary Brigade" were, at the same time, placed at the disposal of the Vizier.

Another affair was now transacted, important at the time, and pregnant with future evil. The British Agent, supported by the anti-Hastings' majority at the Council table, made over the treasures of the late Vizier to his widow, the Baho (Bhow) Begum, who was likewise put in possession of a princely Jageer. To her this wealth proved a fatal possession, leading to the atrocities afterwards practised on herself and her servants. On the part of our Government the bestowal of it was both unreasonable and unprecedented. Shoojah had died, largely their debtor, and the sum now made over to his widow effectually barred the settlement of their claims. The Begum, it is true, claimed the money as a legacy from her husband: but it is almost needless to say that under no native Government would such a bequest, even if actually made, have been carried into effect. Uninterfered with, Asoph-ood-dowlah would have assumed possession of his father's wealth as naturally as of his place, and his mother would have been satisfied with whatever Jagheer or pension he assigned her. But party spirit in Calcutta divided the house of Oude against itself, and involved the ruler in difficulties which issued in crimes perpetrated by him against his mother, at the instigation of a British Governor-General.

The first year of the new Nawab's authority had not passed before he was surrounded by perplexities. The arrears of subsidy not coming in, tunkhwas or orders on the Revenue, were obtained for four lakhs per annum, and the Baho Begum was induced, at the intercession of the Resident, to assist the necessities of the state with fifty-six lakhs of rupees, on condition however of Mr. Bristow's ratifying her son's engagement not to molest her with further demands. The Nawab had at length leisure to attend to the state of his army. Desiring to introduce discipline among his troops, he applied for, and obtained, the services of several European Officers. They were not ill received by the soldiery, but soon after, on the discharge of some Irregulars, a mutiny broke out. An engagement took place between the Regulars and the Matchlockmen; 2,500 of the latter supported an engagement for some time with great spirit against 15,000 regulars, repeatedly repulsing them. The fight was only

brought to an end by the explosion of a tumbrel. The mutineers lost six hundred men and the Nawab's Sepahis three hundred.

While such was the condition of the Army, the Nawab gave himself up to drunkenness and dissipation. All authority fell into the hands of the Minister, Moortaza Khan, whose rule was, however, brief. Kwajah Busunt, a eunuch, but the bravest soldier in the service, took advantage of the general dissatisfaction to encourage a party in favour of Saadut Ali, the second and favorite son of the late Vizier. Kwajah Busunt invited the minister to a banquet. In the midst of the feast, making some excuse for quitting the guest chamber, he gave the signal for the slaughter of the unwary Moortaza Khan in the midst of the nautch girls and singers. Asoph-ood-dowlah himself had been invited to the entertainment, probably that he too might be got rid of; the murderer however, reeling from the effects of the debauch in which he had participated, came boldly into the presence, and boasted of the deed he had performed. The Nawab ordered him to be executed on the spot. Saadut Ali hearing of what had occurred, and alarmed for his own safety, immediately took horse and fled beyond the frontier. Thus, in one day, the Vizier lost his Minister, his General, and his Brother.

The troops were still in a very unsettled state, and discontent regarding the new arrangements and the introduction of British officers daily increased. Some of the European officers were so maltreated by their own men that they fled to the nearest English camp; others braved the storm, but it was only by the timely arrival of two of the Company's Battalions that the mutineers were reduced or disbanded.

Such was the state of the army. The finances were in scarcely less disorder. The regular subsidy was originally 25$\frac{1}{3}$ lakhs, the Francis junto raised it to 31$\frac{2}{3}$ but what with the expence of the temporary Brigade, extra troops, and numerous officers employed with the Oude Army, as well as various miscellaneous accounts, the demands during seven years of Mr. Hastings' administration averaged 100 lakhs annually, while, in spite of constant screwing, the receipts only averaged seventy lakhs; leaving in 1781 a deficit of 2$\frac{1}{10}$* crores of Rupees. To meet this frightful item, there was a materially decreased revenue.

* On Oude financial questions Mr. Mills is both ambiguous and contradictory. At page 629, volume 2d (quarto edition) he states "the debt with which he (the 'Nawab) stood charged in 1780 amounted to the sum of £1,400,000," but at page 650 remarks that although when the treaty of Chunar was concluded (in 1781,) "the balance appeared to stand at forty-four lakhs," the demand next year (1782) "by claims of unknown balances" exceeded considerably two crores and

Another point here requires remark. We have said that Mr. Middleton was recalled by the majority in Council, as one of their first measures. Mr. Hastings no sooner recovered his ascendancy by the death of Colonel Monson in 1776, than he removed Bristow and reinstated Middleton. The former was restored in 1780, in obedience to repeated and positive orders from the Court of Directors, which, however, were only obeyed on a compromise with Mr. Francis. Mr. Bristow was displaced a second time in 1781, by the Governor-General, who said that he required to have a confidential Agent at Lucknow. To complete the story of the bandying about of Agents, we may here mention that Mr. Bristow was again restored by orders from home in 1782, and, finally, again ousted by Mr. Hastings in 1783. The Governor-General affected to have acted only for the public good in these several transfers. He declared he had no personal dislike for the man he so repeatedly removed, and much respect for his conduct; but, "the creature Bristow" (as on one occasion Mr. Hastings registered him,) was odious in his eyes, inasmuch as that gentleman's appointment to Lucknow was a standing proof of his own discomfiture in Council. The Governor-General hated him accordingly, and few men loved or hated as did Warren Hastings.

This double explanation is requisite as a clue to the proceedings we have next to record. In the year 1780-1, the finances of the Company were in a most disastrous condition. The authorities had reckoned on certain sums from the Vizier, and were disappointed. Mr. Hastings, therefore, determined, himself to proceed to Lucknow. In August 1781, the Governor-General reached Benares when the outbreak occurred, provoked by his arbitrary proceedings against Rajah Cheyt Sing. During these transactions, Mr. Hastings, as usual, evinced great courage, the Nawab great fidelity. The latter joined Mr. Hastings in September at Chunar, when he contrived to convert the Governor-General from a violent and imperious task-master into a warm advocate. For two years the Nawab's remonstrances and entreaties had been treated with contempt or indifference: they were now listened to and complied with, and for a brief space he

a half, that is, were at least equal to twice the annual revenue of the whole country." In the text we have shewn that the current demand having been from 70 to 130 lakhs, and the receipts having averaged only seventy lakhs, there needed no "claims of unknown balances" to swell the amount of deficit. The last portion, moreover, of the quotation making the total revenue to be only one and a quarter crore, dovetails ill with Mr. Mill's own shewing at page 493, volume 3, that the Revenue in 1801 was about Rs. 2,30,12,929. An increase of more than a million of money during twenty years of progressive deterioration! Mr. Mills quotes Middleton for his first statement, and "Papers" for the second, but appears to have overlooked their discrepancy.

was treated with respect. An arrangement was effected that led to the withdrawal of the temporary Brigade and three Regiments of Cavalry, leaving only one Brigade and one Regiment to be paid by the Vizier. He was also *allowed* to resume all jageers, giving cash for certain estates guaranteed by the Company; all British officers were also withdrawn; and sanction was given to *plunder* the two Begums, the wife and mother of Shoojah-ood-dowlah, though, as already observed, one of them had been previously guaranteed by Mr. Bristow. The result of the several "arrangements was, an immediate supply of fifty-'five Lakhs of ready money to the Company, and a stipulation 'for the payment of an additional twenty lakhs, to complete 'the liquidation of his debt to them."

Approving entirely of the decrease of the Nawab's permanent burthen thus effected, we cannot too strongly reprobate the mode by which he was authorized, and indeed eventually urged, to raise present funds. Mr. Hastings' defenders vindicate his proceedings towards the Begums, on the ground that these ladies abetted Cheyt Singh's rebellion, and that they had no right to the treasure they possessed, The latter statement is true. One wrong, however, does not justify another! What had been granted and guaranteed, even wrongfully, should have been respected. The falsity of the first plea has been frequently shewn. We need not, therefore, here repeat the evidence. If any justification for the Governor-General is to be found in the fact, it is true that he was at this time put to his wits end for cash. As the Court of Directors importuned him, so he pressed the Oude Government. Such was his anxiety on the subject that in May 1782, he deputed his secretary, Major Palmer, to Lucknow, with the express object of realizing the arrears of subsidy. The mission gave such offence to Mr. Middleton that he resigned his appointment; and to add to the Governor-General's difficulties, his own special Agent allowed himself to be talked over and stultified by the Oude Officials.

Large as was the balance due, the Major was persuaded into believing that the sheet was clear; and instead of enforcing old claims he listened to offers of a loan. Mr. Hastings was much provoked both at the gullability of Major Palmer and at Mr. Middleton's abandonment of his post in his (the Governor-General's) difficulty. He wrote to Mr. M. in severe terms; and on the 10th August 1782, addressed Hyder Beg the Oude Minister under his own hand, in a most extraordinary letter, considering it to be addressed to the minister of a sovereign possessing a shadow of independence. After telling Hyder Beg that he owed his position to him (the Governor-General) and

that he had been disappointed in him, he added, "I now plainly tell you that you are answerable for every misfortune and defect of the Nawab Vizier's Government." He then demanded that the balance due to the Company should be liquidated by the end of the year, or threatened that Hyder Beg should be made over to the tender mercies of his master, for the examination of his conduct. Hyder Beg understood full well the process by which the examination of the conduct of disgraced ministers was conducted in Oude as elsewhere. Stringent however as were the measures taken, they did not realize the subsidy. They did not effect Mr. Hastings' wishes, but they did much to upset the authority of the Nawab in his own territory.

Mr. Hastings had very correct *abstract* notions on the subject of interference. His practice and theory was, however, sadly at variance. When money was wanted for the Company he stuck at nothing. His two nominees, Middleton and Palmer, had failed him; and he now, in despair re-appointed the Company's protegee, Mr. Bristow, arming him with the most extensive authority. The new Agent was informed that "the Resi-'dent must be the slave and vassal of the minister, or the Minister 'at the absolute devotion of the Resident * * * it will be neces-'sary to declare to him (the minister) in the plainest terms, the 'footing and conditions on which he shall be permitted to retain 'his place; with the alternative of dismission, and a scrutiny 'into his past conduct, if he refuses." Mr. Bristow was further told that he was to controul the appointment of officers, nay, "peremptorily to oppose it" when he (the Resident) considered opposition in any case advisable. In the face, however, of such instructions, Mr. Hastings was not ashamed, in October 1783, to thus characterize the Resident's conduct: "Mr. Bristow, 'after an ineffectual attempt to draw the minister Hyder Beg 'into a confederacy with him to usurp all the powers of the 'Government, proceeded to an open assumption of them to 'himself." And, on the strength of this shameless allegation, Mr. Bristow was, for the third time, removed.

Unable to realize his views by proxy, Mr. Hastings, in March 1784, again visited Lucknow, where he remained five months, during which time he effected the liquidation of a further portion of the Vizier's debt, removed another detachment of Troops, restored a portion of the confiscated jagheers, and endeavoured to put the Oude affairs into some sort of order. At Benares, on his return, he addressed the home Government in these prophetic words. "If new demands are raised on the Vizier, and 'accounts overcharged on one side, with a wide latitude taken 'on the other to swell his debts beyond the means of payment,

'if political dangers are portended on which to ground the 'plea of burthening his country with unnecessary defences and 'enormous subsidies, the results would be fatal." Mr. Hastings knew how wide a latitude he had himself taken, "to swell the Nawab's" debts beyond the means of payment, and judging of the future by the past, he concluded that another Governor-General might arise who, portending political dangers, would make them "the plea of burthening his (viz. the Vizier's) country with unnecessary defences and enormous subsidies." In short, Warren Hastings foretold, in 1784, exactly what occurred in 1801.

We have entered somewhat fully into the occurrences of Mr. Hastings' administration, as they gave their colouring to the British connexion with Oude.

When Lord Cornwallis assumed the government of India, the Oude minister, Hyder Beg, was sent to wait on His Lordship. The negociations that ensued were concluded on the 21st July 1787, by a treaty, relieving the Vizier from certain balances still due; and declaring him in all respects independent within his own territory. The letter of the Governor-General contained the following remarkable paragraph:—"It is my 'firm intention not to embarrass you with further expense 'than that incurred by the Company from their connexion 'with your Excellency, and for the protection of your country 'which, by the accounts, I find amounts to fifty lakhs of Fy-'zabad rupees per year. It is my intention, from the date 'of this agreement, that your Excellency shall not be charged 'with any excess on this sum, and that no further demand 'shall be made; any additional aid by the Company is to be 'supplied on a fair estimate."

The abuses of the Oude Government repeatedly attracted the attention of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore. Both were anxious to effect some reform, but were deterred by the difficulty of interfering with any good effect. At length, the Vizier's extravagance and debauchery brought affairs into such terrific disorder that, in the year 1797, Sir John Shore proceeded to Lucknow. His visit, however, had a double purpose. The ostensible, and we hope chief design, was to give the Nawab good advice, but His Highness was also to be supplied with a minister, and another pull was to be made at his purse-strings. The Company had resolved to strengthen their Cavalry, and, in the face of Lord Cornwallis's treaty, it was thought convenient to make the Nawab bear a portion of the increased expenses attendant on this augmentation. The helpless Vizier consented, stipulating that the charge should

not exceed five and a half lakhs per annum, to pay the expences of two Regiments. The Governor-General took some credit to himself, that in this transaction he had talked and not dragooned, the Nawab into concession. There was more difficulty in effecting a change of ministry. The Governor-General consented that the eunuch Almas should be appointed, but just as he had given his sanction, he discovered an order by Lord Cornwallis against the employment of that person. The Nawab debarred from the selection of his own favorites, at length consented to receive Tufuzzel Hoosein, a learned, able, and we believe respectable, man who then held the office of Oude Vakeel in Calcutta. It was however a sore trial of the honesty of that minister to be thus brought from Calcutta and forced upon his Sovereign by the Lord paramount. Had Sir John Shore been as experienced in human nature as he was in revenue details, and in Indian politics, he would not have thus introduced the new minister to the Nawab, directly as the creature of the British Government.

Scarcely had the Governor-General left Lucknow, when the Vizier died, and the disposal of the viceroyalty of Oude was in the hands of a simple English gentleman. As in our first Number* we fully considered the claims of Vizier Ali, and described the process by which he was put up and put down, we need not here repeat the story. But we are bound to record even more emphatically than before, our opinion that Vizier Ali was unjustly treated. The plea of his spurious birth would not, by Mahommedan law, have interfered with his succession; and never would have weighed with the English authorities had he not rendered himself obnoxious to them by desiring to degrade Tufuzzel Hoosein the minister, who was considered "as the representative of the English influence." Tufuzzel Hoosein met Sir John Shore on his way to Lucknow with all sorts of stories about the violence and debauchery of the Lord Vizier Ali, but the Governor-General seemed to forget that this report might be biassed by personal motives; perhaps, too, he was unaware that Tufuzzel Hoosein had been the tutor of Saadut Ali, and even during Asoph-ood-dowlah's life was suspected of intriguing in favor of the Vizier's brother. But enough; Vizier Ali was degraded after a few week's enjoyment of authority, and Saadut Ali was raised to the musnud. New terms were of course dictated to the new Prince. It was no time for making objections. The treaty was signed; and protected by British bayonets, the new Nawab entered his capital. The Ex-ruler, similarly guarded, was removed to Benares.

* Article Lord Teignmouth.

The treaty thus made was signed on the 21st February 1798. It raised the subsidy from fifty-six to seventy-six lakhs, and provided for the discharge of all arrears. The fortress of Allahabad was ceded, and the sum of eight lakhs of rupees made over for its repairs. Three lakhs were likewise given for the repairs of Futtyghur, and twelve lakhs more were to be paid for the expences incurred in the late revolution. The Nawab, moreover, agreed to reduce his establishments, and to consult, as to the manner of doing so, with the British Government. No Europeans were to be allowed to settle in Oude, and no political relations were to exist without the knowledge of the British Government. In return for all this, the British guaranteed Oude, and agreed to maintain for defence not less than ten thousand men. If it should at any time be necessary to increase the number of troops beyond thirteen thousand, the Nawab was to pay the expence; if they could be reduced below eight thousand, a suitable reduction of the subsidy was to be allowed.

The advantages accruing to the Company from this arrangement are manifest; it not only gave them possession of Allahabad, but it increased the subsidy twenty lakhs, and defined, though not distinctly, to what extent the subsidy might be lightened or increased. Unfortunately it left the time quite undetermined, and on this omission were based the unwarrantable demands made by the next Governor-General in 1801. What will perhaps most strike the English reader of Sir John Shore's treaty is, the entire omission of the slightest provision for the good government of Oude. The people seemed as it were sold to the highest bidder. Vizier Ali was young, dissolute and needy; Saadut Ali was middle aged, known to be prudent, and believed to be rich. Being of penurious habits, he had, even on his petty allowances as a younger son, amassed several lakhs of rupees; and, in short, was a more promising sponge to squeeze than his nephew. From the general tenor of Sir John Shore's life, we believe that his heart was in the right place, though this his last diplomatic transaction, might, if taken alone, lead us to a different conclusion. Wherever his heart was, his head at least must have been wool gathering. He set a bad precedent. He made the musnud of Oude a mere transferable property in the hands of the British Governor, and he left the people of Oude at the mercy of a shackled and guaranteed Ruler. This may have been liberality, but it was liberality of a very spurious sort. Much as we admire Lord Teignmouth's domestic character, we are obliged, entirely to condemn the whole tenor of his Oude negotiations. Historians have hitherto

let him down slightly, but his Lordship may be judged by the same standard as other public officers; by the right or by the wrong that he committed, and not by his supposed motives, or his private character.

A Governor-General of far different calibre succeeded. One of the first objects of the Marquis of Wellesley, on his assumption of the Government of India, was the reformation, or rather the reduction of the Oude Army, and the substitution in their stead of a British force. The Nawab set his face against the measure. The Governor-General was not to be thus baffled. Early in 1799 he applied for the services of the Adjutant-General of the army, Colonel Scott, an able and respectable, but austere man. In the first instance he was placed at the service of Mr. Lumsden, the resident, but the latter gentleman was shortly after recalled, and the appointment bestowed on Colonel Scott. So stringent were the measures now taken, that Saadut Ali threatened to resign the musnud. It was but a threat, and intended to alarm or to molify his persecutors. The Governor-General however seized upon the words, and putting his own constructions on them, insisted on their literal fulfilment; adding a proviso, which, at any rate, the Nawab had never contemplated, that on his abdication, the East India Company should inherit the principality of Oude, to the injury of his own children. Much disgraceful altercation ensued. The Governor-General returned the Nawab's remonstrances with angry and threatening remarks; insisted on the immediate execution of his orders, and finally marched the British troops into Oude without sanction of the nominal ruler. The Resident issued orders to the district officers to receive and provide for the English Battalions, and was obeyed. Saadut Ali now felt himself within the iron grasp of a power that could crush him, and made the most abject appeals for mercy. The Governor-General however, seized this opportunity for carrying out his own views. Referring to the Nawab's previous statements regarding the inefficiency of his army and their danger to himself rather than to an enemy, Lord Wellesley insisted on its reduction, and the reception, in its stead, of a force of twelve Battalions of British Infantry, and four Regiments of Cavalry. A large portion of the Oude troops were accordingly disbanded, and so judiciously was this reduction managed by Colonel Scott, that not a single disturbance ensued.

The Nawab finding himself once more secure on his uneasy throne had time to reflect how he was to bear the increased burthen laid upon him. His predecessor had been put to continued shifts to discharge the subsidy of fifty lakhs;—he had

himself by better economy, contrived to pay seventy-six lakhs, but how was he now to meet the further demand of fifty-four lakhs, to set against which there was only a diminished expenditure of sixteen and a half lakhs caused by the reduction of a portion of his army? He accordingly declared his entire inability to pay the required sum. The Governor-General wanted just such a declaration. He made it an excuse for the dismemberment of the Principality, and proceeded to carry out the finance arrangements with as little delicacy as had been shewn in effecting the military alterations. Mr. Henry Wellesley was deputed as Commissioner to Lucknow, and in concert with the Resident, dictated the cessions that were to be made when the former, in virtue of his office as Lieutenant-Governor of the ceded districts, made the primary arrangements for their management. The lands thus extorted were, at the time, estimated to be worth 1,35,23,474 Rupees per annum. We have had occasion, at the commencement of these remarks, to shew that they must now yield double that sum.

Lord Wellesley's conduct in this transaction was most despotic. As a wise statesman he judged rightly that the subsidy to his Government was better secured by a territorial cession, than by a bond for cash payment; but, in extorting the former, literally at the point of the bayonet, and at the same time nearly doubling the subsidy, he shut his eyes to the most obvious rules of justice.

This treaty which was signed on the 10th September, 1801, left the Nawab shorn of the best half of his territory; we may easily judge in what spirit he prepared to introduce "an 'improved system of administration *with the advice and assis-* 'tance of the British Government," into the remainder. Such were the vague terms of the only stipulation contained in the present treaty, for the benefit of the people. We need hardly add that it remained a dead letter. This may have been only a negative evil; but a similar looseness of expression in Sir John Shore's treaty admitted of more positive perversion. We allude to the provision, that when it should be necessary to increase the contingent beyond 13,000 men, the Nawab should pay the expence. Sir John Malcolm more shrewdly than honestly observes, that if there was any meaning in the provision, it left the British Government to judge *when* the necessity should arise, and how long it should continue. The Marquis of Wellesley did not hesitate to consider *that* time to be when Oude had just *escaped* invasion by Zeman Shah, and the period to last *for ever*. There *was* danger from Zeman Shah, no one who reads the history of those times attentively can deny the fact.

The state of the Oude army, the position of Sindea, and the advance of Zeman Shah called for arrangements for the defence of Oude. But the truth is, that almost as soon as the tidings of Shah Zeman's approach reached the British authorities, the danger had passed away. Sir James Craig stated before Parliament: "The first certain accounts we had were, I believe, 'in September or October, I rather think October (1793);" and, again, "The accounts of the Shah returning from Lahore, 'which may be considered as his abandonment of his enterprize, 'reached Anopshere in January 1799." Thus the knowledge of the danger lasted, at the farthest, five months. Arrangements were made as quickly as possible to meet the invasion; and extra troops were kept in Oude from November 1798, until November 1799, being *ten months* after the Shah's retirement, and a special charge of more than thirty-eight lakhs of Rupees was made to cover their expences. This was all fair and proper. It was right that the sum expended should be charged; but surely there is no excuse for adding to the above contingent charge a fixed annual demand of fifty-four lakhs to cover a danger that no longer existed, and which, from that day to the present, now forty-five years, has never arisen. The claim was clearly opposed to the spirit of Sir John Shore's treaty, and to both the spirit and letter of that of Lord Cornwallis.

One of the earliest evils resulting from Lord Wellesley's arbitrary measures was, that the Resident became personally obnoxious to the Nawab. Colonel Scott was a man whose character passed unscathed through an ordeal of the strictest inquiry both in, and out of, parliament; but Saadut Ali could only be expected to see in him the instrument of disbanding a large portion of his own army—that chief symbol of Oriental sovereignty—the agent who had arranged the forced cession of the best half of his territory. Thus circumstanced, Colonel Scott could hardly be an acceptable ambassador, and in fact, was rather deemed a hard task-master. Unfortunately his manner had in it nothing to compensate for the matter of the invidious duties imposed on him. Habituated to military details, and late in life called on to negociate delicate questions of diplomacy and civil administration, Colonel Scott performed his disagreeable task rather with the bluffness of the military martinet, than with the suavity of the accomplished diplomatist. He carried out his orders honestly, but harshly. He effected the views of Government regarding the Oude Army, as well as, perhaps better than, any other officer of the day could have done; but there his services ended. He did nothing for the improvement of the country. He was rather an obstacle in its way.

The Nawab having a reduced field of action, secure from personal danger, and hemmed in by British bayonets, screwed his wretched people. The Resident was not only unable to prevent these oppressions, by the provisions of the treaty was compelled to be the instrument in their execution. Year after year were British troops seen throughout Oude realizing the revenues, enforcing the most obnoxious orders, and rendering nugatory to the oppressed their last refuge, military opposition. Great as was the interference in Asoph-ood-dowlah's time, it was now much greater. In former times the pressure of the Resident's authority was occasional, and on specific questions, and was chiefly felt at Lucknow ; the incubus was now a dead weight bearing down the provinces, as well as the capital. The Nawab was also as much vexed and irritated as ever by the presence and conduct of the Resident, by his interference in favour of, or in opposition to, persons and things in the very capital.

Such conduct, however, at this time tended less than formerly to weaken the ruler's power. The British army was now believed to be at the beck of the Oude Government to support its revenue arrangements. The Nawab was thus, though degraded in character, strengthened in position. The previous (authorized) interference had told rather *against* the Oude Court; it was now in its favour. The powerful were now supported against the weak. This system went on for years, and under several Residents. It was brought prominently to notice when Colonel Baillie was in office. A long, vexatious, and fruitless correspondence took place between the Nawab and the Government. Colonel Baillie was anxious to promote improvements, the Nawab liked neither the matter nor the manner of the suggestions offered. He cared for his cash, and for nothing else. No person however can read his replies to Colonel Baillie's demands without being satisfied that, under kindlier treatment at the outset, much might have been done with such a prince. We are specially struck at his being in advance of the Bengal Government of the day on Revenue arrangements. Colonel Baillie proposed that Ameens should be sent into the districts to collect statistical information, that they should visit every village, and procure the revenue papers of former years.—"Those papers, 'after the minutest investigation which may be practicable, to 'be transmitted, under the signature of the revenue officers, to 'the presence, when your Excellency and I shall consider them, 'and be enabled to form an accurate judgment of the real 'resources and assets of every district in your dominions."*

* Minutes of Evidence. Appendix No. 26, page 383.

The Nawab replied "I shall issue my orders to the Ameens, 'aggreeably to what you have suggested; but I recommend that 'this measure be carried into effect by actual measurement of 'the cultivated and waste lands, and of lands capable of being 'cultivated; in which case the exact measurement of the lands, 'as well as the amount of the jumma, will be ascertained, and 'the boundaries of villages will also be fixed, so as to preclude 'future claims or disputes among the Zemindars on questions of 'unsettled boundary."* The following reply to another suggestion shews how much better the Nawab understood his people, and how much better he was able to manage Oude than was the Resident.

"You suggest, that such ameens as perform their duties properly shall hereafter be appointed tehsildars; but in this case, if the ameens be previously informed, that after ascertaining the jumma of their elakas (districts), and transmitting the revenue papers for ten years with the Wasilbunkee accounts of the revenue, they will be appointed to the office of tehsildar, it is probable that, for their own future advantage, they will knowingly lower the jumma, and state less than the real amount. I therefore think it would be more advisable to separate the two offices entirely; or, at all events, that no ameen should be appointed tehsildar in the Zillah in which he may have acted as ameen. In this latter mode, the ameens who are found to be deserving may still be rewarded, and the opportunity for fraud may be prevented."*

The readers who have accompanied us through this hasty sketch of Saadut Ali's career, will perhaps concur in the opinion we gave at the commencement of this article, that his malgovernment was mainly attributable to English interference, to the resentment he felt for his own wrongs, and the bitterness of soul with which he must have received all advice from his oppressors, no less than to the impunity with which they enabled him to play the tyrant.

Lord Minto at length checked the Resident's interference against the people; he did not thoroughly understand the nature and extent of that at Court, and therefore disturbed not Colonel Baillie's domestic ascendancy. The Marquis of Hastings looked more into the matter and prohibited it entirely.

Saadut Ali died in July 1816, and was succeeded by his eldest son Rufsat-ood-dowlah, under the designation of Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder. His accession delighted Colonel Baillie, and scarcely pleased the Calcutta Government less. The new Nawab, of *course*, agreed to every proposition of the Resident, whom he addressed as "My Uncle," and who reported that his advice was not only acceptable to Ghazee-ood-deen, but was urgently requested by him. The very spirit of credulity seems,

* Minutes of Evidence. Appendix No. 26, page 383.

at this period, to have possessed our countrymen. Not only does Colonel Baillie appear to have swallowed the sugared words of the Nawab, but the authorities in Calcutta adopted his views; and, taking advantage of what was deemed the amiable spirit of the grateful Nawab, authorized the several measures of reform, which, to say the least, Colonel Baillie was little competent to carry through.

A new light however soon broke in on the Governor-General, and he ascertained that Ghazee-ood-deen loved reform as little as his father had done. It was discovered that both Nawab and Resident had been puppets in the hands of the Residency Moonshee, who, by threatening Ghazee-ood-deen with the fate of Vizier Ali, contrived to bend him to what were called British views, while he found his account in allowing the Resident to fancy himself the friend and counsellor of the Nawab. The discovery of these intrigues induced a peremptory order from the Governor-General forbidding all interference, and the affair ended in the removal of Colonel Baillie, who, however, had in the interim negotiated a loan of two crores of Rupees. The friends of Lord Hastings have asserted that these loans were voluntary, but Colonel Baillie has shewn the transaction in a very different light. The money was extorted from the Nawab by the importunity of the Resident, who acted on repeated and urgent instructions from the Governor-General. During the Burmese war, and under another administration, a third crore was borrowed, we know not exactly by what process, but, as the greater part of the interest was settled on the Minister of the day, Motumed-ood-dowlah, (more generally known in India as Aga Meer,) and his life, honor and property were guaranteed, it may be inferred that he managed the matter.

Loans of this sort are generally discreditable to the borrowers; in Oude they have been doubly prejudical. Most of them have been compulsory, and they have been the means of perpetuating, and immeasurably extending the guarantee system. The interest of each loan, whether from Nawab, King or Begum, has been settled on the connexions and servants of the several parties lending the money, with provision in each case that the pensioner was to be protected by the British Government. Thus, for the sake of temporary pecuniary relief have we established and fostered a system which must vitiate any Government, and is doubly destructive to a Native State. At Lucknow for years the residents held public durbars, where the guaranteed attended, and pleaded against their own Sovereign or his servants. Thus were the Monarch and his subjects arrayed against

each other: thus was the Sovereign degraded in his own Capital.

This abuse has been checked; but a still greater evil exists to the present day. The guaranteed are hundreds; the *privileged* are thousands. Every British Sepoy from the Oude dominions can, through his Commanding Officer, refer a fiscal or judicial case to the Resident. This at first sight appears a valuable privilege to our Native soldiery, of whom, (as already stated), the greater proportion are raised in Oude; but the plan works badly. Zemindars throughout the country will buy, beg, borrow or steal the name of a British Sepoy, in the hope of thus gaining attention to their petty claims. The consequence is, that the just appeals of real sepoys are frequently neglected, while a false claim is now and then forwarded. We are indeed, of opinion that, much as the Oude Government is molested and degraded by Sepoy's claims, true and false, the men themselves are rarely benefited by the Resident's interference. Litigation is promoted; hopes are excited, and eventually the party who would, if left to his own resources and the practices of the country, have arranged or compromised his quarrel, is led on to his ruin. But we have been drawn from the thread of our narrative.

In the year 1819, the Nuwab Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder was encouraged to assume the title of King. Lord Hastings calculated on thus exciting a rivalry between the Oude and Delhi families; the Nawabs having hitherto paid the descendants of the Mogul all outward homage, and affecting still to consider themselves only as Lieutenants of the Emperor. This arrangement was somewhat akin to some of the masquerades with which the Company commenced their career. While ruling Bengal and the Carnatic they were entitled Dewans; and now, while lording it over Oude, the puppet Nawab must, forsooth be encouraged to assume a royal title, in order to act as a counterpoise to *the Great Mogul!*

Death will not, however, spare a King any more than a Nawab Vizier. Ghazee-ood-deen died, and was succeeded by his son, Nuseer-ood-deen Hyder, who more than perpetuated the worst practices of his predecessors. Engaged in every species of debauchery, and surrounded by wretches, English, Eurasian and Native, of the lowest description, his whole reign was one continued satire upon the subsidiary and protected system. Bred in a palace, nurtured by women aud enuchs, he added the natural fruits of a vicious education to those resulting from his protected position. His Majesty might one hour be seen in a state of drunken nudity with his boon companions; at another

he would parade the streets of Lucknow driving one of his own elephants. In his time all decency, all propriety, was banished from the Court. Such was more than once his conduct that Colonel Lowe, the Resident, refused to see him, or to transact business with his minions.

In 1831 Lord William Bentinck visited Oude. He had received a frightful report of its misrule from Mr. Maddock, the Resident; but questioned the reality of the picture laid before him. He now traversed the country and judged for himself; he saw every proof of misgovernment, and was at length convinced that the existing system could not, and ought not, to last. He had one hope for Oude. Momtuzim-ood-dowlah, better known as Hakeem Mehndy Alee Khan Bahadoor, was then Minister, and his energy and ability might, if unshackled, save the sinking state. To encourage his efforts, Lord William studiously manifested his regard for the Minister, and forbade all further interference of any kind on the part of the Resident, who was prohibited even advising unless his opinion was asked. The Governor-General warned the King of the consequences of continued misrule; he gave him and his Minister a fair chance of recovering their common country; and resolved that, if it failed the most stringent measures should be adopted, involving the entire management of Oude by British officers. His Lordship writes on 31st July 1831—"But I am sanguine in my hope of 'a great present amelioration from my belief in the capacity 'and willingness of the present Minister to effect it; and from 'the entire possession he has of the confidence of the King."** Sad proof how incompetent is the wisest European to read an Asiatic heart. The Governor-General left Lucknow fully impressed with the opinions above quoted. Hakeem Mehndy *had* effected much good, *had* reduced the public expences, and *had* brought some order into the management of affairs. The subordinate officials feared him; the Talookdars and village chiefs respected him. Under his strong administration the country at length tasted peace. In August 1834, however, just three years after Lord William Bentinck's visit, the Minister found himself, without the slightest warning deprived of office, and threatened with dishonour, if not with death. The charges brought against him were, disrespect to the Royal relatives, and even to the Queen Mother. This was all fudge. At Lucknow, as throughout the East generally, the King is every thing; his nearest relatives are nothing. An affront to the lowest minion about the Court would more probably have been resented, than one to a connexion of the King. The pretext, however, was plausible; the Minister was degraded, and nothing but the

strong arm of the Resident saved his wealth, life, and honour. His real crimes were his ability, energy, and fidelity,* had he been more subservient and less faithful, he might have escaped his exile to Furruckabad, where he lingered for some years, constantly affecting preparations for a pilgrimage to Mecca, but really longing and watching for a return to power. His wishes were at length fulfilled, and under a more virtuous ruler he died as Minister of Oude. But, during the interval, Hakeem Mehndy's head and hand had become feebler, while the flood of abuse had swelled. Unable to stem the current, he died at the helm, in the bold attempt. Often during his exile, we have heard the old man dilate upon the evils that ruined Oude, and declare that with fair play and a fair field he could yet recover the country. We then considered his day gone by, and little contemplated his having another opportunity of treading the slippery path of politics. The Hakeem's merits must be judged of by comparison with other Ministers; and he will appear just, firm and sagacious. It is therefore to be lamented that such a man was lost to Oude while his energies were still vigorous. On the accession of Mahommed Ali, Hakeem Mehndy was recalled to power, but his health was then declining and his life was near its close.

His nephew and heir Munowur-ood-dowlah Ahmed Ali, a respectable but unenergetic man, has since been twice at the head of affairs: he is a better sportsman than a Cabinet Minister, and is altogether too honest and unpractised in court affairs to cope with the Ameen-ood-dowlahs and Shureef-ood-dowlahs of the day.

Lord William Bentinck in his report of 11th July, 1831, entering into many details of past circumstances, and explaining his proposals for the future, added, "I thought it right to declare 'to his Majesty beforehand, that the opinion I should offer to 'the home authorities would be, that unless a decided reform 'in the administration should take place, there would be no 'remedy left except in the direct assumption of the management 'of the Oude territories by the British Government."† His Lordship with propriety adds, "I consider it unmanly to look 'for minor facts in justification of this measure, but, if I wanted 'them, the amount of military force kept up by his Majesty

* We are quite aware that the Hakeem has been differently painted. In the *Calcutta India Gazette*, he was depicted in 1833, as "one of the most intriguing, avaricious, and rapacious men that ever breathed," but any acquainted with the paternity of those remarks would at once perceive how little dependence could be placed on them.

† Minutes of Evidence. Appendix No. 27, page 404.

' is a direct infraction of the treaty." The Minute continues in the following honest and disinterested strain :—

" It may be asked of me—and when you have assumed the management how is it to be conducted, and how long retained? I should answer, that acting in the character of guardian and trustee, we ought to frame an administration entirely native; an administration so composed as to individuals, and so established upon the best principles, revenue and judicial, as should best serve for immediate improvement, and as a model for future imitation; the only European part of it should be the functionary by whom it should be superintended, and it should only be retained till a complete reform might be brought about, and a guarantee for its continuance obtained, either in the improved character of the reigning Prince, or, if incorrigible, in the substitution of his immediate heir, or in default of such substitute from nonage or incapacity, by the nomination of one of the family as regent, the whole of the Revenue being paid into the Oude treasury."*

In reply to his suggestions to the home Government, Lord William Bentinck received instructions in the year 1833, at once, to assume charge of Oude, unless, in the mean time his advice had been followed, and decided improvement had ensued. Averse to so strong a measure, and ascertaining that affairs *were* slightly amended, his Lordship postponed the measure again warning his Majesty as to the inevitable result of continued misrule.

Nusser-ood-deen Hyder, however, encouraged by long continued impunity, persevered in his mal-practices. The treasures of his grandfather, Saadut Ali, were now drained to the last Rupee, and every device was invented to recruit the finances of the state, or rather to supply the privy purse of the King. A low menial was his chief confidant; any man who would drink with him was his friend. In 1837 he became ill, and for some weeks was confined to his Palace, but he was not considered in danger, when, suddenly at midnight of the 7th July 1837, the Resident was informed that his Majesty was no more.

When describing the Fureed Buksh Palace, we touched upon the occurrences of which it was the theatre, on that eventful night. If space permitted, we should now gladly detail those brilliant operations. It was a sudden crisis, an unforeseen emergency, that tested the stuff of which our officers were made. Not only Colonel Lowe himself, but his Assistants, Captain Patton and Captain Shakespeare, shewed admirable courage and coolness. A moment's indecision on the part of the Resident, or a failure on the part of either of the Assistants in the duties assigned to them would have deluged the city of

* Minutes of Evidence. Appendix No. 27, page 404.

Lucknow with blood, and cost the Residency party their lives; as it was, they were in great danger, especially Captain Patton, and were only rescued from the hands of the rebels by the speedy arrival of the 35th Regiment. The conduct of the gallant Noke-ka-pultun that night, was a good augury of the laurels they were so soon to earn in the more trying field of Affghanistan.

The case of the boy Moona Jan was dissimilar from that of Vizier Ali; the latter was acknowledged, the former disowned by his reputed father.

The new King, Mahommed Ali, was a cripple, a respectable old man, who had never dreamt of royalty, and whose very insignificance and previous seclusion saved his life during the emeute of the soldiery on the 7th of July. Grateful for his elevation which he attributed to the British Government he was willing to acquiesce in any reasonable terms that might be dictated to him, consistent with what he deemed his *iuzut.** He fell into good hands: never was there a Resident more kind and considerate than Colonel Lowe. He understood his own position, and had sense to perceive that he gained more credit in fulfilling its duties than by stepping out of his sphere. Contented with exercising the legitimate authority of his station, he had no ambition to be "Mayor of the Palace" at Lucknow, or to maintain the balance of power between the rival factions around the throne. He was satisfied to look on in small matters —ready to advise in great ones. He was a plain soldierly man, who, having served an apprenticeship to politics under Malcolm, fought at Mehidpoor, and afterwards trod the intricate paths of Indian diplomacy at Jeypore, and with Bajee Rao, was well adapted for the Lucknow Court: doubly so as being in his own character the very antithesis of every thing there; straightforward integrity, opposed to crooked chicanery. Colonel Lowe had seen enough of native courts to understand and fathom them, while he had escaped their corruptions. Inaccessible alike to bribes, threats, and cajoling, he was feared by the vile Nusser-oo-deen Hyder, and respected by the amiable Mahommed Ali.

The new king had soon a new treaty laid before him; the document bears internal evidence of not being Colonel Lowe's work; indeed some of the clauses were entirely opposed to his views. Its two prominent features were, first, the introduction into Oude of an auxiliary force of two Regiments of Cavalry, five of Infantry, and two companies of Golundauze at an annual

* Honour.

expence of sixteen lakhs of Rupees, to be defrayed by the local Government. The other was a stipulation for the management by British Officers of such districts of Oude as should be notoriously oppressed by the local agents. Colonel Lowe was, we know, averse to saddling the king with more troops; but his views were overruled, and a portion of the Regiments were raised. The measure was, however, very properly disapproved of by the Court of Directors, and the enrolment of the new levy prohibited, as being an exaction on the Oude State.

Mahommed Ali was evidently so much in earnest in his efforts for the improvement of his kingdom, that Government overlooked the glaring mismanagement still existing in parts of Oude, and did not act on the permission given by the new treaty. The King's intentions were good, and the character of the Court rose very much during his short reign. He was unfortunate in the death of his two able ministers, Moomtuzim-oo-dowlah (Mehndy Ali Khan) and Zaheer-oo-dowlah. The nephew of the former, as already mentioned, then succeeded, and, held office for two years: on his resignation a young nobleman, by name Shurreef-oo-dowlah, the nephew of Zaheer-oo-dowlah, assumed the reins of Government, and retained them until the old king's death. Shureef-oo-dowlah is a man of good ability, of considerable firmness and activity. His manners are pleasing; he possesses habits of business; on the whole he is considered the ablest and most respectable candidate for the ministry. He is however personally disliked by the present king.

On the death of his father in May 1842, Mahommed Amjud Ali, the present King, ascended the throne. His conduct towards his minister was such as to cause his resignation within two months. He then appointed a personal favorite, one Imdad Hooseen, entitling him Ameen-oo-dowlah. After a trial of five months he was found wanting, and removed, and Munowur-oo-dowlah having returned from pilgrimage was reinstated. The new Minister, unable to stem the current of Lucknow intrigue, held the office scarcely seven months, when Ameen-oo-dowlah was recalled to his master's councils. The favourite is generally supposed quite incompetent for the duties of his office, and indeed is said to trouble himself very little about them. He takes the profits and leaves the labours to his deputy, Syud-oo-dowlah, a low person who has rapidly risen from penury to power by the prostitution of his own sister. Not long since this man was an Omedwar for the office of moonshee to one of Col. Roberts's Regiments; now we understand the gallant Colonel to be a candidate for the command of one of his. So goes round the wheel! The King pays no attention to busi-

ness, will abide by no warnings, will attend to no advice, and, it is rumoured, has secretly confirmed his imbecile ministers in their places for four years, in spite of the remonstrances of the Resident.

Let us briefly recapitulate. The condition of Oude is yearly becoming worse. The Revenue is yearly lessening. There are not less than 100,000 soldiers in the service of Zemindars. The Revenue is collected by half that number in the king's pay. In more than half the Districts of Oude are strong Forts, most of them surrounded with dense jungle, carefully rendered as inaccessible as possible. Originally the effect of a weak or tyrannical Government, such fortresses perpetuate anarchy. The Amils and other public officers, are men of no character who obtain and retain their position by Court bribery. Only the weak pay their revenue; those who have forts, or who, by combinations, can withstand the Amil, make their own revenue arrangements. Throughout the country nothing exists deserving the name of a judicial or Magisterial Court. The newswriters are in the pay of the Amils, generally their servants; nevertheless, not less than a hundred Dacoities, or other acts of violence attended with loss of life, are annually reported; how many hundreds then pass unnoticed! Within the last six months, the Government Dawk has been robbed: within the last three, an Amil has been slain. While we write, the British cantonment of Cawnpoor has been insulted; and month after month, the local press tells of new atrocities. In short, the Government of the country is utterly palsied; its constitution is altogether destroyed; no hope remains. Were any vitality left in Oude, the country has, during the last twelve years, had a fair opportunity of recovering. If the system of a King, a Minister, a Resident, and a protecting army could subsist without ruin to the country so ruled, it has had a trial. The scheme cannot be said to have failed for lack of good instruments. The Oude rulers have been no worse than monarchs so situated usually are; indeed they have been better than might have been expected. Weak, vicious and dissolute they were, but they have seldom been cruel, and have never been false. In the storms of the last half century, Oude is the one single native state that has invariably been true to the British Government; that has neither intrigued against us nor seemed to desire our injury. It may have been weakness, it may have been apathy, but it is at least fact, that the Oude Government has ever been faithful, and therefore it is that we would not only advocate liberality towards the descendants of Saddut Khan, but the utmost consideration that can be shewn them, *consistent* with the

duty we owe to the people of Oude. Among her ministers have been as able individuals as are usually to be found in the East; and there have not been wanting good men and true as Residents. It is the system that is defective, not the tools with which it has been worked. We have tried every variety of interference. We have interfered directly, and we have interfered indirectly; by omission as well as by commission, but it has invariably failed.

One great error has been our interference in trifles, while we stood aloof when important questions were at issue. Another crying evil has been the want of any recognized system of policy in our negociations with the Lucknow Court. Every thing seems to have been mere guess-work and experiment. One Governor-General or one Resident has adopted one plan; the next has tried something wholly different. The Nawab, or the King, the Minister and the Resident, have each had their turn. One or other has alternately been every thing and nothing. If an able Minister was appointed or encouraged by the British Government, he was, as a matter of course, suspected and thwarted by his master; if the King did happen to employ an honest servant, the power of the latter was null, unless he had the Resident's support. The Amils neglected him, the Zemindars despised him. There could be no neutrality in the case: the British Agent must be friend or foe; he must be for or against the Minister. Thus could each member of the triumvirate vitiate the exertions of one or both the others; any individual of the three could do incalculable evil; but the three souls must be in one body, to effect any good. Such a phenomenon never occurred; there never was an approach to it, unless perhaps for a few months in Colonel Lowe's time.

On reverting to the past, it will be found that we have interfered in the city, and have held aloof in the country; that at another time, while we spared the palace, we have entered the villages with our tunkhwas (revenue orders). Again, for a time we have left both Court and country unmolested. Such sullen silence was always construed into the most *direct* interference; for, the King being guaranteed, it was believed that he was then at liberty to work his will without fear or consequences, since British bayonets would appease whatever tumult might arise. Our troops have carried the fortresses of the oppressed by storm and put the brave defenders to the sword. On one occasion a terrible example was made, and not a man escaped. Our Cavalry surrounded the fort; the Infantry entered; and of the doomed defenders, not a soul survived.* At that period we not only

* The Fort of Puther Serai, in the year 1808.

guaranteed the Ruler, but were made the executioners of his will. A revulsion came; such acts were shewn in all their naked deformity; and both Court and country were again for a while left to themselves. Fraud was then substituted for force, and occasionally large bands of ill-paid and licentious soldiery were sent to devastate the country they could not subdue. The British troops did their work of destruction speedily, and therefore with comparative mercy. The Royal rabble spread, like locusts, over the land, and killed by famine what they could not destroy by the sword.

From this mass of mischief, who is the gainer? It may be supposed that the Amils at least gain; not they. There may perhaps be twenty families in all Oude, that had profitted by Government employ; but all others have been simply sponges. The officials have sucked others to be themselves squeezed in turn. It is to remain thus for ever? Is the fairest province of India always to be harried and rackrented for the benefit of one family, or rather, to support in idle luxury, *one* individual of *one* family? Forbid it justice, forbid it mercy! Had any one of the many Govornors-General who spoiled Oude, remained a few years longer in office, he might have righted her wrongs. But, unhappily, while several have been in authority long enough to wound, not one has yet had time to bind up and heal. Hastings began the "stand and deliver" system with the Nawabs. More moderate Governors succeeded who felt ashamed to persecute a family that had already been so pillaged. They pitied the Monarch, but they forgot that misdirected mercy to him, was cruelty to his subject millions.

For this culpable indifference, our Government had a standing excuse,—their hands were tied by the treaties of their predecessors, and their interference, even if justifiable, would do more harm than good. Poor casuistry! The truth is, that where a question admits of doubt, there can be little danger if, *with clean hands*, we take the weaker side; if, foregoing all thought of personal or political profit, we arbitrate in favor of the mass. There was no treaty for Warren Hastings' acts or for half the acts of half his successors. A hole was, however, generally, found for creeping out of every dilemma which affected our own interests. At the very worst, when a vacancy occurred on the musnud, a new negociation soon set all to rights. On each occasion we dictated our own terms; on each of these opportunities we might as readily have made arrangements for securing good government as for securing our own subsidy: we were explicit enough on the one point; all else was left indefinite, the stronger party being, of course, the interpreters

of the law. The Oude Government therefore suffered by diplomatic quibbles; the Oude subjects by revenue ones. In each case the weakest have gone to the wall. The result is before our eyes; the remedy is also in our hands. No one can deny that we are now authorized by treaty to assume the management of the distracted portions of the kingdom.—*All* are more or less distracted and misgoverned. Let the management of all be assumed under some such rules as those which were laid down by Lord W. Bentinck. Let the administration of the country, as far as possible, be native. *Let not a rupee come into the Company's coffers.* Let Oude be at last governed, not for one man, the King, but for him and his people.

We must be brief in the explanation of the plan we would recommend.

The King has made himself a cypher; he has let go the reins of Government; let us take them up. He should be prevented from marring what he cannot or will not manage. In every eastern court the Sovereign is *every thing* or nothing. Mahommed Amjud Ali has given unequivocal proof that he is of the second class; there can therefore be no sort of injustice in confirming his own decree against himself, and setting him aside. He should be treated with respect, but restricted to his palace and its precincts. The Resident should be Minister, not only in fact, but in name. Let it not be said that he works in the dark; but give him the responsible charge of the country, and make him answerable to the British Government for its good or ill management. While his personal demeanour to the King must be deferential, he should be no more under his authority than the Commissioner of Delhi is under the Great Mogul. Divide the country into five districts; in each, place a British officer, as Superintendent, who shall receive appeals against the Native officers. Abolish, *in toto*, the farming system. Give as quickly as possible a light assessment for five years, fixed as far as possible by the people themselves; that is, let the one-and-a-quarter million, (or thereabouts,) the country may be supposed able to bear, be subdivided in a great assembly of the people among the five districts; and then let the District, Pergunnah, and Village quotas be similarly told off, under the eye of British Superintendents.

Due consideration must be given to the circumstances of all and to the privileges that may have arisen from long exemption, and it must be remembered that one village may be ruined by paying half what another, in apparently similar circumstances, can easily afford; let the rich and powerful pay as well as the poor and weak. Reference, must be had, and some considera-

tion granted to past payments and past privileges as well as to present condition. Perfect equalization cannot be expected at once.

While the first arrangements are in progress, a strong military force should be at hand; and the first act of recusancy should be severely punished. The dismissal of the rural armies should be effected, and all forts belonging to notorious persons should be dismantled. Where possible, an amnesty should be given for the past. No individual, whom it may be possible to reclaim, should be branded. The motives that had driven men to the bush should be considered, and penalty bonds having been taken, they should be received and treated as reformed members of society. Under firm but liberal treatment, many a supposed desperado would retrieve his reputation. Speedy and severe examples should be made of Amils and others convicted of fraud, extortion, or other oppression; and it should be early and distinctly understood that no position will screen malefactors or defaulters. The rule will disgust a few, but will delight the many.

The revenue settlement is the first great question in all eastern countries; when it was well effected, all remaining work is comparatively easy. At the risk then of being set down by men who deal in forms, rather than in realities, as a very unsound lawgiver, we say, first settle the revenue question satisfactorily, and the path of amendment will be smooth. Let men's minds be relieved as to the past and the future, and they will readily settle down for the present. Three months, at the utmost, should suffice to make the summary settlement we propose; no niceties need be entered into. Let the assessment be light, and let every man, high and low, who has to pay, have his quota *distinctly* registered, whether it be in cash or in kind; and let prompt and severe punishment follow the earliest instances of infringement of recorded agreements.

Let a date be fixed, anterior to which no Government claims for revenue shall be advanced. Let it also be at once promulgated that no civil case will be attended to of more than twelve, or at the utmost of twenty year's date; and no police case of more than three; and that all claims must be filed within one year of the date of the introduction of the British rule. All these cases should be made over to Punchayets, *superintended* by the best men in the land. Brief reasons of decision in each case should be entered in a book, and copies of the same sent weekly to the Superintendent. For ordinary civil, fiscal, and police duties, Courts should be established or old ones confirmed in the several zillahs: punchayets should be encouraged; honest

members* of such assemblies, should be honored and favoured, and dishonest ones discountenanced and disgraced.

What a change would such a system, honestly and ably worked out, effect within a single twelvemonth! It is delightful to think of it. We see the difficulties in the way, but difficulties are not impossibilities. No plan is all smooth, no measure of amelioration is without obstacles. Our main difficulty would be to select Superintendents of sufficient experience, possessing at the same time energy and ability, strength of body and of mind, to face the chaos that would at first be presented them. Such men are, however to be found. They must be paid, and liberally too, not in the Scinde and Saugor fashion. It would be the worst of all economy to employ men who would not remain at least five years to work out the primary scheme.

Our plan involves the employment of every present Oude official, *willing to remain, and able to perform the duties* that would be required of him. The majority of the present Amils would resign as would most of the officers about the Court. All valid tenures of land would of course be upheld, and all superannuated officials having claims to pension, would be considered. It would be desirable to retain the services of one or two respectable men, to assist the Resident and form with him a Court of Appeal from the Superintendent's decrees.

When matters were thus put in train, village boundaries should be defined; a Revenue survey, and a settlement for thirty, or even fifty, years should follow.

We do not anticipate the necessity of any permanent increase of establishment. If Mr. Maddock's estimate is correct; half the sum now plundered by the Amils and the Ministers would amply remunerate all the requisite officials.

The primary arrangements would probably require cash; but as the improvement of the country would be secured, an Oude loan of a crore of rupees might be raised, which the increase of cultivation and general amelioration of the state would enable us easily to pay off in ten or fifteen years. We repeat that the assessment should be light. The people as well as the Court should benefit by improvement, if they are expected to further it. There should be a liberal allowance for the King—twenty, thirty or even fifty lakhs per annum might, as the revenues increased, be allowed. He should be furnished, to his heart's content, with silver-sticks, but very scantily with matchlocks. The King would be dissatisfied, let him remain so. He is not

* In every community there are individuals whom disputants will readily receive as arbitrators: such men are usually elected, *Sur-Punch* or President, by the members chosen.

particularly well pleased just now, and, so long as we act honestly, the state of his temper is not of much consequence. In whatever spirit he might meet our proposed radical reform he would find few to sympathize in his dissatisfaction. His brothers, uncles, and cousins would be delighted with the change.

The guaranteed would be in extacies. Almost all others would rejoice at the reformation. The people of Oude—the men who recruit our "beautiful Regiments"—would bless John Company.

The scheme we have here indicated rather than detailed is not for a day, nor for any specific term of years. It is refined cruelty to raise the cup to the lip and then to dash it away. Let us not deal with Oude as we have done with Hyderabad and Nagpore. The kings of Oude, generally, have, as rulers, been weighed and found wanting. His present Majesty has habitually disregarded the spirit and letter of the terms concluded between his father and the British Government. The family must be placed beyond the power of doing further mischief. We have not been guiltless; in repenting of the past, let us look honestly to the future; for once let us remember the people, the gentles, the nobles, the royal family, and not legislate merely for the king.

If the Oude Residency could, with honor, be withdrawn, or if we believed that there was a possibility of the Government of the king holding together for a month, when abandoned by the British Government, we should at once advocate giving his Majesty the opportunity of trying to stand on his own legs; but knowing the thing to be impossible, we have offered the only practicable remedy for the ills that afflict the country, and shall be delighted to see it, or some such scheme, speedily carried out. This scheme is given in the rough. We have not even attempted to round it off; the principle is all we advocate. The details may be indefinitely improved, but whatever outcry or opposition our sentiments may elicit, we sit down satisfied with the reflection that we have suggested no breach of faith, but have promulgated a plan which the most conscientious servant of the state might be proud to work out.

ART. VI.—*Topographical Survey of the River Hooghly from Bandel to Garden Reach, exhibiting the Principal Buildings, Ghats, and Temples on both banks, executed in the year* 1841 *; by Charles Joseph.*

AFTER the important questions, to which we have solicited the attention of the reader in the preceding pages of this number, we shall be readily excused for closing it with an article which will involve little, if any, mental exertion. We solicit him to accompany us with Joseph's Map, up both banks of the Hooghly, while we point out the various spots which possess an interest from old associations or have been rendered memorable by historical recollections. To these places we cannot possess a better topographical guide than the Map placed at the head of this article, which is remarkable both for the minute accuracy of its details, and for its splendid execution. We are sorry to learn that it has not been sufficiently appreciated by the public, to afford the enterprizing compiler any thing like an adequate remuneration for his labor, but in a few years it will unquestionably be considered one of the most interesting publications of the present day, and sought after with a degree of avidity proportioned to its value and its scarcity. The notices we now offer on the different places of note on the Hooghly, which are marked down on the map, or which through the mutation of circumstances have been omitted in it, are drawn partly from the recollections of aged residents, and partly from the observations to be found in authors now known to few but the historian and the archœologist. From these sources we have endeavoured to collect together whatever appeared likely to illustrate the banks of the river, and to revive the remembrance of the scenes and events which have distinguished them. We lay claim to no merit but that of having catered industriously for the amusement of the reader. The reading we now present him is of the lightest order, and by some may even be deemed frivolous. We have no other object in this article but the rational gratification of the hour. We have allotted to it no regular course, or fixed destination, but have reserved to ourselves the privilege of pausing, or digressing wherever we could discover any thing calculated to afford pleasure.

The Map commences in the South with that series of splendid mansions at Garden Reach, which surprise and delight the eye of the stranger as he approaches Calcutta, and which form so appropriate an introduction to a city which has justly been denominated the City of Palaces. At what precise period after

the factory of Calcutta had become the capital of a kingdom, these garden houses were erected, we have not been able to discover. Mrs. Kindersley, whose interesting letters, written in 1768, give us a general description of the town, makes no allusion to them, and we naturally conclude that they were not then in existence. She simply says, "in the country *round* the town are a number of very pretty houses which are called country houses, belonging to the English gentlemen.....A little out of town is a clear airy spot, free from smoke, or any encumbrances, called the *corse* (because it is a road, the length of a *corse*, or two miles) in a sort of ring, or rather angle, made on purpose to take the air in, which the company frequent in their carriages about sunset, or in the morning before the sun is up." Twelve years after, however, Garden Reach appears to have been in all its glory. Mrs. Fay says, "the banks of the river are as one may say studded with elegant mansions, called here as at Madras, garden houses. These houses are surrounded with groves and lawns, which descend to the water's edge, and present a constant succession of whatever can delight the eye, or bespeak wealth and elegance in the owners." Of the houses which adorn Garden Reach, that which is now occupied by Capt. Engledue, the agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, is distinguished above all others for its classic elegance. It was erected after a design by Mr. C. K. Robison, to whose architectural taste the city is indebted for some of its noblest buildings. Since the publication of the Map we have chosen for our text, a deeper interest has been given to this spot, as the anchorage of those magnificent steamers which ply monthly between Suez and Calcutta, and bring out passengers in six weeks from England, and enable us to place this Journal in the hands of our friends in London in the same brief period.

A little to the north of the spot where the steamers anchor is the dock-yard, lately belonging to James Kyd, an East Indian gentleman, who not only endeavoured to stir up his own section of the community to seek an honourable independence by their own exertions, instead of wasting their lives in the subordinate position of clerks, but himself set them the example of independent enterprize in the large docking establishment which he conducted at Kidderpore. It is now the property of Government, and is appropriated to the repairs of the public steamers. The assemblage of these various steamers in this locality—of the great leviathans which face the monsoon in all its fury in the Bay, and the little iron vessels which paddle away to Allahabad week by week,—gives an air of life

and cheerfulness to the spot. But its chief interest is connected with the past. It was here that the enterprizing Colonel Henry Watson domesticated the art of ship-building in Bengal. It is true that Grose, in speaking of the year 1756, says, "on the other side of the water (that is, opposite Calcutta) there were docks for repairing and careening the ships, near which the Armenians had a good garden;" but his statements are generally too loose to command confidence. Thus, for instance, he tells us that in the first day's encounter with Seraja-dowlah's army in June 1756, the Nabob lost 12,000 men and the English only five! To Col. Watson unquestionably belongs the honor of having established the first dock-yards in Bengal. His penetration led him to perceive the advantageous position of the Bay of Bengal in reference to the countries lying to the east and west of it. He felt that if the English marine was placed on an efficient footing, we must remain masters of the Eastern seas. He, therefore, obtained a grant of land from Government at Kidderpore, for the establishment of wet and dry docks, and of a marine yard in which every facility should be created for building, repairing and equipping vessels of war and merchantmen. His works were commenced in 1780; and the next year he launched the *Nonsuch* frigate of 36 guns, which was constructed under his own directions by native workmen, and proved remarkable for her speed. He devoted his time and his fortune to this national undertaking for eight years, and in 1788 launched another frigate, the *Surprize*, of 32 guns; but his resources were by this time exhausted; after having sunk ten lakhs of Rupees in his dock yard, he was obliged to relinquish it. He was the first of those great men who have laid the foundation of great improvements at this presidency; and conferred the most essential advantages on the country. We regret to find that he himself reaped no other reward from these exertions than that which the philanthropist derives from toil and success in a public cause.

Immediately above the dock-yards, we have Tolly's Nullah or canal, which connects the Eastern districts of the country with Calcutta, and where, before 1756 was to be seen the Govindpore creek. A very noble suspension bridge has been erected over this Nullah by the subscriptions of the community in Calcutta, to commemorate the administration of the Marquis of Hastings. Next comes in succession the Cooly Bazar, where the non-commissioned officers connected with Fort William chiefly reside, and where the munitions of war are stored. Immediately above it is Fort William, begun in 1757 by Clive, and completed at an expense of two crores of Rupees.

As this brief notice is not intended as a picture of Calcutta, we shall not stop to describe the Fort, or its arsenal; its Gothic church, or its intolerable heat. Since the date of the Map, a Ghat has been erected under the South-west angle of the Fort by public subscription, to perpetuate the memory of James Prinsep, one of the most eminent men of his day, who, after a short and brilliant career, fell a sacrifice to his ardor in the pursuits of science. It is a huge and ugly pile, on which a large sum has been expended without taste or judgment. Its locality is as objectionable as its architecture. It is entirely out of the way of public convenience, and is seldom used as a landing stairs. The most memorable event connected with it, is the departure of Lord Ellenborough, who, instead of embarking as all his predecessors had done, at Chandpal Ghat, thought fit to gratify his military predilections by driving with his cortege through the Fort, and taking his farewell of Calcutta on the steps of Prinsep's Ghat. Not far from it, there is now rising the monument which his Lordship resolved to erect in memory of the battles of Muharajpore and Punniar, from the cannon taken on those fields of victory. The plan is not altogether original, for Napoleon had already erected his triumphal column in Paris with captured cannon, and Lord Wellesley announced his intention to erect a similar memorial of the victory of Assaye, with similar materials. But though the conception is not original, the design is entirely so. Those who have had an opportunity of seeing the drawing describe it as an unsightly imitation of Saracenic architecture, which will reflect little credit on the architect who designed it and prove any thing but an ornament to the town. The monument which Lord Ellenborough had ordered to be built at Bombay to commemorate the victories of Hydrabad and Meanee with the enemy's cannon, had not been commenced at the end of a twelve month. It was perhaps on this ground that he hastened the preparations for the erection of the Calcutta monument with unusual ardor. But before the foundation of it could be laid, his administration was brought to an abrupt and unexpected close; and the completion of it was bequeathed with no little importunity to his successor. It is to be erected on the angle of land on the Western face of the Fort, which projects into the river, where it is more likely to be conspicuous than safe, for the river seems to have a sinister eye to this projection. It is to cost 50,000 Rupees.

The space between the Fort and Chandpal Ghat was formerly occupied with the Respondentia walk, and adorned with trees, few of which are now to be seen. As we approach

the city, we come upon Rajchunder Dass's Ghat, a large, neat and commodious landing stairs, the nearest point of convenient embarkation for the citizens of Chowringhee. Unlike Prinsep's Ghat, it has been erected where one was needed, as the crowd of palankeens around it, and the fleet of vessels in front of it, abundantly testify. The wealthy native at whose expense it was built has not failed to perpetuate his own name, as well as that of the Governor-General under whose administration it was constructed, by a marble tablet placed over the entrance from the land side. Within a few yards of this Ghat stands the Steam Engine which supplies with water the aqueducts, from which some of the more patrician streets of the town are watered. It is one of the most useful establishments in the City of Palaces, and the only wonder is that, in the metropolis of so great an empire, which yields a revenue of Twenty crores of Rupees a year, it is the only Steam Engine erected for this important object; and that of the streets which might be benefited by it, more than half are without aqueducts, and are rendered obscure by clouds of suffocating dust, during many months of the year.

Let us pause for a moment at the venerable, time worn, time honoured Chandpal Ghat, which lies on the northern side of the Steam Engine, and which some have facetiously denominated St. Paul's Ghat. Though we know not exactly when or by whom it was built, there can be little doubt that it was not dedicated to the Apostle of the Gentiles. Tradition connects its appellation with a native of the name of Chandru Pal—not of the royal dynasty of the Pals—who kept a little grocer's shop in its immediate vicinity, and who has unconsciously obtained an imperishable name in our annals. This is the spot where India welcomes and bids adieu to her rulers. It is here that the Governors-General, the Commanders-in-Chief, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Bishops, and all who are entitled to the honours of a salute from the ramparts of Fort William, first set foot in the metropolis. To enumerate all who have landed at these stairs would be to recount the most distinguished men of the last seventy years. It is not noticed in the map of 1756; but we know that it was already in existence in 1774, when Francis and his companions landed here, having had their sweet tempers soured by a five days' voyage from Kedgeree. It was here that the author of Junius counted one by one the guns which boomed from the Fort and found to his mortification that their number did not exceed seventeen, when he had expected nineteen. This circumstance appears to have laid the foundation of the implacable hatred he manifested towards Hastings,

and which for six years exposed the administration of the country to contempt. Is it unreasonable to suppose that if his self esteem had been gratified by two additional charges of powder, the unseemly and dangerous opposition which brought the empire to the brink of ruin, might have been avoided, and that even the solemn trial in Westminster Hall, so memorable for the rank of the victim, and the splendid genius of his accusers, would never have occurred? Upon what trifles do the most momentous affairs of mankind appear to hang. And it was at this Chandpal Ghat that the first Judges of the Supreme Court, who came out to redress the wrongs of India, but created infinitely more mischief than they remedied, first set foot in India. It was here, at this Ghat, that the Chief Justice, as he contemplated the bare legs and feet of the multitude who crowded to witness their advent, exclaimed to his colleague, see Brother, the wretched victims of tyranny. The Crown Court was not surely established before it was needed. I trust it will not have been in operation six months before we shall see these poor creatures comfortably clothed in shoes and stockings.

Having thus arrived at Chandpal Ghat, and reached the spot where the recollections of the Factory of 1756 begin, we shall for a moment look back on its original establishment, in the seventeenth century, with the view of ascertaining, if possible, the site of the three villages, of Chuttanutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore, which once occupied the spot now adorned with the City of Palaces. To pursue the enquiry to any advantage, it will be necessary briefly to touch upon the events of the fifteen years which preceded the elevation of Calcutta to the rank of a Presidency in 1700. Previous to 1684-85, the trade of the Company in Bengal had been subject to repeated interruption from the caprice of the Viceroy, and the machinations of his underlings. The seat of the Factory was at Hooghly, then the port of Bengal, which was governed by a Mahomedan officer, called the Fouzdar, who had a large body of troops under his command, and possessed supreme authority in the place. The Company's establishment was therefore completely at his mercy, and their officers had no means of resisting exactions or resenting insult. The Court of Directors, thus constantly reminded of the disadvantages of their position, naturally became anxious to obtain the same freedom from interference in Bengal which they enjoyed at Madras and Bombay, where their settlements were fortified, and the circumjacent lands were under their command. They accordingly instructed their President to demand of the Nabob, and through him of the Great Mogul, a grant of land where they might

establish warehouses and erect fortifications. This singular demand for permission to plant an independent flag in Bengal was the first ever made to the House of Timur, for neither Bombay nor Madras was subject to the Emperor when our factories were established there.

While this demand, as we suppose, was under consideration, the oppression of the Native government brought matters to a point. The pykars, or contractors, at Cossimbazar, were a lakh and a half of Rupees in debt to the Company's agents, and refused to furnish new supplies for the investment without a fresh advance of half a lakh of Rupees. Charnock refused to comply with the demand. They appealed to the Nabob, who decided in their favour. Charnock however still remained firm; and a very exaggerated representation was sent to the Emperor, of the refractory behaviour of the English. All their trade was at once stopped, and their ships were sent away half empty. When intelligence of these events reached England, the Company communicated it to James the Second, and that monarch sanctioned their resolution to go to war with the great Mogul, and to establish themselves by force in his dominions. They accordingly sent out a large armament, consisting of ten ships, of from 12 to 70 guns, under Captain Nicholson, who was to command the fleet till his arrival in Bengal, when the President was to assume the post of Admiral and Commander-in-Chief. Six Companies of infantry were sent at the same time, but without Captains, as they were to be commanded by the Members of Council. The orders of the Directors were that their officers should take and fortify Chittagong with 200 pieces of cannon, and make it the seat of their commerce; and that they should march up against Dacca, then the capital of Bengal, and capture it.—But we need not detain the reader with the schemes of wild ambition which the Court of Directors indulged at a time when Aurungezebe was in the zenith of his power. A part only of the fleet arrived at Hooghly; but while the President was waiting for the remainder, an affray was caused by three soldiers on the 28th of October, 1686, which brought on a general engagement. Nicholson bombarded the town and burnt 500 houses and spiked all the guns in the batteries; and the Fouzdar begged for an armistice, to gain time. It is remarkable that just before this action, orders had arrived from the Viceroy to compromise the dispute which had brought this hostile armament into Bengal, and to submit the claims for compensation of losses to arbitration. The attack of course superseded all thoughts of accommodation; but if it had not taken place, there is little hope that the negotiations would

have terminated favourably. The compensation which the Directors had instructed Nicholson to demand and to enforce with his cannon was incredibly extravagant; it actually amounted to Sixty-six lakhs of Rupees; of which Twenty lakhs were set down for the demurrage of their ships for three years, and twenty lakhs more as the charge of the 1,000 men and 20 ships of war sent to enforce the demand, thus making the great Mogul pay for the very birch which was to be employed to chastise him. The Company could never have expected that Aurungzebe would comply with this haughty and unreasonable demand, or that it would produce any other result than to exasperate his mind, and to prolong hostilities.

During the truce, the Company's officers reflected upon their position, in an open town like Hooghly, and resolved to abandon it. Instead, however, of obeying the orders they had received from home of proceeding to Chittagong, they retired to Chuttanutee, a little below the Dutch factory at Barnagore, where they landed on the 20th December 1686; and the English flag was for the first time planted in the spot destined to become the capital of a great empire. The Directors were exceedingly enraged on hearing of these transactions, and censured Nicholson for not having struck terror into the minds of the natives by sacking Hooghly, while they attributed the failure of the expedition to the timidity and selfish views of their agents,—in which they were not far from the truth. They again declared their determination to obtain an independent factory, with the ground around it, a fortification capable of commanding respect, and a mint; and they resolved to quit Bengal if these advantages could not be secured. The history of the subsequent year is obscure, owing to the loss of the vessels which took home the despatches; but we gather that the Mahomedan General soon after arrived at Hooghly with an army, and that the Company's Agents construed this into a breach of the armistice, and proceeded forthwith to plunder Tannah, and every place which lay between it and the island of Ingelee, which they took and fortified. Though our troops began to die by scores of jungle fever on that fatal island, Charnock obstinately continued to occupy it. Not long after he burnt Balasore, and captured forty Mogul ships. How he could expect that matters would be accommodated after he had proceeded to these extremities, we are at a loss to imagine, but he appears to have applied to the Nabob for an order to re-establish the out factories of Cossimbazar and Dacca, and for the cession of Oolooberiya, sixteen miles below Calcutta, in which he was not unsuccessful.

Meanwhile, the Court of Directors sent out the most peremp-

tory prohibition of any compromise, and repeated their resolution to maintain the war with vigor. They accordingly despatched a hot headed man of the name of Heath, in command of the *Defiance* frigate, with a hundred and sixty men, either to assist in the war if it still continued, or to bring away their whole establishment if a truce had been made with the enemy. Heath arrived in 1688, and sailed to Balasore Roads the next month; and though a firman had intermediately arrived for the re-establishment of British commerce on a favorable footing, he landed his men, stormed the batteries of Balasore and plundered the place. He then embarked the whole body of Company's servants and sailed across the bay to Chittagong, opened a negotiation with some Raja in Arracan, and without waiting for his reply, sailed away to Madras, where he landed the whole of the Company's establishment. Thus, this premature attempt of the Company to obtain a footing by force in Bengal, and to maintain their position by the terror of their arms, ended in the entire loss of their commerce and the abandonment of all their establishments in the province. Sixty-six years after, a new and more disastrous crisis arose; all their factories were broken up; the seat of their commerce was captured and pillaged; its very name was changed, to efface the remembrance of their existence; and one-half their servants were massacred. Within a twelvemonth after that calamity, Calcutta was re-captured and re-established, the Nabob defeated and slain, and the three provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, with a population of twenty millions, were brought under their absolute control without any instructions from them, and even without their knowledge.

Soon after, Ibrahim Khan was appointed to the Government of Bengal, and sent two successive invitations to Charnock to return with the Company's establishment. He at length accepted the offer and landed at Chuttanutty with a large stock of goods; and on the 27th April received a firman, in which the Emperor declared, "that it had been the good fortune of the English to repent of their past irregular proceedings," and that he had given them liberty to trade in Bengal without interruption. In 1691 we find Charnock residing in Chuttanutty with a hundred soldiers, but without either store houses or fortifications. He died the next year in January. His name is inseparably associated with the metropolis of British India, which he was accidentally the instrument of establishing; but there does not appear to have been any thing great or even remarkable in his character. He had no large or comprehensive views; he was vacillating, timid, and cruel. He is said to have rescued a Hindoo female from the flames, and to have subsequently

bestowed his affections if not his hand upon her, and he appears to have passed his time under the influence of native associations. On the death of Charnock, Sir John Goldsborough came up from Madras to Chuttanutty, where he found every thing in disorder, and none of the Company's servants in the factory worthy of being entrusted with the charge of it. He therefore called Mr. Eyre up from Dacca, and appointed him the chief. At the same time he reduced the number of soldiers from 100 to 20, exclusive of two Sergeants and Corporals. In 1694-95 the Court of Directors gave orders that Chuttanutty should be considered the residence of their chief Agent in Bengal; and directed that efforts should be made to obtain the farm of two or three adjoining villages. The town duties collected in this year at the new factory amounted to 2000 Rupees, which shews that in the short period of five years its native population had considerably encreased. In 1696-97 happened the rebellion of the Burdwan Zemindar, Sobha Sing, and all the districts to the east of the river from Midnapore to Rajmahl were for a time alienated from the Government of the Viceroy. The foreign factories were threatened with exactions; and the French, Dutch, and English chiefs solicited permission to throw up fortifications for their own defence. The Nabob gave them a general order to provide for their safety, and they eagerly seized the opportunity of strengthening the works which they had previously erected by stealth. Such was the origin of Fort Gustavus at Chinsurah, Fort William in Calcutta, and the French fort at Chandernagore. In 1698-99, the Chief at Chuttanutty received a Nishan, or orders from the viceroy of Bengal for "a settlement of their rights at Chuttanutty, on the basis of which they rented the two adjoining villages of Calcutta and Govindpore." When intelligence of this event reached the Court in London they ordered that Calcutta should be advanced to the dignity of a Presidency; that the President should draw a salary of 200 Rs. a month with an additional, perhaps personal, gratuity of 100 Rs.; that he should be assisted by a Council of four members; of whom the first should be the Accountant; the second, the Warehouse-keeper; the third, the Marine Purser; and the fourth the Receiver of Revenues. It was in this year, and under this new organization, that the Fort, which had now been completed, was called Fort William.

It appears that the Factory was called Chuttanutty in the dispatches sent from England, from the time when Charnock returned to Bengal, to the acquisition of the two villages of Calcutta and Govindpore; after which it was called, first, the Presidency of Calcutta, and eventually, of Fort William. Res-

pecting the locality of Chuttanutty there can be no doubt. It stood on the area at present occupied by the native part of the town, and intersected by the Chitpore road. The evidence of this fact is to be found in the designation of the Ghat now called Haut Khola, which for more than ninety years was known as Chuttanutty Ghat as well as in the existence of the great bazar of Chuttanutty in its immediate vicinity. Govindpore, a straggling village, with clusters of native huts interspersed with jungle, occupied the site of Fort William, and the open plain around it. We find it stated in Holwell's valuable tracts that the rents of the Govindpore market having been affected by the neighbourhood of Kalee-ghat, the evil was remedied by establishing a toll on all articles brought into the English territories from that market. There can, therefore, be little hesitation in fixing the site of this village. The village of Calcutta, must therefore, have stood between Chuttanutty and Govindpore. In 1756 it included the whole of the ground occupied by the European houses; and which at the present time comprises what may be called the commercial and official portion of the town. It would be vain to endeavour to fix the original boundaries of the three villages; but if the map drawn up by Mr. Holwell in 1752, and in which every house was noted, be still in the archives of Leadenhall Street, much assistance may be afforded to the future topography of the metropolis. The position of the original village of Calcutta is distinctly marked by the following circumstances:—In the map of 1794 two portions of the town to the east of Tank Square are marked Dhee Calcutta. The great bazar, now known only by its native name of Bura Bazar, was entered on the records before 1756 as being in Dhee Calcutta; and the ground on which St. John's Cathedral stands, and which was presented by Raja Nubukissen, is also stated in the deed of gift as being in Dhee Calcutta.

We return to Joseph's Map and the banks of the river. Moving up from Chandpal Ghat, along the noble Strand, we come upon Colvin's Ghat, which from time immemorial was called, the *kutcha goodee* Ghat, or the place for careening native boats. They were hauled upon the banks of a narrow canal which ran through the town from this point to the Saltwater lake. It is now filled up, and no trace of it is to be seen except in the old maps. It was on the bank of this creek, on the spot now occupied by the Bengal Secretariat that the southern battery was thrown up in 1756. In the immediate vicinity of Colvin's Ghat is the Police Ghat, now adorned by the Metcalfe Hall; and there in ancient time, before the capture of

Calcutta, stood the house and grounds of the President. The garden appears to have extended from the river to Tank Square then called the Park, which was the great resort of the community for recreation. A neat gateway, as may be seen in the old views, terminated the Governor's garden in front of the Park, and it was from hence that he is described as walking down to the Church, which stood at the western end of Writers' Buildings, doubtless after his Masters had informed him, in 1728, that if he wanted a chaise and pair he must pay for them himself. After the capture of Calcutta a new residence was erected for the President on the spot where the present Government House now stands; and it was there that he was in the habit of entertaining his guests at dinner in the month of May, at one in the afternoon, without punkahs, and placing a little hooka on the table before each individual when the cloth was removed. The old Government House was soon after turned into a Banksall, or Marine Yard, and at the Ghat, in front of it, a dock yard was erected in 1790, for the repairs of Pilot Vessels; but it was disused and filled up in 1808. It is worthy of remark that half a century ago, there were no fewer than three streets called by the name Banksall, the one to the south, the other to the north, and a third to the east, of the present Banksall; from which it would appear that the whole of the spacious square of the old Government House was occupied with the Marine establishments of the state. The origin of this word *Banksall* has baffled all our enquiries, though we suspect that it is derived from the Portuguese. That it was in use nearly a century and a half ago is evident from the orders of the Court of Directors, when they erected Calcutta into a Preisdency in 1700, that all ships under 400 tons burden should go up to town, and all above that tonnage should anchor in Balasore roads, and that a "Banksall" should be erected at Kedgeree. The term has become so thoroughly acclimated that the natives have no other name for a dock yard.

In Joseph's Map, the next Ghat in succession is Coelah Ghat, which is quite a modern appellation, for it was known fifty years ago as the New Wharf, and the old Custom House arose immediately above it. This Ghat stood at the southern extremity of the old Fort, and the Ghat still called the Fort Ghat—a name it has retained for a hundred and fifty years—marks the northern limit of that fortress. The whole of the square between these two points, now occupied by the Export Warehouse and the Custom House, comprised the old Fort, which was completed in 1700, and captured in 1756, after which it ceased to be used as a fortification. A considerable

portion of it was still standing in 1820, when it was pulled down, or rather blown up, to make room for the present buildings. It was then discovered to have been built of materials so strong that the cost of removing it was calculated to be as great as the expense of labour in building it would have been. There was long a tradition in the town that the fort was covertly erected by degrees, in consequence of the jealousy of the Native Government; and that the chunam used for cement was therefore brought up from Madras by sea, and landed in secrecy; and this was supposed to account for its amazing strength. But we find no notice of this fact in any author; and Grose says it was "built with brick, and mortar called puckah, made of brick dust, lime, molasses and hemp, which becomes as durable as stone."

On this spot, now occupied by the Custom House, through which merchandize to the value of fifteen millions sterling is annually passed, we pause for a moment to retrace the scenes which were enacted there, when the young Nabob, within two months of his succession to the throne of his grandfather, marched down with a determination to sack Calcutta and expel the English. Calcutta had by this time risen to be the most important commercial town in Bengal. Its trade exceeded a million sterling a year, and the shipping which annually visited it did not fall short of sixty vessels. The Court of Directors seem to have had some presentiment of the danger to which their settlement might be exposed on the death of Aliverdy Khan, or on the occurrence of a war with France. In 1751 they had sent out orders that the Militia should be trained to arms, but this precaution was so entirely neglected that when the troubles began, and it became necessary to organize a Militia, there were scarcely any among the Armenians and Portuguese, and few among the Europeans, who knew the right from the wrong end of their muskets. In 1753 they sent out fifty fine pieces of cannon, eighteen and twenty-four pounders, which their servants never thought fit to mount, and which were lying near the walls of the Fort with the grass growing over them when the siege began. The very year before the loss of Calcutta, Capt. Leigh Jones, the Captain of the train—in other words, the Commandant of the Artillery—pointed out the ruinous state of the fortifications, and urged their being repaired; but no steps were taken till the enemy was at the door. The eastern curtain was in so dilapidated a state that a four-pounder which it was attempted to fire went through the terrace. Though the death of Aliverdy Khan had been expected for months, and the animosity of his successor to the English

was well known, no preparation was made to meet the approaching storm; no provisions were laid in, and no stock of ammunition was collected. The garrison was totally unprepared for a siege when the first guns of the Nabob's army, fired at Pering's point at Chitpore, announced the approach of his overwhelming host; and though the provisions in the Fort were barely sufficient for its small garrison, and that only for a short period, by an infatuation not to be accounted for, more than *six thousand* of the inhabitants of Calcutta, including several hundred Portuguese women, were admitted into it. Of the five Military officers in the garrison, Commandant Minchin was remarkable only for his indolence and *insouciance*. The President had repeatedly complained of his utter inefficiency, of which he very soon gave a notable proof by putting himself on board a boat and escaping to the ships as soon as the danger became pressing. The second in command, Captain Clayton, had never seen a shot fired. Captain Buchanan, the third in rank, was an officer of great experience, and exhibited the most undaunted spirit throughout the siege, and at last perished in the Black Hole. Had the President executed his threat of superseding Captain Minchin, and raised Captain Buchanan to the supreme command as soon as it was known that the Nabob had set his face towards Calcutta, the town might have been saved—but then it is questionable whether we should ever have had Clive in Bengal, or have fought the battle of Plassey, or have acquired the empire of India. Including officers, the whole number of troops in garrison, when the siege began, did not exceed 190; of these only 60 were Europeans, and not five of them had ever seen a shot fired in earnest. The Militia was therefore embodied. The senior members of Government took the post of field officers, and even the Rev. Mr. Mapletoft, the Chaplain, rendered himself useful as a Captain Lieutenant. The junior members of the service served in the ranks, and the obstinate defence of the place during the 19th and 20th June, which so greatly exasperated the Nabob, is to be ascribed to their extraordinary valor.

The Nabob invested the town on the morning of the 18th June, and before night all the outposts were in his hands, and his troops were enabled to approach within musket shot of the Fort. A Council of war was held that evening, and like all other Councils of war,—that of Jellalabad, perhaps, excepted,—resolved to seek safety otherwise than by fighting. It was determined to send the ladies away on the *Dodaly*, together with the Company's money and books. As that vessel was likely to be over-crowded, Mr. Holwell offered his own snow,

the *Diligence*, on which four of the ladies embarked. Messrs. Manningham and Frankland, two of the members of Council, were the first to set the example of flight. On pretence of accompanying the ladies, they went on board the *Dodaly* of which they were part owners, and from which they never returned. Their Masters' papers and cash were left behind,—for want of coolies; though coolies were easily found to convey other packages on board, which were reasonably supposed to belong to the owners. By the evening all the ladies in the settlement had been embarked, save one, a very "fine country-born lady," as Holwell calls her, the wife of Mr. Carey, one of the officers of the ships, who refused to quit her husband, and when the town was captured, resolved to accompany him into the prison of the Black Hole, from which she was drawn forth in the morning, an emaciated widow. She was taken by force to the Nabob's camp, and it is said, that she remained seven years in the seraglio, but the assertion rests on mere rumour, and her heroic attachment to her husband, renders it any thing but probable.

The Council of war continued to sit till four in the morning. At nine, the President, Mr. Drake, Mr. Mackett, a member of Council, Commandant Minchin and Captain Grant, proceeded to the water's edge, threw themselves into some boats that were lying there, and rowed off to the ships, thus abandoned their companions to the mercy of an infuriated enemy. During the previous night, Messrs. Manningham and Frankland, who had been the first to fly, had moved their vessel down to the Cooly Bazar, out of reach of the enemy's shot. Thither they were now followed by Drake and his cowardly associates. From the place where they were anchored on the 19th, they could see the Company's House, Mr. Cruttenden's, Mr. Nixon's, Dr. Knox's, and the Marine Yard in flames, "a spectacle of unspeakable terror;" they could perceive the various signals of distress by which their deserted companions implored their aid, and they could hear the discharges of artillery which shewed with what fury the struggle was still maintained; but they never weighed anchor. For Drake, the defence has been set up that he was a quaker and retired from the scene of carnage from motives of conscience; and Voltaire has been induced to adopt this explanation of his conduct. But, he was one of the original Committee of Fortifications; during twenty-four hours, while there appeared any hope of safety, he had assisted in military operations, and only an hour or two before his flight, he had been personally employed in transfering cotton from the original bales to bags to be placed on the parapet, to deaden the fire from the Church. It was from the scene of danger that he fled, upon no

conscientious motives but from the impulse of cowardice ; and it is for the interests of humanity that his name and the names of Mackett, of Manningham and Frankland, of Minchin and Grant, should be consigned to the perpetual scorn and contempt of mankind, for their base and dastardly desertion of those whose safety had been entrusted to them. Nothing perhaps shews the wretched character of the home Government at this period more than the fact that these poltroons were never called to account for their conduct. Nothing shews so decisively how unfit the Court of Directors then were to govern the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, of which they had so unexpectedly become masters, as their entrusting the administration of them to this same Drake, who had proved so unworthy of all trust. The anomaly however is explained, when we find that Roger Drake, junr., was rewarded with his Commission as President of the Government by a Court of Directors, of which Roger Drake, senr. was Chairman.

The flight of the President and the military officers became the signal for a general desertion. Crowds hastened down to the river, and each one leaped into the first boat he could find ; and the boatmen, apprehending some new and more imminent danger from this movement, were in their turn seized with a panic, and pushed of from the shore in haste. In a few moments every boat of every description was gone. The gentlemen in the Fort, who had thus been abandoned to their fate by their superiors, and whose retreat was thus cut off, at a time when the enemy was closing upon them in every direction, immediately held a Council, and having suspended the President and the three civilians who had fled, unaninously elected Mr. Holwell as their chief. The garrison made the most vigorous defence of the Fort during the 19th, and till ten in the forenoon of the 20th, when it was found that of 170 men who had been left, 25 were killed and 70 wounded ; that all were exhausted with fatigue, and that the Fort itself was no longer tenable. Mr. Holwell, therefore, determined to capitulate, and sent an Armenian to Oomichand the banker, to ask him to use his good offices with the Nabob for a pacification. The tragedy of the Black Hole was the result. It is too well known to the civilized world to need any notice. But before we quit the Fort and its dismal recollections, we must mention that of the two chaplains in the settlement during the siege, the Rev. Mr. Mapletoft, after having nobly assisted in the defence of the place during the 18th, went on board the vessel on which his wife had taken refuge, with the determination to return, but was carried along with the stream of fugitives down to Cooly

Bazar the next morning, and from thence, on the loss of the town, retreated to Fultah, where he died before the end of the year, of fever. The senior Chaplain, the "veteran Ballamy," as he was called, stood out the siege, and was thrust into the Black Hole with his son, the Lieutenant, and the next morning they were both found dead with their hands locked in each other.

Of the great number thus killed and wounded, a very large proportion appears to have fallen at the eastern curtain of the Fort, where the enemy kept up the most galling fire from the Church, about forty yards distant, of which they had obtained possession. This is the edifice which was raised about thirty years before the fall of Calcutta by the united contributions of the merchants and captains, and was greatly admired for its architecture, and more especially for its beautiful steeple, which was thrown down in the storm of 1738. Whether it was ever rebuilt, is not recorded. The view of Calcutta given in Orme exhibits no steeple in the back ground. The Church appears to have been completely ruined during the siege. The year after, a sum was demanded of Meer Jaffier, when he was raised to the throne and was paid by him, as a specific compensation for the destruction of this edifice, but the members of Government were too intent on improving the golden prospects then opened to them to think of religion, and Calcutta remained for nearly thirty years without any building dedicated to the worship of God, except the private chapel erected by the Missionary, Kiernander, now the Old Church. The compensation paid by the Nabob was added to the old Calcutta Charity fund; in which was also absorbed the donation of Oomichand, to which we have alluded; and both sums were subsequently transferred to the Free School on its establishment in 1789. It may, therefore, be said with the strictest truth, that they were at length devoted to the object for which they were given, when the funds of that Institution were employed, fifteen years ago, in the construction of St. Thomas' Church.

We return to our map and to the banks of the river. Just above the Old Fort Ghat, now stands the Bonded Warehouse, the only corporation in Calcutta besides the Bank of Bengal, but which, notwithstanding its charter, has been unable as yet to realize a reasonable dividend on its capital. On this spot more than a hundred years ago stood the noble mansion of Mr. Cruttenden, subsequently the Governor of Calcutta, which was burnt down on the second night of the siege in 1756. At a later period here lived the Begum Johnson, the grandmother of the Earl of Liverpool, the Prime Minister of England, who

was married in Calcutta in 1738, and died in that city in 1812, after a residence of seventy-four years in it. Immediately above it is Clive Street Ghat, which was known fifty years ago as Blyth's Ghat, when that gentleman's large ship-building establishment was in its vigor. Of Mrs. Ross, now Beebee Ross, there is no memorial on record, except in the Ghat which has been called after her, and which promises long to retain its designation. The next Ghat above it is Raja Daby Sing's, and the mention of his name carries us at once back to the days of Hastings, under whose administration he acquired enormous wealth, and in connection with whose trial he was consigned to perpetual infamy for his cruelties in Dinagepore, in the speech with which Sheridan electrified Westminster Hall. Cossinath Baboo's Ghat is named after an opulent native who owned much property in Calcutta seventy years ago, but has long been forgotten. Within a few yards of it, there existed half a century ago a Ghat of which the name is no longer preserved. It was called Huzoor Mull's Ghat. To whom the erection of it is to be attributed, we have been unable to learn. Huzoor Mull was the name of Oomichand's executor, who paid over 25,000 Rupees in his master's name to build a Christian Church ; and it may have been erected by him. But, as we find it in the vicinity of the Armenian quarter of the town, it is more likely to have owed its origin to the great Armenian family of Huzoor Mull, who flourished in Calcutta more than a century ago, and in 1734 built the steeple of the old Armenian Church. At no great distance from it stands the New Mint, a splendid building filled with magnificent machinery, which was finished in 1829 at a cost of Thirty lakhs of Rupees, and is capable of coining money sufficient for the supply of all India.

We pass over fourteen Ghats of no note above the new Mint, and pause at the obscure landing stairs, round the elbow of land, called after Bonmalee Sirkar, whose name it has now retained for more than a century. A few hundred yards above it, stands the well known Ghat of Baug Bazar,—though, strange to say, not mentioned in Joseph's Map ; at the river entrance to the town from the north-west. It formerly bore the name of Roghoo Mitter's Ghat. He was the son of the once renowned Govinderam Mitter, whose name has been preserved from oblivion in a triplet which we have heard from the lips of some of the oldest native residents ;

> Who does not know Govindram's Club,
> or the House of Bonmalee Sirkar,
> or the Beard of Oomichand ?

One hundred years ago these men were among the most wealthy and influential natives of the town of Calcutta. Bonmalee's house, alluded to in these lines, was probably the large building in that locality marked down in the maps constructed before the siege of 1766. The family has fallen to decay, and no trace of it is to be found among the present aristocracy of the town. Oomichand was the well known merchant, a native of the Punjab, who was employed for many years before 1753 in furnishing the Company's investments, and was the channel of communication between the Council of Calcutta and the Durbar of Moorshedabad. In that year the President determined to emancipate the Company from the frauds of the *Daduny*, or advance merchants, of whom Oomichand was the chief, and to contract for their piece goods direct with the weavers. Being thus deprived of one great source of wealth, he is supposed to have taken his revenge by instigating Seraja-dowlah to attack Calcutta. He possessed more than one house in the European part of the town, and a large garden on the Circular Road,—of which we shall speak hereafter, where he was arrested, in the beginning of the troubles of 1756, in spite of his three hundred armed retainers, and placed in confinement within the Fort. It is somewhat singular that Grose should attribute the attack on Calcutta by the Nabob to the incarceration of this native. He had amassed immense property under the auspices of the Company, and enjoyed no little distinction throughout the country. It was this man whom Col. Clive defrauded by that fictitious treaty, on which Mr. Macaulay has fixed a sentence of just condemnation. To excite public animosity against Clive, it was widely circulated that Oomichand, on finding his hopes of receiving Thirty lakhs of Rupees thus unexpectedly baffled, fell into a state of idiocy, and soon after died. Yet, after he had been deprived of this opportunity of adding a few lakhs to his vast hordes, he lived no fewer than six years, and made a very elaborate and reasonable will, bequeathing various sums in charity, and among other objects, 25,000 Rs. to the charitable funds of those who had injured him.

Near the angle where the road which ran up from Bonmalee Sirkar's Ghat joins the great Chitpore-road,—a road which remains unaltered after the lapse of more than a hundred years,—there is still to be seen the remains of a large temple, the largest in Calcutta, which was once crowned with a lofty cupola. For many years it was the most conspicuous object in the city, over which it towered as the dome of St. Paul's does over the city of London. It was visible from a distance of many miles; and

more especially from the long reach of the river which terminates at Bali Khal. About twenty-five years ago the cupola suddenly came down with a crash, but without injury to life, and it has never since been rebuilt. That temple, usually called the "five jewels," was erected by the opulent and powerful Govinderam Mitter, who ruled the native population of Calcutta with sovereign sway from 1720, when he was appointed the Dewan of the Zemindar, to the year 1752.

To understand the position and influence of this man we must ask the reader's indulgence for another digression, and glance at the state of Calcutta a century ago. The reader will picture to himself the President, living in a large house with well shaded grounds on the banks of the river, where the Banksall now stands upon a salary of 300 Rs. a month; and a Council, consisting sometimes of nine, sometimes of twelve, employed upon still smaller salaries, in superintending the affairs of the Factory, and living in houses without flues, without venetians, without glass windows, and of course without punkas. For venetians they had pannelled doors, which admitted neither light nor air; and for sash windows, frames with a net work of cane, as may yet be seen in old chairs. When the wind blew strong in one direction the doors were closed, and those in an opposite direction thrown open. To this there could be little objection in winter; but in summer, when it became necessary to meet the strength of the south-west monsoon by closing the doors, and opening those to the north, the heat must have been intolerable, and the mortality and promotion in the service proportionally great. The President and Council were all engaged extensively in trade on their own account, and for every rupee they made for their honourable masters, made two for themselves. Subordinate to the Council, was a large body of junior merchants, factors and writers, engaged in the less dignified duties of appraising cloth, and weighing saltpetre, or in serving their apprenticeship to the craft and mystery of the Company's trade. Their allowances were upon the most parsimonious scale, and ranged from 50 to 150 Rs. a month; yet their Honourable Masters are found to reprove them for sitting down to dinner with a band of music, and driving about in a chaise and four.

The young writer came out at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and immediately engaged a *banian*, who in general became his master, and retained his influence as long as his employer remained in India. The object of this engagement was to obtain pecuniary assistance in that career of private trade on which the civilian embarked before he had been a twelve month in the country. The banian advanced the money and of course

took the lion's share of the profits. But this was not all. Every Company's servant, down to the junior writer, was entitled to a *dustuck* for his private trade. The dustuck, (dustukhut) was a passport for trade, issued under the broad Persian perwannah seal of office, signed by the President, and countersigned by the Secretary to the Council, by virtue of which the goods covered by it passed "clear of duties, let, hindrance, or obstructions from the Government guards." These dustucks became the most prolific source of disputes with the native government, and repeatedly constrained the President to pay down two and three lakhs of Rupees to pacify the Nabob. They ought never to have been granted; but as the President was himself largely engaged in private trade, he doubtless found that it would be invidious to draw a line of distinction between himself and his juniors. It was to obtain the benefit of this dustuck for his own private and clandestine trade, and thereby to evade the payment of duties on his adventures, that the banian attached himself to the writer. The trade protected by these dustucks was invariably entered in the master's name, though carried on with the capital of his banian; and thus it often appeared on the public register that Civilians who were known not to be worth five pounds, were possessed of a trade of two lakhs of Rupees a year. The terms of this illicit compact between the Civilian and the banian varied with circumstances; the former obtained an eighth, a fourth, and sometimes even a moiety of the profits; that is, of the profits which the banian was good enough to admit. At other times, the privilege of the dustuck was unblushingly sold for 200 Rs. and sometimes even for so low a sum as 25 Rs. This shameful abuse of dustucks had been denounced no less than twenty-five times by the Directors between 1702 and 1756, and the most peremptory orders had been issued to make restitution of the customs of which the native Government had been defrauded, and to send home the offending servant by the first ship. But it was found impossible to eradicate the abuse. The transgressors were too numerous and too powerful for the President and Council. The whole body of the service was implicated more or less in these underhand dealings, and there was none in a position to cast the first stone at his neighbour. The Civilian continued to live by his trade and his dustucks. Meanwhile the spies of the Nabob in the settlement did not fail to report the prostitution of this privilege to their master; and it was remarked in Durbar that the Nabob Seraja-dowlah had "a long dustuck account to settle with the English, who had thereby defrauded the revenue of a crore and a half of Rupees in fifty years."

Such was the state of the Civil Service. Three or four Military officers commanded a small body of troops, whose duties and whose discipline were equally nominal. A few private merchants, in spite of the Company's jealousy of interlopers, resided and traded in a town where all were merchants, from the highest to the lowest, the civil, and the military, the medical, as well as the ecclesiastical servant. Many natives had been attracted to the town by the security of property and the prospects of trade; and, without any disrespect to Chandernagore or Chinsurah, it may be affirmed that Calcutta was evidently the "commercial capital" of Bengal even at this early period. The Seats, with the wealth of princes, had a *guddy* (commercial seat) in Calcutta. Many of the chief officers of the Native Government, Roy Doorlub, Rajah Manickchand, and Futtehchand, had mansions in the town, while those who were employed in furnishing the Company's investment, Oomichand, Bonmalee and others, were in a measure identified with the settlement.

The President and his Council were employed partly in superintending the trade of the Company, but chiefly in managing their own. Their diplomatic duties were limited to pacifying and bribing the officers of the Durbar, when the abuse of the dustucks and the loss of the public revenue came under discussion. A Court consisting of a Mayor and Aldermen was established in 1727, and administered British law to British subjects in a house built by Mr. Bourchier soon after the Charter arrived, which was then called the Court House, and the remembrance of which still survives in the street, which after the lapse of a hundred and fifteen years, is yet called Old Court House Street. From the decision of the Mayor and Aldermen, an appeal lay to the President in Council, and the two bodies were thus kept in a state of constant activity and collision. The municipal, fiscal, civil, and criminal affairs of the town, as far as the natives were concerned, were administered by a Civilian, who was styled the *Zemindar*. He farmed out the monopolies; he collected the rents; and he decided all civil and criminal suits. In all actions for property, an appeal lay from his award to the President. In capital cases, in which "the lash was inflicted till death," the confirmation of the sentence by the President was necessary. In all other cases, the investigation of the Zemindar was summary, and his decision final. He had the power of fining, flogging, and imprisoning. He was Judge, Magistrate, and Collector; and he was consequently the most important personage in the rising town. This officer was always changed once, and sometimes

thrice, in a twelvemonth. He was never allowed to remain long enough in office to acquire any knowledge or experience of his duties. He was in almost every instance a total stranger to the native language, which he could neither read not write; and, to complete his helplessness, all the accounts were kept exclusively in it. His salary was 2000 Rs. a year, with a percentage on the farms, which may have given him half as much more. He was always involved in trade, from which he drew an income of ten times the value of his salary. Such was the municipal Government of the town of Calcutta in 1745.

The municipal revenues were derived from various sources, some of which were of the most vexatious nature. The revenue system established in Calcutta, corresponded with that which prevailed throughout the interior of the country under the Mahomedan Government. The ground within the Mahratta Ditch, which paid rent, and at the rate of 3 Rs. the bigah, was estimated at 5472 bigahs. There were no fewer than eighteen bazars, great and small, in the town, which were annually farmed out, and which, though they yielded 60,000 Rs. a year, under honest management in 1752, produced only 40,000 Rs. in 1745. These farms were ostensibly put up to auction and knocked down to the highest bidder. The profits of the farmer arose from two sources; the duties levied on all articles sold in the bazars, and the sale of monopolies. A duty was levied on rice, paddy, gram, tobacco, ghee, or clarified butter, leaves, thread, oil, capass, or cotton, seeds, beetlenut—in short, "on every thing which came within the denomination of common food, or the common necessaries of life." The rate of duty on every article amounted on an average to nine per cent. As to the monopolies, the glass maker within the jurisdiction of the market, the chest maker, the caulker, the seller of vermillion, the seller of opium, the maker of fireworks, paid the farmer a large premium for the exclusive privilege of exercising his vocation. To such an extent was this odious system of taxation carried that six farms, which were abolished in 1752, were said by the European officers to be no less disgraceful to Government than vexatious to the community. Even the purchasing and vending of old iron, tea cattie, and iron nails was at length made an object of taxation, and yielded 60 Rs. in the first year, and 562 Rs. in the second. It is singular that while rice was saddled with a duty of eight per cent., salt paid only 3 Rs. 2 annas per cent., except that introduced by Khoja Wazeed, the Mogul merchant, the first great salt monopolist on record, whose salt, in consideration we suppose of the services rendered by him at the Durbar, was taxed only to the exent of a Rupee a maund.

There was no tax either on spirituous liquors or on opium, or indeed on any article of an intoxicating nature except *bang*, which produced only 150 Rs. a month in a town which supported eighteen markets. We may regard this fact as proof either of the superior sobriety of the people, or the greater dexterity of the farmer. So small was the intercourse of the inhabitants of Calcutta with the opposite bank of the Hooghly, that the ferry produced only 12 Rs. a month. In addition to these farms, a commission of five per cent. was levied directly by the European Zemindar on the sale of houses, boats, sloops, and on all sums recovered in the Courts. For registering the transfer of every slave, the purchaser paid the sum of four Rupees four annas. The Company also demanded a tax of three Rupees from each party for every marriage license, but sometimes "let off the poor." Fifty per cent. of the diet money which was paid by the defendant to every officer of the Court who served a summons, went to the public chest; and a duty was paid for every public notice by beat of drum, of the loss of either "slave, cow, or horse."

The collection and management of this revenue, as well as the charge of the Police, the Magistracy, and the Civil Court, was, as we have said, vested in a European officer, who was in almost every instance a total stranger to the office, and held it only for a brief time. Govindaram appears to have been appointed the Dewan of this officer, the Zemindar, in 1720; and he continued to hold the place for more than thirty years. In the language of the Company, he was the "black Zemindar." Any one acquainted with the native character will easily perceive that the whole power of the Zemindar's office must have been concentrated in the hands of his permanent deputy; and that during the long period of his incumbency, he must have possessed more weight and influence than any other person in the settlement. We have only to revert to his position to feel the truth of Mr. Holwell's assertion, that he "had ten times as much power as his masters." Though his salary was for many years restricted to 30 Rs. a month, and eventually raised only to 50 Rs., his opportunities of amassing wealth must have been almost unlimited, and we may feel assured that he did not neglect them. The farms were disposed of at his own residence, and of course, more to his own advantage than to that of his employers. The most lucrative farms were taken by himself in fictitious names, and the very same day let out to others at a hundred per cent. advance. Every transaction paid him a toll of ten per cent. under the name of dustooree. He defrauded his ignorant and helpless masters in every direction in the

most audacious manner. He drew large allowances for public servants whom he never entertained. He doubled the charge for the repairs of roads, bridges, and cutcheries. He interfered in the disposal of Civil suits, and in the punishment of criminals. He disposed of all appointments, and made them a source both of profit and influence. Every man in the town was overawed by his power and no one had the courage to complain of him. His influence among the Company's servants appears also to have been considerable. At the time of the Mahratta irruption in 1742 he was possessed of a large garden east of the Circular Road. It is still, we believe, designated Halsee Bagaun. It appears that when the public authorities in Calcutta began to dig the Mahratta ditch for the security of their settlement, the line marked for its course in that direction would have run to the west of his garden, and thus excluded it from protection. The maps indicate that after a portion of the ditch had been dug, he prevailed on his English Masters to destroy the rectitude of their line, and carry it around his garden, and that of Oomichand which adjoined it; and the map of 1794 describes the Ditch as thus encircling both gardens. It was at this garden house of Oomichand that Meer Mudun, Seraja-dowlah's General, took up his head-quarters the day after Calcutta was captured, and it was hither that Mr. Holwell and two other European gentlemen were conveyed with a burning fever in their veins, and thrust into a tent four feet long, three feet wide and three feet high, where they were obliged to remain during the night exposed to the rain which fell in torrents, with only one-half their bodies protected by the canvas; but they had passed the previous night in the Black Hole, and the tent was paradise.

Suspicions appear to have been entertained for the first time of Govinderam's honesty in 1748, and the Court of Directors were gradually persuaded that the administration of the 'black Zemindar' had been more beneficial to himself than to them. But no effort appears to have been made to stem the current of peculation till 1752, when Mr. Holwell was appointed Zemindar, with the promise of retaining the office for a long time. He demanded the production of the Zemindarry accounts from the commencement of Govinderam's induction to office, but was told that all the documents before 1738 had been swept away in the great storm; and that the greater portion of those belonging to subsequent years had been devoured by white ants. Govinderam was yet in power, and not an individual ventured to stand forth as his accuser. By dint of perseverance, however, Holwell obtained sufficient data to substantiate various frauds, and he lost no time in charging him before the Council with having embezzled

the property of the Company to the extent of a lakh and a half of Rupees, and demanded "on behalf of his Honourable Masters, that he should be forthwith committed to close custody till the sum was discharged; that a military guard should be placed over his houses, and that his son Roghoo Mitter should be obliged to give security for his appearance." But Holwell's zeal was ill seconded by the Council, among whom the black Zemindar had many friends. The President, instead of placing him in arrest or sequestering his property, put the charges into his hands; within seven days he produced two replies, written apparently in English, and doubtless by some of the gentlemen of the factory, who were no strangers to his liberality. In his reply he stated that the farms had invariably received the written sanction of his European superior,—which he had not failed to secure;—and that as it regarded those he had taken himself, every Rajah's and Zemindar's Dewan was invariably indulged with some farms for his own profit; and that he could not be expected to keep up the equipage and attendance necessary for an officer in his station on 50 Rs. a month. Holwell replied, that if any Dewan was detected in concealing the real profits of a farm, or in holding it clandestinely in another name, or in exacting more than the dues from the people, according to the custom of the country, "the lash, fetters, imprisonment, and confiscation, were the immediate consequence." He remarked, that as Mitter confessed to having plundered "agreeably to the maxims of his own nation," so the laws of his own nation should be the measure of his punishment. But the Council were not disposed to inflict the lash or fetters on the first native in the settlement; they threw every impediment in the way of the prosecution, which, therefore, fell to the ground, and the Dewan was allowed to retain all the wealth he had amassed. Mr. Holwell continued to improve the revenue, and had encreased it to nearly 100,000 Rs. a year, notwithstanding the contempt and passive resistance of the Council, when the storm of 1756 swept away the whole establishment. In 1757, the Court as a recognition of his eminent services, ordered his allowances to be raised from 2000 Rs. to 6000 Rs., including all fees and perquisites. But this encreased salary he was never destined to touch; nor indeed did he need it. The "Bombay faction," soon after gained the ascendancy in the Direction, revoked the augmentation, and, notwithstanding his eminent services, degraded him to the ninth place in Council. We next find him second in Council under Clive, and affixing his signature to that celebrated dispatch in which the conqueror of Plassey and the defender of Calcutta told their Masters,

"that the diction of their letter was most unworthy of the Court of Directors and the Council of Bengal, in whatever relation considered, either as masters to servants, or as gentlemen to gentlemen." The Court of Directors brooded long over this letter; but thirteen months after it had been sent, wrote out to say that they had taken it into "their most serious consideration, and that many paragraphs therein contained gross insults upon, and offered many indignities to, the Court of Directors;" and they, therefore, ordered that Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell, and the three gentlemen who had joined him in signing it, should be dismissed from their service and sent home by the first ships,—and thus ended the public career of the gallant and indefatigable Holwell.

Returning to the banks of the river, the first object that meets the eye, is the Circular Canal, a modern work of great utility to commerce, and no little profit to the state. This Canal, over which several suspension bridges have been erected, joins the river either at the spot were the Mahratta ditch commenced, or in its immediate vicinity. A little beyond its junction commences the village of Chitpore, which appears from an ancient Bengalee poem to have been in existence three hundred years ago. It was then written Chittrupoor, and was noted for the temple of Chittresuree Dabee, or the goddess of Chittru, known among Europeans as the temple of Kalee at Chitpore. According to popular and uncontradicted tradition, this was the spot where the largest number of human sacrifices was offered to the goddess in Bengal before the establishment of the British Government. A corresponding temple of Kalee stands in front of the great and dilapidated temple in Calcutta we have already mentioned, and many a human sacrifice has been offered at the shrine of Siddesuree Dabee, as it is called. But the Chitpore temple was by far the most renowned for the number of its human victims. The most conspicuous object at Chitpore, as stated in the map, is the house and garden of the Nabob Tuhower Jung. This was the original residence of the Chitpore Nabob, as he was called, Mahomed Reja Khan, to whom the whole administration of Bengal, civil, criminal, and revenual, was entrusted for several years after the Company had obtained the Dewanee. It was to this house that the Nabob was brought a prisoner in 1772, by the peremptory orders of the Court of Directors, when they suspected that he had made the interests of the country and the Company subservient to his own. After he arrived, and was lodged in his own house under a guard, the members of Council actually debated on the mode in which the object of

their Master's displeasure should be received, and the majority decided on deputing one of their own number to do him honour!

Immediately above Chitpore is the village of Cossipore with its stacks of chimneys, presenting, when viewed from the south, the appearance of a manufacturing suburb of the great eastern Babylon. Here we have the Government Foundery, one of the most complete and perfect to be seen in any country, erected some years back by Col. Hutchinson of the Engineers, after he had ransacked England and Europe for the best models. The curious and elaborate machinery, which seems as if it was endowed with the power of thought and contrivance, and the noble hall in which it stands, will amply repay the visit of the stranger. In the immediate vicinity of the Foundery are the steam engines and flour mills of Messrs. Haworth, Hardman and Co.; and half a mile above it is a large assemblage of buildings belonging to Rustomjee, with one steam engine, and a chimney which has long been unconscious of a fire. In the space between Rustomjee's factory and the Foundery, one of our Calcutta millionaires, Baboo Mooteelall Seal, has recently erected two spacious country houses. Cossipore, lying at the same distance from Calcutta as Garden Reach, seems, indeed, to be better adapted, by the advantages of its position, for a series of villas; for it not only enjoys a larger expanse of the river to the south, but has none of those marshes in its neighbourhood which render Garden Reach so frequently unhealthy. The road to it, however is one of the most execrable about the metropolis, and seems to have received no improvement since Calcutta was a factory. We must not forget to mention that immediately above Rustomjee's factory, the traveller will see the first Ghat erected in India for the exclusive use of females. It is screened from public view by a wall on either side, and females are thus enabled to enjoy the luxury of a bath without being exposed to the gaze of the men. This Ghat has been erected by Ramrutun Baboo, a wealthy native Zemindar, and it is one of the results of that improvement in civilization which has arisen from intercourse with Europeans.

North of Cossipore lies Barnagore, well dotted with brick houses, which indicate the remains of that opulence which grew up with the commercial establishments of the Dutch. During the greater part of the last century this settlement belonged to them, and here their vessels anchored on their way to Chinsurah. It is said to have been originally a Portuguese establishment. It was a place of considerable trade when Calcutta was the abode of wild beasts. Calcutta is now the metro-

polis of a great empire, and Barnagore one of its suburban villages. The chief object of note is the cluster of temples built on a large scale by Joynarayun Mitter some years ago, which present an imposing appearance from the river. A little higher up, we have the village of Dukhinsore, remarkable chiefly for the country seat, marked down in the map as Hastie's Garden, but which has repeatedly changed hands during the last thirty years. To the north of it, lies the Powder Magazine. During the four years which have elapsed since Joseph's Map was published, four elegant houses have sprung up immediately to the south of this garden. Indeed, those who visit this section of the river for the first time after an absence of fifteen years, would scarcely be able to identify it, so great have been the improvements. More than twenty lakhs of Rupees have been expended in the erection of steam engines and country houses, in the space between Dukhinsore and the Chitpore canal, in a range of less than three miles. Within the last five years we have noticed the building of no fewer than six elegant houses, which give to this reach a very European and patrician aspect; and there can be little doubt that within the next twenty-five years, the whole river front between the northern limit of Calcutta and the Barrackpore Park will thus be adorned with mansions,—except where the ground is pre-occupied with temples, which can never be touched—and that a Steam-vessel will be devoted to the daily conveyance of the residents to and from town.

About a mile from the Powder Magazine is the Grove, one of the oldest garden houses on the left bank of the river. It is a noble looking house, but presents a gloomy appearance from the too great proximity of trees, which compose a little forest in front of it. The next object of note above the Grove is a Christian Church with Gothic turrets, cheering the eye with its delightful associations after a dreary succession of temples devoted to the worship of idols. This is the Refuge at Agrapara, which that eminent servant of God and friend of man, Mrs. Wilson was instrumental in raising. No lady in India has ever exerted herself with more perseverance or more success in the cause of Christian philanthropy. Through her benevolent and irresistible importunity, she was enabled to obtain funds for the erection of apartments for a hundred and fifty orphans, to be trained up in Christian duties and hopes; of a house for a Missionary, a large English School, and an elegant Church. This complete Missionary establishment will long remain a monument of her zeal and devotedness to the cause; but so entirely is every human effort, even in the noblest of causes, stamped

with instability, that at the moment when her plans had apparently attained complete efficiency, a change came over her religious views, which led to a separation from the Church Missionary Society and the Refuge, and induced her eventually to return to England. It is enough to say of this institution that Mrs. Wilson's soul no longer animates it.

A little above the Refuge we have the *Rass* temple at Khurdah, the most distinguished of its class in Bengal. It belongs to the family of the Gossains, who live in the village around it in much sacerdotal ease. They are descendents of Nityanundu, the associate of Chitunyu, the great modern heresiarch, who died about 1528, and through the agency of whose disciples a fifth of the population of Bengal has been withdrawn from the creed of the Poorans. The Khurdah Gossains possess the greatest ecclesiatical influence of any body of men in the Lower Provinces. They are the spiritual guides of half the great and wealthy Baboos of Calcutta, and enjoy privileges of exemption from Hindoo observances accorded to no others. They can do with impunity that which would entail excommunication on the most holy personage. They give the *muntur*, or holy text, indiscriminately to brahmuns and harlots. They may enter the houses of the unclean, who happen to be their disciples, and partake of food in their houses, cooked of course by their own attendants, without been defiled. The image which gives its celebrity to this place is that of Samsoonder, and a brief notice of its origin will serve to illustrate the progress of superstitious credulity in the minds of the people, and shew that it is by no means necessary to assign the Poorans a vast antiquity to account for the deep root their mythological fables have taken in the popular belief. A very short period, a century or two, appears amply sufficient to give any legend, however ridiculous, the same authority as "truths of holy writ" among the Hindoos. About three hundred years ago, Roodra, a man beloved of the gods, is said to have been expelled from a temple at Chatra. He retired to Bullubhpore, at the southern extremity of Serampore, then a dense jungle, where he practised religious observances for four or five years. At the end of this time his tutelar god appeared to him, and ordered him to proceed to Gour, and bring from thence a celebrated stone, which stood over the door way of the palace in which the Mahomedan viceroy resided. On arriving in that city, he found that the prime minister was a Hindoo and devoted Voishnuvu. He made known the divine revelation to him, and asked his assistance to procure the stone for an image of Vishnoo. The stone was said to have the singular quality of sweating, and the minister, taking advantage

of this circumstance, is said one day to have pointed out to his master the tears which it shed, and advised that so inauspicious a stone should be sent away with all speed. It was ordered to be taken down; but as Roodra was placing it on the boat, it fell into the water, and by another miracle was conducted without his aid to Bullubhpore, where a portion of it was formed into an image, over which a splendid temple has since been erected. The Gossains at Khurdah, obtained a part of the wonderful stone, and made an image for their own temple, which has become to them the source of great wealth. A festival is held there in the month of November or December, attended by tens of thousands from all parts of the country. Khurdah, which was in existence three hundred years ago, is supposed to contain four thousand houses, and no fewer than twenty thousand inhabitants; but it is known for hundreds of miles round exclusively by its temple of Samsoonder, just as towns were celebrated in the olden time in England, for the images and shrines with which they were enriched.

Half a mile above the great Rass temple at Khurdah, stands a cluster of twenty-four temples, erected by the wealthy family of Bishwas, and dedicated to Shivu. The family is modern, and its property is the growth of our administration. Pran Bishwas was one of the most devoted followers of the Tuntra School, and his liberality to Brahmuns, is yet the theme of commendation among them. At his death, his heirs, as usual, went to law with each other; the estate, which he had husbanded with so much care, was thrown into Chancery, and came out sadly curtailed of its fair proportions. The property, including the temples, was divided; one half the number of temples was allotted to one son, and the remainder to another; and the traveller may here see an example of the division of property among the Hindoos, by remarking that half the number has been repaired and white-washed; while the other remains darkened by the effect of the climate.

A mile above Khurdah, we reach the great garden at Titagur, said to contain three hundred bigahs of land, and in which four garden houses have been erected. One of these is the residence of Sir John Peter Grant, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court; another, lying on the northern limit, but not named in the Map, is usually called Combermere Lodge, after the conqueror of Bhurtpore. Immediately above it is a thick grove of trees, and a small rivulet. This spot, which has now all the charm of sylvan solitude, was a scene of life and activity forty years ago. Messrs. Hamilton and Aberdeen, enterprizing merchants in Calcutta, established a dock-yard there at the

beginning of the present century, and in 1801, the largest merchantman ever built on the Hooghly, the *Countess of Sutherland*, of 1445 tons, was launched there. The next year, the *Susan*, of humbler dimensions, was built there, and in 1803, the *Frederick*, of 450 tons. This appears to have been the last vessel constructed at the Titagur dock-yard, which was soon after closed, and of which not a single vestige now remains. In those days, there was no Involvent Court in Calcutta, to preserve the obituary of deceased firms, and we cannot therefore ascertain the precise date on which Messrs. Hamilton and Aberdeen ceased to have a name among the Calcutta merchants; but we fancy they must have fallen about 1804; for their names appear in the Directory of that year, but not in that of the succeeding year.

A stone's throw from the site of the old dock yard, is a Ghat with some old dilapidated temples above it, which will long be remembered as the place where for thirty years Dr. Carey landed and embarked as he went down to Calcutta and returned from it twice a week, to deliver lectures in Fort William College. A zigzag road connects the ghat with the great Barrackpore road, which the Doctor was obliged to traverse; and on the west of it, a little over the bridge, stands a pucka house, which he said he seldom passed without a feeling of horror. It was built by a family who were hereditary *phaseegars*, as they were then called, and whose wealth had been accumulated by murder. He often described the mode in which they assassinated their victims, by means of a rope, many years before Col. Sleeman had laid bare the practices and the ramifications of the Thug confederacy, or had entered on the duty of breaking it up. The family to whom the house belonged were known and dreaded as Thugs. This fact may be regarded as an evidence of the early existence of this nefarious association in Lower Bengal.

We have now reached Barrackpore Park, created by the taste and public spirit of Lord Wellesley, forty years ago, and to which twelve Governors General in succession have retired from the noise and bustle of the town to rural privacy. Every tourist has described the Park, the ornament of Barrackpore, and we need not go over the ground. It was originally the intention of Lord Wellesley to have brought all the public offices up from Calcutta and established them in the vicinity of the Park: and there are few of the officers of Government who will not regret that the plan was not carried into execution. It was with this object that he erected a large bungalow, on the site of the present house, for a temporary residence, and on the spot marked down "a Green House" on the

map, laid the foundation of a palace which was to have cost three or four lakhs of Rupees. But the Court of Directors peremptorily prohibited the outlay of so large a sum on such an object, and the work was suspended, after the basement story had been erected. The beams, doors and windows, and all the other materials, which had been collected, were soon after sold by public auction ; but the shell of the House stood for many years, till the Marchioness of Hastings pulled it down, and erected a Conservatory on its site. The temporary bungalow which Lord Wellesley had erected, served the turn of Lord Minto, who spent much of his time at Barrackpore with his family, but the Marquis of Hastings enlarged it into the present more commodious mansion. Its situation is admirable. It has a noble prospect of more than six miles down the river, and the breeze which, during the hottest season of the year, comes to it over this expanse of water, keeps it comparatively cool. The dining-room, which is lofty and spacious, is unquestionably the noblest hall in this part of the country. The house is adorned with some excellent portraits of the royal family of Oude, from the pencil of Mr. Home. It is also remarkable for its antique furniture, which continues to resist all the innovations of modern taste. The side sofas of the plainest form, the chairs, the marble tables with their antiquated legs, the long mirrors in old fashioned frames, and even the chandeliers, remain unaltered after the lapse of more than thirty years. In one of the side drawing-rooms is to be seen almost the last specimen extant of the single branch wallshade, which the progress of improvement has long since banished from all other houses. That primitive wallshade with its still more primitive bracket, was to be seen in the house in the days of Lord Minto, and while the new men of only twenty years' standing in the service regard it as an emblem of the shabbiness of the Court of Directors, who are deaf to all entreaties for new and more respectable furniture, there are others who can gaze on it with the deepest antiquarian interest.

Barrackpore, the Head-Quarters of the Presidency division of the army, looks bravely on Joseph's Map. It is known by the natives only by the name of Chanuck, although it is more than a hundred and fifty years since Charnock established his bungalow at this station, and gathered a little bazar around it. Troops were first stationed at the place in 1772, and from that time forward it has acquired the barbarous name of Barrackpore among Europeans—an unnatural compound of an English word and a Sanskrit termination.

Turning round the bend of the river at Barrackpore we come upon the village of Muneerampore, at the northern end of

which is the house and garden occupied by the late General Marley, long the father of the Indian army, who arrived in India in the year 1771, and died in 1842, after a residence of seventy-one years in it. There are some other pleasant houses in the neighbourhood, one of which was formerly the residence of Mr. John Prinsep, who, like Col. Watson of Kidderpore, was a great public benefactor, and like him also, reaped little personal advantage from exertions which have been the source of fortune to hundreds. His name has been revived during the present century by six sons, who have acquired distinction in the Civil and Military service of Government, at the bar, in the pursuits of trade, and in the walks of science; but none of them can be said to have eclipsed their parent in the career of public usefulness. Mr. John Prinsep was regularly bred to the profession of a cloth merchant in the City of London, and very early in life became intimately acquainted with the manufactures of "Glasgow, Paisley, Dunfermline, and Edinburgh, of Manchester, and Blackburn; with the fabrics of Ireland and Silesia; of Russia and Haarlem." In 1769, he received the thanks of a Committee of Directors appointed to examine his information relative to the improvement of the Company's fabrics. He arrived in Bengal as a Cadet in 1771, but soon obtained permission to resign the service. In 1773, he was appointed an Alderman of the Mayor's Court in the very last year of its existence; and five years after received the appointment of Assistant Superintendent of Investments. This office was abolished in 1785, from motives of economy, but he continued to discharge the duties without salary till March 1787. The next year he returned to Europe, and the following year the office of Cloth Superintendent having become vacant by the departure of Mr. Blaquiere, he memoralized Government, in the hope of obtaining it; but here our information fails us, and we are unable to state whether he was successful or not. During his residence of seventeen years in India, he was employed in the most active and useful undertakings. He was for ten years contractor for the Chintz investment of the Company; and if he did not originate the manufacture, he contributed in no small degree to its improvement. It was by the workmen drawn from the establishment he had set up at Muneerampore, that the wooden blocks with which Dr. Marshman printed the first edition of the Chinese New Testament were engraved. But that which renders his name particularly memorable in India, is the manufacture of Indigo, which he introduced into Bengal, and which has contributed so greatly to its prosperity and opulence. He supplied Government with this article for several

years on contract. Latterly, he turned his fertile mind to the coinage, and contracted with Government for the supply of the first copper coinage ever struck in Bengal. It is singular that although Mr. Hastings had resolved in 1777, that there should be but one mint allowed for the coinage of money, and that it should be established at Calcutta, Government encouraged Mr. John Prinsep five years after to set up a mint at Pultah, the village immediately to the north of Muneerampore. In compliance with the terms of an award, of which we have not the history, he surrendered the tools and implements of the Pultah mint in 1784 for an indemnity short of two-thirds of his real disbursement.

A little above Muneerampore, are the Powder Works at Ishapore, formerly under the superintendence of John Farquhar, who contrived to amass the colossal fortune, as it was said, of Eighty lakhs of Rupees. It is but an act of justice to his memory to state that the whole of this sum was not accumulated from the perquisites, fair or unfair, of his official post; a considerable proportion of it was the result of the unrivalled parsimony of this prince of Indian misers, who contracted with the solitary servant of his house to supply his table for two annas a day. On his return to England, he is said to have offered to endow one of the Scottish Universities with £100,000 to establish a professorship of Atheism, but the offer was of course rejected. A little beyond Ishapore, once stood Bankybazar, where the Ostend East India Company established a factory and a fort, as it is supposed in 1724, and from which they were expelled in 1733, by the troops of the Mahomedan Government, at the instigation of the English and the Dutch. A little beyond Bankybazar, though not marked in Joseph's Map, is a fortified place called Somookghur, of which we have been able to obtain no other account than that it was erected as a place of retreat by the Raja of Burdwan, during the irruptions of the Mahrattas, or Burgees, in the days of Aliverdy Khan.

This article has grown under our hand so much beyond the limit we had allotted to it, that we are constrained to postpone to the next number, the Notes on the right bank of the river.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Annual Report of the Medical College of Bengal; Session, 1844-45.

As it is our purpose in due time to furnish a full account of the origin, rise, progress, and objects of the Medical College, we shall, for the present, limit ourselves to a simple notice of the last Annual Report. The institution is one which all those interested in the cause of Native improvement must view with special satisfaction and delight—whether we consider the nature and amount of inveterate hereditary prejudice which must have given way before its establishment could be projected, and the complete and final demolition of which its continued success cannot fail to ensure—or whether we contemplate the philanthropic ends which it is so peculiarly fitted to accomplish in a land, which, for ages, has been scourged with the worst of human diseases in their most virulent types, aggravated as these have been by the worst adapted of human remedies, under the imposing forms of witching spells and senseless quackeries.

The Report is drawn up by the Secretary, Dr. Mouat, with his usual clearness and ability. It abounds with matter in a highly compressed form. In this respect, it cannot be said to err, either in the way of deficiency or excess. It omits nothing of importance which one could reasonably wish for, or expect to find, in such a document. It contains nothing which one could desire to see expunged, or the rejection of which would not leave a gap that would mar the symmetry of the whole. The only improvement which we would venture to suggest is, *the introduction of distinct headings*, briefly indicative of the nature of the different topics treated of, as these successively arise. At present, there is nothing to point out to the eye, where one distinct subject ends, and another begins. And the want of some such unmistakable notation as that which the ordinary expedient of distinct "headings," supplies, will be felt, as more or less embarrassing, by all, and more especially by those who are little conversant with the subject-matter of such a publication.

The College is under the immediate control and superintendence of the Council of Education; at the head of which are the Honourable Messrs. Cameron and Millett, members of the Supreme Council of India. The Educational routine and Collegiate discipline are entrusted, under the foresaid paramount superintendence, to the body of regular Professors, under the designation of the "College Council." The completeness of the Professorial Staff, and the Educational Course with its needful accessories, may best be seen by reference to the following enumeration of particulars:—

Though not marked by that power of discriminating between what is important and what is unimportant, and that wide range of historical research which are the leading features of Colonel Sutherland's valuable and elaborate work, the present compilation will, in our opinion, be found a good supplement to it. It supplies much information, which the Colonel's sketches do not afford, from the circumstance of more prominent attention having been bestowed by the latter on those Native States which, from their position and internal resources, are more an object of solicitude with the British authorities, than the petty principalities which from mismanagement and internal dissensions are so impoverished as to be incapable, in the event of any disaster occurring to threaten our supremacy, of throwing any material weight into the political scale. One advantage Mr. D'Cruz, without question, possesses; and that is, that his compilation is brought up to the present period, and contains, in an Appendix, the treaties entire, that have been ratified between the British Government, and the different States which he notices. Colonel Sutherland's work, however valuable in other respects, does not contain this desideratum, though he mentions, in general terms, the *animus* of a treaty; and as eight years have elapsed since it was published, and many important changes must, no doubt, have taken place in the government and political relations of the states in the N. W. Provinces, the more recent compilation, so far as these provinces are concerned, will, unquestionably, as a book of reference, have the preference.

The different native states and chiefs subject to the government of the N. W. Provinces are, with the exceptions of a few stipendiary chiefs and jagheerdars, of little or no note, resident at Agra, Benares Bareilly, and other civil stations, classified by the compiler in the following order;—

Bundlecund,—which exclusive of several petty jagheers, contains ten principal states. With these states the British government have treaties not only offensive and defensive, but their chiefs have relinquished political relations with one another, and with all other states.

Delhi—including the king and the royal family, the jagheerdar of Bullubghur, and a few other lesser jagheerdars under the control of the Governor-General's Agent.

Saugor and Nerbuddah,—in which there is only one independent territory of any consequence, viz. Rewah; with the Rajah Bishonath Sing, who, we rejoice to say, has latterly evinced a cordial desire to suppress, in his territory, the horrible crime of female infanticide, there is a treaty of friendship and of defensive alliance. In the numerous other jagheers the dependent chieftains with few exceptions hold grants from the British government, but are, nevertheless, left to manage their own internal affairs uncontrolled.

The Hill States—now under the superintendence of the Political Agent at Subathoo, and lying between the Sutlej and the Jumna.

The Seikh Protected States—which, by the treaty entered into by Sir Charles Metcalfe, in 1809, with Runjeet Sing, came under the protection of the British, and the large principality of Bawhalpore.

Under each general head, whether the principality comprized in it be of primary or secondary importance, Mr. D'Cruz, in not a few instances, endeavours to give us some of the circumstances that led to the dismemberment of the state from the parent one, and its formation into an independent, or dependent, as the case may be, chieftancy. Events which are notorious, and which belong to history rather than modern speculation, are studiously glossed over, under the impression, no doubt, that their value would be questionable in a work whose professed object is to give us an accurate idea of the statistics of these principalities. We have, therefore, where the state is an important one, the terms of the treaty first entered into with its ruler; the modifications which subsequent governments may have made in the original treaty; the amount of tribute, where tribute is paid; the territorial extent of the principality; the number of villages contained therein; its population; its fiscal resources contrasted with the general expenditure of the executive; the force maintained; how long each chief has reigned; his family descent; and above all the distinction with which he is received when quitting his territories. This last is a material point, as Oriental princes, it is well known, are tenacious of their dignity, and nothing is more calculated to create jealousies and feud among them, than a solecism in etiquette in open durbar.

Since the publication of Colonel Sutherland's "Sketches," some great changes have taken place in Bundlecund, and none more remarkable than in the two important principalities of Jaloun and Jhansi. To rescue the former from "utter ruin" the British Government undertook, during the minority of Rao Gobin Rao, the management of the state, and placed it under a Superintendent; subject to the orders of the Political Agent in Bundlecund. The deplorable condition to which this once flourishing principality was reduced, during the regency of the widow of the preceding chief Baba Bala Rao Gobind Rao, not only rendered interference imperative, but proves, incontestibly, the evil consequences that are sure to follow the exercise of political power by native females, beset as they are with intrigue and opposition, and unable, from the want of education and other causes, to cope successfully with them. In this instance the mismanagement, as we will presently shew, calls loudly, on the part of the Supreme power in India, for some interdict in the shape of a Salic law which would negative, or refuse to acknowledge, the right of females to undertake so important a trust as Government. Such an interdict will not be considered arbitrary when it is known that, in cases of succession to states under the Government of the N. W. Provinces, the approbation of the British Government, in all instances, must first be obtained.

And here, to support the charge of mismanagement in Jaloun we will quote the testimony of Lord Auckland, whose discrimination between the real and apparent causes of events, was generally admitted, and who, whatever his political errors may have been, cannot well, in ordinary affairs of Government, be charged with the Jesuitism of bending facts or opinions, to the prejudice of a party, with the view of carrying out a preconceived opinion. In 1840, his Lordship in a minute which

recorded, states—"In the course of nine or ten years the land had been most profusely alienated, debts to the amount of more than thirty lacs had been contracted, extensive districts had been mortgaged as security for them; there was neither order nor security in the territory, every village was exposed to the attacks of plunderers; cultivation was deserted, and a country which has been fruitful and prosperous was day by day becoming desolate." This is a lamentable picture to contemplate, but it is a picture by no means overdrawn. We have travelled through most of the states in Bundlecund, and we can confidently assert, that the same might, with slight modifications, be said of all. But it is satisfactory to add, that since the principality, by the death of the minor who left no heirs, has lapsed to Government, there has been a progressive improvement in its revenual resources; a greater security to life and property; and a cheering prospect of liquidating the heavy debts, contracted during the period of its mismanagement.

About the same time "gross mismanagement" had likewise reduced the revenues of Jhansi from twelve lacs to three. The causes of this great deficiency were attributable to the unpopular, though brief, reign of Rao Rugonath Rao, who, independently of being a leper, which according to the Hindoo ritual is a disqualification, had to contend against a powerful faction, which he was utterly incompetent to subdue. On his death, in 1838, the pretensions of his brother, the present chief, were, out of four claimants, considered best founded by the British Government. Being likewise a person of feeble capacity, the cabals of the former reign, combined with a fierce opposition set up by the mother of a former chieftain, who, it seems, advocated the cause of a rejected claimant to the musnud, rendered the state one scene of anarchy and confusion. In fact, so determined was the opposition of the advocating Baee, and so strong were her supporters, that it was absolutely necessary, as our readers may remember, to make a Military demonstration on our part before she could be finally made to submit, and evacuate the fort. After the struggle had subsided, the principality, like Jaloun, was brought under British management. An agent was immediately appointed; but with the view of avoiding the consequences likely to follow an injudicious and sudden change of system, the country, as hitherto, was managed through the intervention of native agency. A quinquenial settlement, on a russoodi, or progressive jumma, was effected; and when we compare its fair aspect with the crippled state of the finances in 1838, we cannot help admiring the superior manner in which taxation is managed under the European economy. Unfortunately, just as the long catalogue of malversations which had insinuated themselves into every department were, we may well imagine, being rooted out, and the people at large beginning to reap the benefits of good order and government, the administration of the State was again transferred to the very chief, who, according to the compiler, was in 1838, considered an "imbecile" and "incompetent to manage its affairs." Whether the affection of his people yearned towards him, or whether he evinced symptoms of administrative competency during his deposition, are points respecting which we are left to conjecture; but in the absence

of any thing like tangible evidence to guide us, we must pronounce the retransfer one of those political juggles which, on a larger scale, during the last few years we have had to contemplate. Whether the principality will gain or lose by this change does not require any great powers of vaticination to predict, notwithstanding the fair promises made by the present chief to preserve the arrangements effected by the British. Our government are, however, no losers. They have in lieu of the two lacs paid them from the Jhansi revenues for meeting a moiety of the cost of maintaining the Bundlecund legion, received some ceded lands, assumed to be capable of yielding an assessment of nearly two lacs and thirty thousand rupees. These lands, as they are in the vicinity of Jaloun, have been placed under the management of the superintendent of that district—a guarantee that, whatever be the general wreck in the finances of Jhansi, no deficiency in the realization of the public dues will take place in them. Another advantage gained is the assignment of a tract of land for a military cantonment, a precaution rendered necessary by past experience, and which will leave little or no prospect of the tranquillity of the state being again disturbed.

Passing from Bundlecund, to the second general head of the compilation, we find in it much information regarding the alleged grievances of the King of Delhi. As His Majesty's agent, Mr. G. Thompson, has given notice that "he would at the present court call the attention of the proprietors to the treatment the King of Delhi has experienced at the hands of the Government of India," we scarcely think an apology necessary, for placing before our readers a condensed account of this alleged ill treatment.

We premise that it would be needless to repeat the story of the second conquest of Delhi by the Mahrattas: suffice it to say, that after the successful conquests of Lord Lake's army in 1803, the released and blind King Shah Allum came, without any specific stipulations, under British protection. With every consideration for the feelings and comfort of His Majesty, it was decided to retain for his benefit all the territories and resources assigned for his support by the Mahrattas, and to bestow on him such pecuniary compensation as, with the revenue of these lands, would enable the Royal family to support their dignity. This allowance was originally fixed at nearly eight lacs per annum; but Shah Allum before his death, considering this amount insufficient, it was, as soon as the financial expences of the state would admit, raised in 1806 to upwards of ten lacs per annum. Three-years afterwards it was raised to twelve lacs, "without" says the compiler "any reference whatever to the produce of the lands, termed the assigned territories, as a permanent arrangement, and as fully sufficient for every purpose of comfort and reasonable state." Akbar Shah the late King, it appears, thought differently, and after repeated applications for an augmentation, determined to depute, in 1830, Rammohun Roy to England as his Envoy. The fruit of this mission was the grant, by the Court of Directors, of three lacs "in full satisfaction of all claims of every description that the King may be supposed to possess."

A discretionary power being, however, vested in the Supreme Government as to the manner in which this augmentation should be distributed, it was resolved, and we think judiciously, to provide, in the first instance, for those members of the Royal family whose maintenances were known to be inadequate; to appropriate a portion likewise towards the repairs of the Palace; and to establish, within its precincts, a college for the education of the "Sulateens." Akbar Shah, as well as the present King, having declined the acceptance of the augmentation on these conditions,and having also refused to relinquish all claims on the British Government, the answer of the Court of Directors to this refusal was couched in the following terms:—"The King having refused to 'accept the augmentation, on the condition of executing a formal 'renunciation of all further claims upon the British Government, 'must be considered as having declined the offered benefit; and that 'there is no sufficient reason for granting to the poorer members of 'the family that portion which it was intended to assign to them 'out of the additional provision."

So far as the first part of this decision is concerned, we are of opinion that it is justified by all the circumstances of the case, but we cannot say so much for the determination expressed in the last clause, unless there be some compact between the Government and the King, which precludes the former without the consent of the latter bestowing any bounty it may please, on the impoverished members of the family. On the supposition that no such compact exists, the Court's determination has all the semblance of a retractation, or more properly speaking, a desire to escape, through a loophole, the fulfilment of a promise. The distribution of the augmentation presupposed that the King's allowances were already ample, and unless it can be satisfactorily proved that the poorer members were, like his Majesty, recusant, we think it a hardship to deprive them of the pittance which they required, and which was so generously offered them.

We have now exceeded our ordinary limits, while we have left untouched much valuable information which the compilation before us contains. We trust we have said enough to enable our readers to form an estimate of the utility and importance of the work. When we consider the defective state of records in this country, arising from the destructive nature of the climate itself, and the difficulty the compiler must have experienced in procuring even those from which he has collected, we are disposed to praise him more for his general accuracy, than censure him for minor defects. The archives of the government, unquestionably, contain much that is valuable; and were they superintended by men of some literary pretensions, and an ordinary share of assiduity; instead of as at present by a class of persons whose duty, however useful, is to see that the records and fusty tomes do not crumble into dust, we would, in a short time, have, in a compressed form, information that would be prized equally by the historian, the statesman, and the philanthropist.

Memoir on the Field Carriage of sick and wounded Soldiers in the Bengal Army. By J. L. Login, M. D. Surgeon to the Residency at Lucknow.

When General Sir George Pollock, G. C. B. was returning from Kabul, we happened to take up a position on one of the heights above Tezeen, which was held by a party of Sepoys and of Seikh auxiliaries. No enemy was in sight, and we sat for hours listlessly watching the immense column defiling before us. The advance guard, the privileged baggage and followers; the main column; the hospital train of Doolies, Camel-Kujawas and Elephants, each of the latter carrying six or eight frost-bitten cripples; the commissariat supplies, or ordnance stores and miscellaneous baggage; and camp-followers with some thousand Kabul, Hindoo and other refugees, men, women and children. Then there was Shah Zeman, the old blind ex-king of Affghanistan, who so often had marched that same road bent on schemes of conquest; who had, scarcely twenty months before returned to feast on the sweets of his beloved Kabul; even then, though a dependent on his brother Shah Soojah, not cured of ambition, but scheming the conquest of the Punjab, if not of India. We now saw the old man, mounted on an indifferent steed, attended by a single horse-keeper; pushing his way through the dense crowds, now jostled and jostling, calm and dignified, he excited our sympathy much more than when, in the former days of his exile, he and Shah Soojah aped the monarch at Loodiana. Then came the dissolute Futteh Sing, attended by a few horsemen as dissolute-looking as himself; then his more respectable brother, the young Shah-Zadah Shahpoor.—Both had within the month been kings of Affghanistan.

This motley procession passed, before the rear-guard appeared, and each successive group suggested its own train of thought. It is, however, of the ideas excited by the hospital train that we would here speak. Many were the shifts that the gallant general had been put to, to accommodate his sick. High as was the pay given, many Doolie bearers had deserted before the advance on Kabul; and of camels, elephants, and other carriage cattle, there was a lamentable scarcity. The invalids on elephants sat, and held on, as they best could, on the bare pad. The Kujawahs on camels were extremely uncomfortable, clumsy and fragile; and we fear that, despite the exertions made by individuals and by officials, many severe accidents befell the sick and wounded in these conveyances. In the Khoord Kabul pass, the second march from Kabul, we ourselves found two poor wretches, one without feet, the other maimed in a less degree, both yelling out that they had lost their seats and were left to perish. The first had been provided with an ass, from which he had fallen, and his condition excited little pity from his countrymen. We unceremoniously dismounted a stout fellow who was riding on an elephant, and gave his seat to one of the poor sufferers. The other cripple found a place on our own saddle horse, till other means of conveyance were available.

This one incident is a fair sample of the miseries that befall the sick and wounded at every step on a line of march, despite the muni-

ficent hospital establishment allowed by government. Money may be lavished, and commanders may strain every nerve to provide relief; but all these means will continue to be neutralized, as they already have been on such occasions, as the Nepal, Burmah, and Kabul compaigns, unless we arrive at the desideratum of a light, safe, and easy conveyance, available for all sorts of ground; and which may be carried by men strong enough to carry a moderate burthen. How deeply such a substantial benefit would be appreciated by our native army, may be judged from the admiration they bestow on our clumsy, inefficient hospital train. They see that money is not grudged by the "Sirkar Company," to mitigate the sufferings of those who, under Native Governments, would not be considered worth the trouble and expence of carriage; but they must also see that the said money does not effect all it might effect.

On the day already referred to, as we sat alternately looking down the first descent of the Huft Kotal, and the plain of Kubar Jubar, our Seikh allies were not unobservant of what passed. They, too, were making their comments, fragments of which reached our ears; as for example, "Yes, how comfortable they are; see the great train of 'doolies; the elephants, the camels, the mules; Ah! it is a Badshahee 'army" (a princely service.) The English take care of their sick 'and wounded." From the position and manner of the speakers, we were satisfied that they were unconscious of being observed, and did not speak for effect. Indeed, these auxiliaries were not much in the habit of flattering English Officers, and some of the remarks they had previously, on occasions, indulged in, were far from complimentary.

Next perhaps to regular pay and unalienable pension, the strongest hold we have on the fidelity of Native Troops, lies in our hospital establishment. To be cared for when sick or disabled: not to be abandoned to the knives of those plundering savages, who, every where in the field, follow an Indian camp: to be skilfully and zealously attended, during months of confinement, and when pronounced incurable to be sent to their homes on moderate pensions; these are the strongest links in the chains of attachment binding the native soldier to the British service.

From whatever quarter it may originate, we feel bound to examine any reasonable plan for diminishing the miseries of sick and wounded soldiers in the field; but such a proposition comes with tenfold force from a practical man of Dr. Login's skill, perseverance, and ingenuity. He shall speak for himself in the extracts we shall presently give; but first let us remind our readers that he speaks confidently only on a few broad principles, admitting present imperfection, and courting correction as to the details of his plan.

Dr. Login's proposition is simply this; that by the application of discipline and mechanism, the money allowed by government for the conveyance of sick and wounded soldiers might be made to purchase double the amount of relief it now affords. Not resting on this barren dogma, Dr. Login has been for a long time engaged in a series of experiments to ascertain the best construction for conveyances that might

be available either for litters, beds, or chairs; which might be carried by men, camels, elephants, mules or ponies; and which would be equally useful in the swamps of Arrakan, among the Himalaya mountains, or on the plains of Sindh.

For such conveyances, *simplicity* is not less essential than strength and lightness. Dr. Login, we are happy to observe, sees the wisdom of turning to account the materials most readily procurable. Rope, canvass, bamboo, hemp and cotton, with a few iron hooks, pins and nails, can rarely be wanting in any camp. An active and dexterous hand will fashion these rude materials into means of an *immediate* unspeakable relief, while the mere scientific mechanic is posed for want of a screw, a hinge or a nut.

But it is time we should let Dr. Login speak for himself. After some prefatory notice, he thus sets forth the objections to the hospital doolies now used, and the advantages of a light litter:—

" 600	Bearers at 5 Rs. each, ...	Rs.	3,000
20	Mate do. at 6 do. do.....	,,	120
10	Sirdars do. at 8 do. do.	,,	80
630	Men.	Total monthly amount,.... Rs.	3,200

" As however these bearers, when in the field, are entitled to receive their rations from the commissariat, at fixed rates, and when on foreign service as a gratuity, it frequently happens, that the expence to Government for this allowance far exceeds the amount of their pay under ordinary circumstances.

" During the march of the Army of the Indus in 1839—the price of " Otta" in Camp was for same time about two seers per rupee, and at this rate the charge to Government for the doolie establishment of each European Corps of the full strength, must for rations alone, have been Rs. 2,450; making their whole monthly expence 12,650 Rupees.

" With so large an establishment, maintained at so great an expence,—the utmost efficiency for its particular purpose, may be justly expected. How far this has been realized must next be considered.

" When Troops are marching through an open and level country, it must be admitted, that no mode of conveyance can be more easy for a sick person, or in most cases for a wounded one, than the present doolie. But when the country to be traversed is intersected by mountain passes, like Affghanistan, or by deep ravines and broad rivers, like the Western Punjaub, the case, as will be shewn, becomes widely different.

" From the peculiar construction of the doolie, and the impossibility of adapting it sufficiently to the ascents and descents of an uneven road, it becomes not only an uncomfortable conveyance for a sick person, as an ordinary litter, but from the same cause, it is, to say the least, extremely ill-adapted for the removal of wounded men from heights, which require to be occupied in marching through such a country.

" For a similar reason, it is equally objectionable when marching through a swampy country, fording shallow streams, &c. from the bedding being so readily wet and dirtied; while, as a Hospital bed, its defects are so generally acknowledged as to render it necessary to keep up a separate establishment of cots, for every corps, when in cantonments.

" As a field Hospital bed or carriage for wounded men, it is still further

objectionable, from not being sufficiently firm, to admit of the successful treatment of fractured limbs, under ordinary circumstances: and hence it frequently happens, that cases, which with more perfect means of treatment might have been cured, are now, of necessity, amputated.

"Another great objection to the doolie is, that as it can only be carried by men accustomed to keep step, and solely employed as bearers; in the event of their desertion, the doolie becomes useless. Under such circumstances it very often becomes necessary to carry on the sick by any means which may happen to be available, (though not always well adapted to the purpose) and those who have served in the late campaigns beyond the Indus, can remember the misery then endured by the sick, when carried on camels in a common Kujawah, or when fastened on the back of a laden Yaboo or mule, during the march.

"To these objections must be added the great extent of the doolie train, and the delay and difficulty in defiling it through a narrow pass. As the present doolie cannot be made to keep up with the column on the line of march, the sick accompany the baggage train, and as it frequently happens, that the road to be traversed can admit of only one doolie abreast (and as whether full or empty; they require equal space) the distance which may thus be occupied by the doolie train of each regiment, will be no less than 600 yards.

"As before an active enemy, the whole of this distance may require to be guarded by flanking parties, on commanding heights, the harassing duties of a rear guard of an Army, under such circumstances, and when every other establishment is on a similar scale, may be more easily imagined than described.

"A similar delay occurs, when a doolie train has to be ferried over a broad river, with an insufficient number of Boats. As from the bulk of the doolie, a very few only can be sent over at a time, the delay which the sick experience becomes not only inconvenient, but in some cases dangerous in the extreme, while as the same difficulty occurs, in conveying the empty doolies, the rear guard under these circumstances, is sometimes exposed to the most harassing delay.

"Such are a few of the principal objections to the present system of Doolie carriage for the sick and wounded. I shall now proceed to shew in what way many of these objections may be obviated by the substitution of a more convenient litter, and by the introduction of an organized Corps of "Hospital Lascars."

"The Litter which I propose to substitute for the present doolie is shewn in the accompanying sketches. It consists of several jointed frames made of strong Bamboo with cane work lacing, moving within another frame of the same material. This latter frame is supported on folding legs, and by means of handles sliding within the hollow Bamboos of which it is constructed, it can be carried like a common hand-barrow. Another moveable frame, which can be detached from the outer one when not in use, serves to support a cover for protection against sun or rain.

"The advantages of a litter of this construction, as compared with the common Doolie, are that by a slight modification of the position of the frames, it may be made to serve the purpose of an admirable Hospital Cot or as a camp bed for Officers, while as a conveyance for the transport of sick or wounded men, it not only can be adapted to be carried by Camels, on Carts, Mules, Elephants, Ponies, &c. according as they are most easily procurable, but when bearers alone are used, it can be carried by two men with the greatest ease, while litters which are not in use may be packed up and carried spare until required."

Dr. Login then proceeds to explain six sets of neat engravings which are attached to the memoir, and shew the litter in every conceivable position, as carried by elephants, camels, ponies; by four, three, or by two men; also on an artillery waggon and on a bullock cart. The plates also shew the doolie packed and unpacked as a chair, a horizontal bed or a reclining one. The explanations are clear and devoid of all clap-trap.

The superior portability of the latter over the doolie is one point strongly in favour of the former. An empty doolie is carried by four bearers. Six empty litters may be carried by one camel, or three by two men.

Having explained all points of the litters themselves, Dr. Login then proposes a disciplined corps of hospital carriers, *not bearers*, as a substitute for the present undisciplined, plundering, runaway dooly bearers. His reasoning seems to us conclusive ; and having seen many a sick and wounded soldier obliged to walk because one of four bearers had deserted, we cannot too strongly advocate any system that would reduce the number of carriers and render professional ones *altogether unnecessary ;* one, in short, that would decrease the demand for carriers while increasing the supply, as a large portion of the litters may be carried on animals, and these borne by the men, may be so by any men strong enough to bear ordinary burthens. We give Dr. Login's statement of the expense of his proposed system, with his apology for its present deficiences :—

"With respect to the ordinary monthly charge, I have already shown that the establishment now required in the field for the carriage of the sick of every European corps of ten companies amounted to Rs. 3,200 per mensem ; while circumstances do occur which sometimes increase the expence to upwards of 12,650 Rs.

"For the establishment required for the litters in the field, the expense will, of course, vary according as bearers or other carriage are employed.

"For a full establishment of Bearers the charge will be say,

1 Jemadar,	Rs.	12	
2 Havildars,	,,	20	
4 Naicks,	,,	28	
40 Privates			
Acting Naicks,	,,	240	
Total Hospital Lascar Establishment,	Rs.	300	
400 Hired Bearers at 5,		2000	
Total monthly charge for Bearers,	Rs.	2300	

"When Camel carriage, or carts are used, to the extent I have recommended, the expence will be :

For Hospital Establishment,

Lascars,	Rs.	300
40 Hired Bearers,		200
25 Camels (or Carts),		250
8 Ditto, for 40 spare litters,		80
Total per mensem,	Rs.	830

"Twelve spare camels (or other carriage) being supplied from the Commissariat.

"The difference, therefore, in the ordinary monthly expense in the field, between the present system of doolies and the proposed establishment for litters, will be, in the first case, 900 Rs. per mensem, and in the second, Rupees 2370, in favor of the latter arrangement.

"With respect to the extraordinary charges for Batta on Foreign Service, the reduction in the amount of expense would not only be in the ratio of the diminished number of followers (in itself no less sum than Rupees 3045 or Rupees 8775 respectively, according as bearers or other carriage may be employed under similar circumstances, but from the corresponding reduction in demand, the price of food, and of carriage for it, would also be proportionally lessened.

"The comparative cost in cantonments of the present system, and of an Hospital Lascar Establishment, such as I have proposed, is the only point on which the difference is in favor of present arrangements.

"For an European Corps, the establishment now required costs only Rs. 46 while the expense of an establishment of Hospital Lascars would be Rs. 250 per mensem, exclusive of occasional clothing and pensions for service.

"In regard to *expense*, therefore, it remains a matter of simple calculation, whether this monthly difference, in Cantonments of say Rs. 220, including the contingencies I have above mentioned) may not be more than compensated by the large saving in the field, or even during the ordinary relief of corps which the adoption of the proposed system can effect; or whether, in a military point of view (if this additional expense in cantonments be an insuperable objection), a corps with a disciplined establishment of Hospital Lascars, at all times ready for the field, may not be much more efficient with two men less per company in its ranks, than it can be under the present system, when its numbers are complete.

"There, lastly, remains to be noticed, the comparative compactness with which the litters, and doolies can be carried in the field.

"With respect to the doolies, I have already alluded to the difficulties experienced in transporting a large train of them across a broad river, or in defiling through a narrow pass; that, in the latter case, those attached to one European Corps occupy a space of no less than 600 yards in length, and that, whether full or empty, they cannot be more compactly carried.

"With litters, on the other hand, from their smaller size, not only would the space taken up by them, under similar circumstances, be reduced by one third; but as the spare litters can be packed up into one sixth the space occupied by the present doolies, when carried spare, the reduction may ordinarily be estimated at one-half. Moreover, as no difficulty would be experienced, when bearers are employed in carrying up the laden doolies, on the flank of the column, the baggage train will be still further reduced, and the litters will be carried, on the line of march in two compact divisions, the laden ones with the troops, and the spare ones with the baggage train.

"In transporting the sick across a broad river, the advantages of the litters will be especially obvious; as from their admitting of being packed up so easily, at least four times the number of laden litters, and a still larger proportion of those which are spare, may be conveyed in one boat, from that which can be done under the present system.

"The advantages which I have here pointed out in respect to compactness of carriage, when litters are employed, apply in a peculiar degree to those, which are required for the use of the Field Hospital.

"In concluding this memoir on the carriage of the sick and wounded in the

Indian Army, I may obeserve that my attention was first directed to the subject in 1838-39, when attached to the Horse Artillery of the army of the Indus.

"Subsequently during my residence at Herat with the Mission under Major D'Arcy Todd, and my journies through different parts of Affganistan, among others in the Kohistan with the late Major Eldred Pottinger, I had very favourable opportunities of observing the modes in which the sick may be conveyed under different circumstances in these countries.

"In 1842,* shortly after my return to India, I was induced to commence some experiments on different descriptions of litters for the carriage of the sick and wounded, and through the kindness of the late Lieut. Colonel Edward Sanders, whose zeal in promoting every thing tending to the good of the service was ever most conspicuous, these experiments were brought to the favorable notice of Lord Ellenborough shortly before the commencement of the Gwalior campaign.

"Although then in a very imperfect state, and in many respects most different from that in which I now present them, these litters were so much approved of as to induce his Lordship to order several of them to be prepared by the commissariat at Cawnpore to accompany the force to Gwalior.

"Unfortunately, however, I had it not myself in my power to superintend the preparation, although I gladly acknowledge the kind interest taken in their success by the officer under whose directions they were constructed; nor with litters so prepared, and adapted to camel carriage, was there any one sent in charge of them. They were made over to the different Regiments without, I believe any instructions whatever, as to the manner in which their uses were to be tested.† Under such circumstances, it is not to be wondered at, that they received a very unfair trial. Instead of having their defects carefully observed, and suggestions for their improvement offered, as soon as complaints were made by the sick of their uneasiness as a camel litter from the too great slope of the back frame, and the distance of the points of suspension, they were, without any attempt to rectify these defects, which might easily have been done, or without any trial of their uses in other respects, at once summarily set aside as unsuitable.

"Being perfectly prepared for this result, as soon as I had learned the circumstances under which the trial was to be made, I have not been in any way deterred by this failure; but have continued my experiments without any doubt that, eventually, success MUST attend them!

"Although I by no means, presume to say that the litter, which I now propose, is in every respect perfect, or, that it has nearly approached what it may be made, by a good workman, I think, that the progress I have made is sufficient to shew, that much may be done to improve an important branch of the field equipment of an Indian Army, and to reduce to a very large extent the enormous mass of marauders now attached to it.

"The accompanying sketches, having been made by a Native artist,are not always in correct proportion or on an equal scale, but they will serve to illustrate the various modes of litters to which the litters can be adapted."

* My attention was, at this time, drawn to the subject by Mr. George Archer, of Lucknow, who was then engaged in some experiments on different modes of carrying common doolies. To his skill and ingenuity I have been greatly indebted, for many most useful suggestions, but in particular for the manner in which the litters may be best suspended on camels.

† It is by no means my intention, by this remark, to attach any blame to the commissariat department; unfortunately the time allowed for making up the litters was so short, as to render it almost impossible, to complete every arrangement for a satisfactory trial.

We hope that we have shown sufficient necessity for the assembling of a committee of experienced officers at Cawnpore or Lucknow, in communication with Dr. Login, with full power to try experiments with materials of different sorts; the committee to have at command a few carriage cattle and a small party of Hospital Lascars; so that the lightest and simplest litter may be prepared and that it may then have a fair trial in all positions and carried by all sorts of animals on marches if not less than twelve miles. We recommend to the notice of the committee the Almorah and Eastern Hill *Dandee* as a part of the equipment for mountainous countries; they are not so comfortable as litters, but can be taken over any ground that a man can climb and are usually carried by only two men. If our magazines were kept well supplied in peace with the stores required in war, there would not be the unseemly hurry-skurry in every quarter on the first breath of hostilities, tending to create alarm, and at least derogatory to the power of a great Government. If we are always ready in all branches to take the field, we are less likely to be disturbed, more likely to remain in peace, and if war does take place it will be at less expence to Government and at less discomfort to the soldier than as at present, when equipments and arrangements are left to the last moment and every thing being done hastily, nothing is done well.

Memoirs, Voyages, and Travels illustrative of the Geography and Statistics of Asia. Edited by Major T. B. Jervis, F. R. S.

Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab, containing a particular account of the Government and character of the Sikhs, from the German of Baron Charles Hügel. With notes by Major T. B. Jervis, F. R. S. together with characteristic illustrations, &c. Published under the patronage of the Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

In a former article on the Panjab, mention was made of the Travels of the celebrated Prussian traveller, Baron Hügel. We are happy to have it in our power to announce, that the more valuable part of these travels, including the entire narrative or journal, has now been rendered accessible to the English reader, in the form of a well executed translation. For this seasonable and important contribution to our descriptive Literature, we are indebted to Major Jervis, late of the Bombay engineers—a gentleman, the amplitude of whose attainments in Litetature and Science, peculiarly qualifies him for the task which he has undertaken. It may be in the remembrance of many of our readers that, about four years ago, the Major,—who was then appointed Provisional Surveyor General of India, but has since resigned the service—projected an immense work on the Geography and Statistics of Asia. For such a work he had succeeded in collecting vast materials, and in engaging the assistance of most of the best and ablest writers in the country. Great and unexpected difficulties, however, interposed to prevent

the immediate execution of his great and comprehensive design. And, in the mean while, without wholly abandoning the original plan, the Major has adopted the less arduous and more practicable one, of publishing a series of important works, in the form of Memoirs, Voyages, and Travels illustrative of the Geography and Statistics of Asia. Of this series, the present volume is the *first;* and if due encouragement be afforded, it is intended to follow it up, by the fitting sequel of a volume on "the ancient and modern History" of Kashmir and the Panjab, drawn from Prinsep, Hügel and other trust-worthy authorities. Hereafter, it is proposed to publish the Travels of Vincenzio Maria from Rome, by way of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, to India, translated from the Italian, with notes and a map. This too, is a highly important work, which has not yet appeared in the English language. It is full of interest and information, as respects the countries and people it describes, as well as the pleasing anecdotes with which it abounds. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the leading members of our Indian community, will, with their wonted liberality and praiseworthy zeal in seconding enlightened enterprize, come forward and largely support the present undertaking. If they do, its intelligent and spirited projector, Major Jervis, will be encouraged to persevere; in which case, the result must be, a vast accession of original and otherwise inaccessible matter to the store-house of our Historical, Geographical, and Statistical knowledge of the different countries and kingdoms of Asia. If they do not, the enterprize may, from want of support, languish or fail altogether; in which case, the result must be, a great and perhaps irremediable loss to the cause of our Asiatic Literature, in one of its most useful, interesting, and practically important departments.

Respecting the present volume of Baron Hügel's Travels, the Editor, Major Jervis, in his preface, remarks as follows:—

"The German original of the present publication has deservedly procured for its illustrious author the reputation of a diligent and faithful observer of nature, who possesses the happy talent of expressing his thoughts with a taste and perspicuity which imparts peculiar interest to his narrative. Independent of the entertainment which is derived, by readers of every age, from the varied incidents of personal adventure and foreign travel, the appearance of a work thus recommended, is calculated at the present moment to throw great light on the important question which now occupies the public mind, as to the proper line of policy to be pursued by the Government of India, in relation to the Panjab; and although the principal personages in the scenes, so strikingly depicted in the author's progress, have been swept away by the hand of death, or the murderous contests for supremacy which have followed each other in quick succession, the country itself and its prominent features, which, in a military point of view, are of primary consideration—the circumstances and constitution, the habits and peculiar character of the mixed population subject to Sikh rule, are still the same, unaffected as to any ulterior purpose by the numerous political changes which have occurred since the death of Ranjit Singh.

"The system of disclaiming all interference in the internal affairs of the Native Powers has invariably had the opposite effect to that which was in the contemplation of the Home Authorities, and in the ordinary course of events provoked dissensions, which have occasioned their overthrow and

accelerated the aggrandizement of dominion so strongly deprecated by the British Legislature, on every ground of humanity and justice. The extension of this mighty Empire, to judge from its history and the experience of modern times, is obviously entailed in the designs of an Allwise Providence, irrespective of any choice or human counsels, by the natural impulse of conflicting interests; and the great desideratum seems rather to be, how to bring to the administration of a trust of such magnitude all the energy which should actuate an enlightened Christian Government; how to give to every department of the State that increased efficiency which shall ensure the integrity of our territories on any emergency; in what way best to promote the fullest inquiry into their natural resources and capabilities, and admit these possessions to an equal participation in the commercial privileges which are enjoyed by other colonies of the British crown, without detriment to the interests of the state.

"The principal objects of the undertaking are succinctly stated in the Preface. The Introduction further specifies the best authorities to which the oriental scholar may refer for information respecting the former state and history of Kashmir, with a brief notice of the several European travellers who preceded the author. The cost of the original, independent of the difficulties of a foreign language, would necessarily preclude a very extensive circulation, and the expensive form in which Jacquemont's Travels have been published by the Committee of Public Instruction, under the auspices of M. Guizot, will limit the perusal of that work to a very small number of those who are conversant with the French language. Under such circumstances, the present translation, together with the valuable map which accompanies it, by Mr. John Arrowsmith, will form a most acceptable contribution to the geography of Asia, and be welcomed by those who have looked forward to its publication, as an earnest of the selection and style of an extended series, which is in abeyance only for want of proper encouragement. In any case the reader will receive it as an additional proof of that spirit of inquiry which is abroad in the world, of the liberality with which every desire for information is met by the Government of India, and the testimony borne by an impartial spectator to the intervention of British rule, and the management of the East India Company."

Of the lively and intelligent style of the Traveller himself, the following passage, with which he commences his introduction, furnishes a fair and pleasing specimen:—

"The great mystery of language, which by one sound can bring before us not a single image only, but a multitude of objects and events, and fill the imagination according to its capacity, in no case exercises its influence more strongly than in words which express the names of different lands. To the ear of a European, the word England, for example, instantly recals to mind the wealth of that island, and her maritime power; France is ever associated with the turmoils of ambition and faction; Italy, with sunny climes and poetry; and Germany, with our ideas of a staid, conscientious people. True, the images conjured up in the fancy of every individual, will lose much of their truth and charms when experience has shewn him how sorely he has deceived himself in many things; but when the land of which he dreams, is situated far off, his ideas, though equally vague, are less likely to be disappointed. We have no remembrances attached to the name of a New Zealander; we revert only to his character with horror, as a cannibal, while the New Hollanders excite our compassion for the scanty gifts which Providence has vouchsafed them. Compared, however, with these countries, Kashmir is an object of especial interest. We behold, in

imagination, a delightful valley sheltered on every side by lofty mountains, with streams of the purest water issuing forth from their declivities, which flow gently on till they fall into the mighty rivers which bend their way majestically through the vale. From their summits, crowned with Alpine vegetation, down to the depths beneath, where the luxuriant products of India predominate, there is a succession of plants, which gradually assume as they descend, the lighter and more graceful forms of tropical vegetation. The same fancy peoples the land with noble human forms, adorns it with the palaces and gardens of the Moghul Emperors, and recals the tales of fairy islets, with their magic lakes and floating gardens. There, exclaims the youthful enthusiast, who is never likely to realize these visions, there, must be happiness; there, thinks the philosopher, might our first parents have been summoned into being. Indians, no less than Europeans, feel the charm of this name. The Mohammedan believes Kashmir to have been the earthly paradise; the Hindú has the same tale in his legends of the last Mahá-Yúg, descriptive of the revival of the human race. Fiction, in every case, points to Kashmír, as the land of promise. Even the apathetic eye of the Brahmin, and the cold-fixed thoughtfulness of the Mullah, are known to brighten up at the mention of its sweet retreats.

The last travellers, Jacquemort and Wolff, men of very opposite minds and opinions, have somewhat lessened our favourable ideas on this subject; but the first avows himself nearly blind, and it certainly was not the design of the latter to descant on the loveliness of nature. To examine whether Kashmír would bear the uplifting of the veil which has so gracefully and immemorially hung over her, and see whether the first or the last travellers have drawn the truest portrait, to reach the very limit of Indian civilization, were my chief persuasives to pass several months in this celebrated region; and, why should I deny it? the anticipation of beholding the loveliest spot on earth, had power enough to allure one no longer young to undertake another tedious and toilsome journey."

From the work itself we need supply no extracts; our principal object being earnestly to recommend it to the reader, who, in its perusal, will find a repast of no ordinary richness and variety. After bringing his lively and intensely interesting narrative to a close, the author thus strikingly concludes:—

"For more than two thousand times the earth has performed her circuit round the sun, a period amounting to nearly one-third of the time which has passed since the first creation of mankind; more than 2000 years have elapsed since Alexander crossed the Indus, and we still justly wonder at the undaunted spirit of enterprise which prompted him to the thought of making India pay tribute to Greece. That vast design miscarried, not because the conquest was incomplete—not because the Macedonian hero was too quickly hurried from the world, but because his victories, instead of increasing the power of his kingdom, diminished it; and because he thought that his single will was all that was needed to unite distant empires, each one of which was more powerful than his own hereditary dominions, under his sceptre. Alexander learned for the first time, when the lesson was too late to be of use, that it is easier to conquer a kingdom than to keep possession of it. For it requires, and ever has required, some strong bond of union to keep together a vast monarchy, formed of various nations, when the government has not succeeded, either by power or the right of prescription, in blending the several portions into one whole. In Europe, whether in ancient or modern times, as well as in other countries enjoying European

civilization, this union lasts as long as the mutual interests of the individual states require it. But it is otherwise with remote conquered provinces, or with such as stand in a similar degree of subjugation to the mother country. A regularly formed system is there quite necessary to bring the provincial into harmony with the supreme governments; there must be a spirit of order, a careful survey of every addition made to the empire; there must be a central point of real strength; and finally, confidence and persuasion in the power not only of the state, but in each individual part of it. There was nothing of all this to be found in the government of Alexander; his vast conquests only shattered the powers of his kingdom, which on his death fell to the share of different princes, each one more powerful than his successor on the throne of Macedonia.

Two thousand years after Alexander, a people whose native land differs but little from Greece in extent, unconsciously following out his plans, have subdued India. England owes this immense possession neither to her great talent in managing her affairs in Asia, nor to the bravery of her sons in battle against overwhelming numbers; nor to the boldness with which her plans have been carried out. No, it is to the union of intellect and force; the perseverance which followed up the aim, far distant as it often was; their respect for the rights of the vanquished; the co-operation of every individual in the interest of all; the honourable resolution to grant to every British subject without any paltry jealousies, some participation in the riches acquired. India does not belong to the crown alone, nor to the East India Company; it is the property of the British nation, and the foundations of their gigantic empire were laid by their unfailing courage in reverses of fortune, and their bravery in following up success. The power and stability of this Empire are maintained by the strong links uniting the highest powers in the state with the covenanted servants; through the system by which individuals receive regular promotion, the humblest functionary clinging to existing institutions in the sure hope that he is likely to gain much more under the established order of things, than any usurper in a distant land could offer him; and where the highest individual to whom a distant empire in Asia is confided, feels assured, that his commands will be executed so long only as they shall be found in accordance with the principles of the Government at home. This empire bears the promise within it of a long continuance, inasmuch as the exercise of justice and moderation, maintenance of law and authority, are qualities peculiar to that mighty race, to whom Divine Wisdom has entrusted the government and happiness of millions of his creatures."

The Invisible World: or the State of departed spirits between death and the resurrection. A poem in eight books, with Appendix. By the Revd. W. Robinson, Missionary of the Baptist Missionary Society.—Calcutta, 1844.

In a brief notice, like the present, we have no intention of raising the *questio vexatissima*, What is poetry?—Wherein does it consist?—What constitutes its essence? To enter on such a theme, begirt as it is all around with opinions of frowning opposition, would be to contemplate a dissertation of no ordinary length. Such dissertation we have no intention of inflicting on the patience and forbearance of our

readers, at the close of a whole volume, abounding, we trust, with materials for reflection.

Our attention, however, has been attracted by the novel and somewhat unexpected announcement of a sacred poem, in size equal to that of "Paradise Lost," and written in the same heroic measure, issuing from our *local* press. India we know has been prolific, if not in great poets, at least in poets, whose productions are of great, yea enormous, or even monstrous length. Paradise Lost may number about twelve thousand lines; and so may Pollock's Course of Time; and so may the Æneid of Virgil. The great Father of Western heroic song may, in his Iliad, double that number. But, what pigmies do these appear in the presence of Vyasa, whose Mahabharat rejoices in at least *two hundred thousand lines?* Such as the Ganges is, compared to the rivers of Greece, Italy and Britain—as the banyan to their wide-spreading beeches—as the Himalaya to their loftiest mountains;—such, in surpassing magnitude, is the offspring of the Indian compared to that of the Grecian, Italian, or British Muse. We say, "Indian"—not Bengalese, Concanese, or any other Lowlandish designation. The poets of India were not Lowlanders at all. No! It is amid regions of "the mountain and the flood," where Nature revels in the endless forms of her own rich and varied magnificence, that all genuine poets have drawn in their grandest inspirations, and poured them forth "wedded to immortal verse." We never heard of a great poet born and cradled, nourished and reared, and spending out all his days amid monotonous plains, variegated only by the open field or dense forest, the artificial pond or the stagnant marsh. What great European poet ever appeared among the fens and swamps of Holland? What great Indian poet ever gladdened the dull flatnesses, bogs, and jungles of Bengal? No! We again repeat it,—none of the great poets of India were Lowlanders by birth, education, or contracted habits of life. All of them were natives of the North-West—and from infancy familiar with the diversified scenery of hill and valley—with all their inspiring associations and mysteriously exciting influences.

It is this fact which served in part to whet our curiosity on the present occasion. A poem in heroic measure,—equal in length to the Paradise Lost, and on "the invisible world," the very theme which fired the soul of a Dante and a Milton into the utterance of strains of more than ordinary grandeur,—is announced, as proceeding from the Muse, not of a native, it is true, but of an acclimated sojourner of a quarter of a century in the anti-poetic plains of Bengal! We hastened to its perusal, in dubious suspense how far our favourite theory respecting the indigenous regions of lofty song, might be confirmed or shaken. If, thought we, a truly great poem has been produced in the hostile clime of Bengal, it will be the first to which it, or any other similar clime, has ever given birth. Even then, our theory would not be disproved. Since the phenomenon might well be accounted for, on the very natural and credible supposition that the poet, being the native of a more genial and poetical clime, had caught

the etherial fire amid the scenes and imagery of his youthful days—and that so intense was the heat, that however long it may have been cruelly pent up, it must at length burst forth in glowing torrents, despite its apparent extinction during whole years of slumber, and despite the fatal hostility of the climate, with its scorching hot winds, and deluges of rain, and frightful solitudes of swamp and jungle.

We were not long, however, in obtaining full relief. The opening invocation quite satisfied us that our theory was in no danger of being disturbed by the new Poem of "The Invisible World"—and that it was to furnish no exception to the general rule as already briefly stated. The feeling at once seized us, with a force alike peculiar and inexpressible, that we were reading, not poetry, but rather a somewhat tame and bald prose. Still, we read on, in the hope that the prosaic thread might be strung with at least an occasional pearl, in the form of a brilliant passage, that would somewhat relieve the weariness of perusal, and so far compensate for the dreary toil. But, we read on, in vain. Still, determined to do the author all manner of justice, we at last mustered courage, and made a desperate resolve,—somewhat akin in spirit to that of the warrior who volunteers to lead a "forlorn hope"—a desperate resolve, to read on, to the very end. And, verily, the end we did reach, in spite of the dead levels and stark staring aridities all around—an achievment, in which, we suspect, there will be few either to envy or to rival us.

Let us not be misunderstood. It is of the work, in its assumed character, as a *poem*, that we have written. Apart from its claims or pretensions as a product of the poetic muse, apart also from the peculiar theory which it professes to advocate and illustrate, there are in it many passages indicative of sober good sense, and kindly good feeling. This much we feel in justice bound to say, and more we well cannot. Had the arguments and sentiments embodied in the work been conveyed in plain unpretending prose, our strain of remark would have been plainly inapplicable, and must have been cast in quite a different mould. Even then, we might be tempted to say, that, neither in the style of thought nor of expression, is there ought original or striking—fitted either to dazzle or to allure. Even as a prose composition, it could scarcely get beyond the hemisphere of the most ordinary common place. Though, in that case, it would enjoy the advantage of not being subjected to so severe an ordeal as at present. For it is undoubted, that there is a degree of tameness tolerable in prose, which would be utterly insufferable in poetry; even as there is a measure of ornamental glitter allowable in poetry, which would be beyond the power of endurance in prose. We refer not to tameness or baldness of diction merely. Many of our earlier and minor poets can scarcely be surpassed in this respect. But then, in them there is usually much of a redeeming character;—some wit which sparkles in the tamely expressed thought, or some quaintness which startles in the baldly crowned antithesis. But in the poem of

the "Invisible World," we have all the tamenesses of prosaic thought without any of the admissible licences of poetic expression.

Indeed, the author himself seems to be fully aware of the deficiencies of his work, when brought to the test of any established canon of poetical criticism. In his exceedingly modest and becoming preface, his words are as follows —"Though the author has, in conformity to prevailing custom, denominated his work a poem, because it is written in verse; yet he prefers no claim to that superior style, which is, by way of eminence, termed poetical." His poem, then, by his own confession, is a sort of measured prose, and not poetry at all. Why, therefore, it may be asked, should he have devoted so much precious time to the thankless, bootless task of transmuting a quantity of possibly readable prose into a cumbrous mass of certainly unreadable prosaic verse!

Were it not for the author's positive disclaimer, we might have supposed that he had adopted the very peculiar theory of Wordsworth, on the subject of poetry. "It would," says he, "be a most easy task to prove, that not only the language of a great portion of every good poem, even of the most elevated character, must necessarily, except with reference to the metre, in no respect differ from that of good prose, but likewise, that some of the most interesting parts of the best poems will be found to be strictly the language of prose, when prose is well written." And again,—"I do not doubt that it may safely be affirmed that there neither is nor can be any essential difference between the language of prose and metrical composition." It were easy to prove that whatever modicum or mixture of truth there may be in this Wordsworthian theory, it is at least essentially wrong in its *exclusiveness*. And in vainly striving practically to exemplify his own untenable theory, the great founder of the Lake School of Poetry has dearly paid the penalty;—though, being naturally endowed with the real poetic fire, he has, in spite of his strenuous efforts to be consistent, given birth to a goodly progeny, bearing the unmistakable stamp and impress of poetic genius. But if, with all his great and commanding talents, the poetry even of Wordsworth is, in consequence of the systematic attempt to reduce his own theory to practice, in numberless passages, vastly less poetic than it might have been, what must the adoption of such a theory lead to, in the hands of men of inferior power, but the rendering of versified prose still more prosaic? Not that we accuse our author of adopting so fatal a theory. No! He was, peradventure, unaware of its existence; and, at all events he needed it not. By a very slight change in the mere collocation of the words, the whole of his poem might, with very few exceptions indeed, be turned into plain unmodulated prose. In *his* case therefore, it could soon be proved, that "there is no essential difference, between the language of prose and metrical composition." But then, it ought to be remembered that "the language of prose," of which Wordsworth speaks, is what even he must characterize as "the language of prose when prose is well written." A significant and

limiting characterization this, which might possibly exclude the composition of our author, alike from the category of "well written prose" or "well written verse."

Respecting the particular theory of the intermediate state, which the author would uphold and illustrate, we have no inclination to raise a controversy. His arguments leave the subject exactly where it was eighteen hundred years ago; and if the theory itself be unsubstantiated, his illustrations will only add to the number of delusive meteors that display their flickering and tiny light only to make the gloom more dismal than it was before.

One extract from the work itself we may furnish, as a fair specimen of the author's poetical style. It may also be regarded somewhat in the light of a literary curiosity—as an attempt to embody certain geographical and astronomical lessons in the form of a metrical composition. Our younger readers may be glad to learn, and older readers may not be averse to be reminded of the proofs of the earth's convexity, and daily motion on its own axis, and annual motion through space—when clothed in a poetic garb. More especially may they be incited to give due heed to these proofs when gravely propounded by the ancestor of the human race and his angelic visitors!

In the supposed intermediate state, a disembodied spirit, lately arrived from earth, seeks an early interview with Adam. Amongst other matters he is anxious to learn what the common Father knew respecting the shape, size, and motions of the earth, when an inhabitant of Paradise before the fall. Adam replied, that he had succeeded in discovering much himself; and that what he failed in discovering was condescendingly communicated to him by angels from heaven. He speaks as follows:—

" ' Once, when a number of them had to me
A visit paid, and had, on many things,
With me conversed; much wishing, on some points
To be still more informed, I thus addressed
Them, and the information I desired,
At once obtained. ' Around me, I behold,'
Said I, ' in our Creator's works, great proofs
Of wisdom, power, and goodness too. Of all,
That he has made, nothing imperfect is;
He saw, that all was good, and good is all
That he has done. When, on his works I gaze,
I both adore and love; but I perceive
My knowledge is much limited. What is
This earth, on which both I, and all the tribes
Of animals reside; and out of which
These stately trees and lovely flowers all grow?
If I the highest mount ascend, where views,
The most extensive, I obtain; still earth,
Before, behind, and on each side, appears;
Far as the eye can reach, I nothing see
But earth,—one vast extent of earth. I once
At morning's dawn, went forth, with my fair Eve,
To reach by noon-day, some far distant spot,

And, in the evening, to return. But though
We travelled fast, and, at our journey's end,
A lofty elevation gained, where we,
A wide survey could make; yet, to the earth,
No bounds we saw. The great delight we felt
In all that we had seen, amply repaid
Our journey's toil; but still we had not learn'd
The earth's extent; that is a point, on which
Your information will us much oblige.
I also have a great desire to know,
What shape the great Creator, to this earth,
Has given. I once supposed, a surface flat,
Its hills and vales excepted, was the earth's
True shape; but I have since observed, that when
I stand upon a hill or rising ground,
I farther see, than when I take my stand
Upon a lower spot; and this to me
An indication seems, that the earth's form
Is globular. I also have observed,
That, when I look at objects far remote;
Not those, which are of greatest bulk, do I
Most clearly see, but those which highest are.
This ant, that walks on this large fruit can see
This piece of slender twig, which in the fruit
I now erect, better than it can see
This see; though this is nearer to its eye,
And thicker much, than the small twig; because
The rising of the fruit between the seed
And ant's low eye, quite intercepts the view.
But as this twig, though farther from the ant,
Than is the seed, is higher much than it,
The ant can see it well. And if when I
To distant objects look, the highest are
Most clearly seen, is not the reason this:
Namely, because a rising of the earth,
There is, just like the rising of this fruit,
'Twixt me and distant objects, low but large,
Which intercepts the view; while smaller things
Of greater height, merely because they're high,
Above the rising of the earth appear?
While I, one lovely day, the scenes around
Surveyed; I saw, upon a distant hill
Of steep ascent, four very lofty trees,
Which so much my attention drew, that I
Resolved to visit them; but near the foot
Of the ascent, I had to pass a spot
Richly adorned with many flow'ring shrubs,
Of stature equal to my own. Now why,
Said I, when at a distance, I the trees
Beheld, did not the shrubs appear? I thought,
And thought; and then to this conclusion came,—
The trees, because they're higher than the shrubs,
Could, at a distance great, by me be seen;
The shrubs, because they're low, did not appear
Till I approached the spot on which they stand.

Things really appear to me, thought I,
As to a little ant upon a fruit;
And are not these appearances a proof,
That this fair earth, just like this fruit, is—round?
" 'This little ant, and noble fruit, which is,
In its circumference, three spans, may yet
A farther illustration give, of thoughts,
Which, on this subject, have to me occurred.
The vision of the ant extends, perhaps,
A finger's joint; the fruit's rotundity
Does not, I think, a more extensive view
Permit; then what, just at the utmost bound
Of vision, to the ant appears but air—
The circumambient air. Thus then the sky,
At the short distance of a finger's joint,
Seems, to the ant, all round to touch the fruit;
But would the sky and fruit thus seem to meet,
Were the fruit flat instead of globular?
I think, that they would not. Now I, upon
The surface of the earth, seem to myself
Just like an ant upon this fruit. I see
'Tis true, much farther than this little ant;
But then the line, which does my vision bound,
Where earth and sky to me appear to meet,
Is not remote; for, at the boundary
Of vision, if a few tall trees appear,
I can, by walking in a course direct,
Soon reach the place; the distance is so short,
That, several times a day, I could that space
Traverse. But when I come to those tall trees,
Which were the limits of my view before,
Where earth and sky appeared to meet, the point
Of contact has removed; it now appears
As far beyond the trees, as did the trees
Appear, from the first spot, on which I stood.
On turning to that spot, discerned with ease,
By means of some fine tree, I then perceive,
That forms the termination of my view,
And there, now earth and sky appear to meet.
Thus, in whatever place I am, the sky,
As I've from observation learn'd, appears
To form a concave o'er my head; while, at
A certain distance, all around, just where
My vision terminates, the sides of this
Same concave seem to touch the earth, just as
The ant might think the sky to touch the fruit;
But then, this contact of the sky and earth,
Or sky and fruit, is no reality;
They only thus appear to touch. But still,
Whence this appearance? Now, to me it seems,
That, as the fruit's convexity, may well
Occasion this appearance to the ant;
So does the earth's convexity produce
The appearance of a concave sky to me;
And if the earth a convex surface has
In every part, must it not be a globe?"

Adam, having thus disclosed the results of his own researches and cogitations, next entreats the angels to inform him on what the earth itself rested ?—and how the sun, during the hours of darkness, passed from West to East ?—these being points beyond his own ken. One of these celestial visitants, accordingly, thus addresses him :—

'O Adam, though of earth thy body is,
We see in thee a powerful mind; the gift
Of thy Creator; and this strong desire,
About his wonderous works to be informed,
We much rejoice to see; for in his works,
Of every kind, his glory is displayed.
This earth, thy fair abode, is large indeed,
And is, as thou dost well suppose, a globe;
But wouldst thou circumambulate this earth,
And did no sea nor ocean intercept
Thy course, the labour of a thousand days,
Would scarcely bring thee to this spot again.
This globe, so vast, so ponderous, has nought,
On which to rest; it nothing touches, is
By nothing touched; but, by the power of Him,
Who made it, is suspended in the air,
And takes its motions from his sovereign will.
On these points then, no farther doubt admit;
I tell thee what we heavenly messengers
Do fully know. When on our way, from Heaven,
To visit thee, we always see this earth,
A mighty globe, rolling through space, impelled
By power divine; as we approach, we can,
From a great distance, see thy loved abode;
And seeing, we to it our course direct,
And here alight. So, when we leave the earth,
Some distant world to visit; we must pass
Through space, midst numerous revolving worlds,
All globes like this, but differing in size,
Until we reach the one to which we go.
"'But thy last question must, a full reply,
Receive. This earth, as I have told thee, is
A globe; and it revolves from west to east;
And 'tis this motion of the earth, which makes
The sun appear to move from east to west,
And then become invisible. This fruit,
Which, as thou thinkest, represents the earth,
Shall now, an illustration give. We're now
Beneath a very shady tree, which has
So dense a foliage, that it excludes
The sun;—but there a sunbeam penetrates;
Hence, that bright spot we see upon the ground,
Two fingers' breadth in its diameter.
Now place the fruit upon that spot; northwards,
Let one end point, the other to the south.
The sunbeam, perpendicularly now,
Falls on the upper surface of the fruit.
Now, at the south end of the fruit, stand thou,
But with thy face directed to the north;—

The east is now upon thy right, the west
Upon thy left. Now, on the fruit's west side,
And at a distance from the centre point
Upon its upper surface, just about
A fourth of its circumference, imprint
A mark, and let that mark, the ant's abode,
Be thought; and this thick shade, we will suppose,
The darkness of the night. The ant can now,
If it looks eastward, through the opening leaves,
Just where the sunbeam penetrates, behold
The glorious sun; but how does it appear?
Not high and over-head, as now to us,
But quite remote and low; just as it seems
To thee, when rising from the point, where earth
And sky appear to meet. Now slowly turn
The fruit from west towards east, observing well,
That, as thou turn'st, the sun will, to the ant,
Higher and higher seem to rise; just so,
As day advances, to thy view, the sun
Still higher rises towards its highest point
In this vast firmament. Now stop;—the mark,
Which, on the west side of the fruit, thou mad'st,
Has now, thou seest, the upper surface gained,
Just where the sunbeam falls. Now, with the ant,
'Tis midday, for the sun is o'er its head.
So thou dost, from the west each morn, ascend,
Till thou a point, half way between the east
And west, hast reached; and then the sun to thee
Appears to have its midday height attained.
Now slowly turn the fruit again, still towards
The east;—the sun, as thou observest now,
Is westward of the ant; and just as much
As to the eastward moves the ant, the sun
Appears descending towards the west. Just so,
When midday's past, the sun, to thee, appears
Declining towards the west. Turn on yet more,
The ant has reached the eastern side; and now,
To it, the sun is setting in the west.
Just so at eve, the sun, low in the west,
Thou seest, where earth and sky appear to meet.
Turn on;—now, to the ant, 'tis night,—the sun
Is gone; so, as the earth rolls east, the sun
Quite disappears, and it is night to thee.
Now turn the fruit till, in the west, the mark,
As at the first, appears;—now to the ant
'Tis day; now it again can see the sun
Just rising in the east. The fruit has now
One revolution made: 'tis thus the earth
Its daily revolution makes; and hence,
The sun, which stationary is, appears
To thee to rise and set. And now I hope,
The cause of day and night to thee is clear.'

Hoping that the cause of day and night, as well as the other geographical and astronomical phenomena, have been made equally clear

to our readers, and that they will gratefully thank the excellent author for such edification, we bid the subject a long adieu!

Memoirs of Father Ripa, during thirteen years' residence at the Court of Peking in the service of the Emperor of China; with an account of the foundation of the College for the education of young Chinese at Naples. Selected and translated from the Italian, by Fortunato Prandi. (*Murray's Home and Colonial Library, No.* 15.) *London* 1844.

We might, if we were at a loss for subjects, include within our sphere the whole of Mr. Murray's Home and Colonial Library, on the ground of its being specially designed for the use of residents in "India and the East." But such of the works constituting the Library as relate to Oriental subjects have a double claim upon our attention.

Father Ripa's Residence at the Court of Pekin is a very amusing book. Its author is a strange compound of the simplicity of the Neapolitan peasant with the wiliness of the Jesuit; the position which he occupied as Court painter to the Emperor of China enabled him to describe scenes from which all other "outside barbarians" have been hitherto excluded, while his intercourse with the Chinese, in his other character of Jesuit Missionary, enabled him to see them in a light in which they would not have shewn themselves to a mere attaché to the court of the Emperor. We shall present a few extracts from the work, which we have found both amusing and instructive, and which accordingly we recommend to our readers.

We have said that the author shews many traits of the simplicity of the Neapolitan peasant. Here is one:

"After suffering many hardships, which I will not stop to detail, we at last arrived at Loreto, where we visited the Holy House and various other sanctuaries. Among these, that of Montefalco deserves particular notice; for it contains the corpse of St. Chiara in such a state of preservation that her hands and face are as fresh and ruddy as though she were alive. We adored her heart, which was cut open, and in which, with great astonishment, we observed, in bas-relief, the implements of the passion of our Lord, and our Lord himself on the cross!"

Here again is an instance of Jesuitical morality, and of the shrewdness of John Company:—

"Having, in consequence of his representations, received permission to continue our journey, we disguised ourselves as lay-men, and on the 23rd of December left Cologne for the Hague. Here we found our companions, who, having been discovered to be missionaries, were refused passports for England by the English ambassador. By the assistance of the Bishop of Munster, to whom we were recommended by the Pope, Father Perrone, Amodei, and I succeeded in obtaining passports under assumed names; and, on the 3rd of January, 1708, we sailed from Rotterdam for England. On the 7th we arrived safely in London; and the next morning we hasten-

ed to wait upon Signor Cornaro, the Venetian ambassador, who received us with the greatest kindness. Without losing any time, we went with Father Perrone and a gentleman of the embassy to solicit the East India Company for a passage to China in one of their ships; but, as it was strictly prohibited to take out any ecclesiastics, the Ambassador sent to inform the Company that we were going to enter the service of the Emperor of China—Don Amodei as a mathematician, I as a painter, and Father Perrone as our servant. It was indeed amusing to see Father Perrone standing before us two, hat in hand, showing us all the marks of respect which servants are wont to pay their masters. The directors, however, being wary men, did not appear satisfied with his account, and said they could believe that Amodei and I were laymen, but not Father Perrone. His peculiar carriage and behaviour, his eyes cast down, his hands continually in his sleeves, and other signs, induced them to think that he must be an ecclesiastic. They then asked the gentleman of the embassy whether Perrone was a Jesuit, and on his answering that he was ready to swear to the contrary, they granted us permission to sail in one of their ships, which bore the name of Donegal, and was bound for Bengal."

A specimen of freedom from prejudice :—

"The principal officers played almost every day at draughts, but on the Sunday no one attempted it; and many of those who could read, might be seen during a great part of the day with the Bible in their hands. One of the company who was employed in drawing a geographical map, wishing to continue his work on a Sunday, received a severe reprimand from the captain: such is the rigour with which these heretics observe the Lord's day."

The following account of the reception of a Russian ambassador at the Chinese court will be peculiarly interesting to those who are acquainted with the details of the similar scenes that took place at the reception of our own ambassadors, Lords Macartney and Amherst. The extract is too long, but we cannot well shorten it :—

"On the 29th of November of the same year, 1720, Count Ismailof, who was sent on an embassy to his Celestial Majesty by the Czar, Peter the Great, made his public entry into Peking with a retinue of ninety persons, and the sound of trumpets, drums, and other military instruments. He was on horseback, and had a man of gigantic height on one side of him, and a dwarf on the other, both on foot. His retinue partly preceded and partly followed him; some on horseback, and others on foot; all with drawn swords, and in splendid array. Count Ismailof had a fine person and a noble expression of countenance: he spoke German, French, and Italian, and had some slight knowledge of Latin.

To conduct the negotiations with this ambassador the Emperor appointed a commission, consisting of a mandarin and two courtiers, all personages of great authority; and deputed five Europeans and a Chinese to serve as interpreters. Being one of the number, I had the honour of waiting on Count Ismailof together with the others. After an exchange of compliments, the ambassador said he had a letter from the Czar, which he was instructed to deliver into his Celestial Majesty's own hands; and on being questioned as to its contents, he produced a copy, and gave it to the commissioners. Louis Fan, the Chinese interpreter, was desired to read it; but the letter was written in Latin, and the poor man knew so little of this language, that

he had been obliged to petition the Pope for a dispensation from reading mass every day. He muttered and mumbled till he wore out the patience of the bystanders; and when at length he was pressed to tell the meaning, he was obliged to confess that he could not make it out. The letter was then handed to us, and we immediately read the contents. It imported that the Czar, being desirous to strengthen the good understanding in which he had hitherto lived with the Emperor, had sent Count Ismailof as his ambassador, requesting his Majesty to listen to all the details that he would have to submit to him, and not to send him back to Moscow before the business on which he had been dispatched was completely arranged.

The commissioners were incessant in their inquiries respecting the business alluded to in the letter; but the wary Ismailof constantly replied that he was forbidden to speak upon the subject until the letter had been received by the Emperor, and his diplomatic capacity acknowledged. As however the commissioners insisted upon having the first information, the ambassador, being at length overcome by their troublesome importunity, stated that the whole business consisted in the establishment of a treaty between the Russians and the Chinese, in order to avert any future misunderstanding. Whilst we were engaged in conversation with the ambassador, the dinner sent him by his Majesty arrived; and when he was requested to return thanks, by making the accustomed prostrations, he refused, alleging that he represented his sovereign, who was on equal terms with the Emperor; but that he would make an obeisance according to the custom of his country. The commissioners could not obtain any further concessions, and were obliged to be satisfied.

The Emperor having been immediately informed of this, was as much satisfied with the contents of the letter, and the business on which the ambassador had been sent, as he was displeased to hear of the reluctance which he had shown to perform the indispensable prostrations. But he dissembled; and in order to obtain his object without coming to a rupture, he resorted to the stratagem of inviting Count Ismailof to a private audience, saying that he would receive the Czar's letter upon a subsequent occasion. The ambassador immediately perceived the snare, and returned thanks to his Majesty for the honour he was willing to grant him as a private individual; but added that, as he was in the service of his sovereign, he must first beg to present his letter.

The Emperor then ordered us to inform the ambassador that, as he declined being presented to him before delivering the Czar's letter, his Majesty would neither receive the letter nor the gifts sent him by the Czar; and that he might therefore return to Russia. To this Ismailof replied that, before executing the commission he had received from his sovereign, he could not receive any personal distinction; and when he was asked whether, in presenting the letter, he would perform the prostrations, he answered that he would not; but that he would make the obeisance which European ambassadors made before the princes to whom they were sent.

Upon this the Emperor commanded one of his principal eunuchs, a page, the master of the ceremonies, and the five European interpreters to inform the ambassador that, out of regard to the Czar, he had been induced to do him the honour which he had refused; that, according to the immutable ceremonial of China, it was incumbent upon ambassadors to make the prostrations, and to place the letter upon a table, whence it was taken by a great officer of state, and presented to his Majesty; that although such was the custom, he would waive it on that particular occasion, and receive him in the great hall: that, besides this manner of presenting any thing written to his Majesty, there was also the official channel of his government; and

that he could choose which of the two ways suited him best. To the suggestion of the official channel, the ambassador replied with a smile; and with respect to the other, he answered that he was commanded by his master to deliver the letter into his Majesty's own hands, and that he could not take upon himself to depart from his instructions. The eunuch then told him that, if neither of these ways satisfied him, he might endeavour to meet the Emperor, as he was coming to Peking, and kneeling down before his Majesty, present him the letter on the public road. Count Ismailof also rejected this advice as indecorous towards his own sovereign, and persisted in saying that he would deliver the letter into the Emperor's own hands, in the place where he was accustomed to receive the ambassadors of other powers. At this presumption, highly offensive to Chinese pride, the eunuch smiled, and the page said that the ambassador must be mad; whereupon, without saying one word more, we all rose and broke up the conference.

The interpreters were again summoned to the palace, and a decree, written by the Emperor himself, was given to them for translation, with the injunction that they should represent it as the work of his Majesty's ministers, and should request the ambassador to reply, categorically, to every particular. The translation was executed by one of us who was not in sufficient possession of the Tartar language to render several parts of the manifesto very clearly.

The subject of this imperial edict, which was supposed to be addressed by the Foreign Office to the ambassador, was as follows:—The Emperor had hitherto received, and treated with great honour, all envoys of foreign powers; and as during many years he had been on a good understanding with the Czar, as soon as he was informed of the approach of his ambassador to Peking, he had sent some mandarins to meet him, furnishing him with horses, and whatever else was necessary in the journey. On the ambassador's arrival in Peking, one of his Majesty's eunuchs was sent to him with dishes from the imperial table, and a message that after a few days he would be received at court. His Majesty thought that all these favours might have induced him to give up his unreasonable pretensions of delivering the letter with his own hands, as he was no more than a representative of his master. This circumstance had awakened much suspicion upon his conduct. If he expected to receive the same honours as those that would be paid to the Czar if personally present in Peking, the marks of respect hitherto shown him were certainly insufficient, and other forms and ceremonies must be put in practice. He however was not the Czar, but merely his envoy; and even for that his Majesty did not consider the credentials as entirely satisfactory. Although he had boasted of being not only an ambassador, but also a prime minister, he might be a merchant, who, the better to succeed in his traffic, had disguised himself as an ambassador. But granting that he had really been dispatched by the Czar, and that he was in fact his ambassador, yet he ought not on this account to be so presumptuous, nor insist upon presenting his letter with his own hands, as one familiar friend would to another, without observing any of those ceremonies which in China are indispensable, as must have been known not only to him, but to the Czar also. In this manner it was impossible that he should ever attain the object of his embassy."

Such was the purport of this imperial manifesto, which concluded by directing that, as the conduct of the ambassador was so suspicious, the Foreign Office should make strict inquiries into the matter, and exact from him detailed explanations on every point.

When the translation was completed, the eunuch asked us whether the ambassador and the gentlemen of his suite understood the Latin language,

and as we replied that they did but very little, he then desired me to make it in Italian. Fearing that Count Ismailof might suspect that I had some share in the invectives contained in the decree, and excite the Czar's hatred against the Propaganda, in whose service I was, I replied that the ambassador was better acquainted with the French than with Italian. Upon this the eunuch immediately ordered that the translation should be executed in the French language, and the task was accordingly confided to Father Parrenin. It was fortunate for me that he relieved me from this duty, as Count Ismailof actually conceived suspicions of the other interpreters, but never of myself. Had this been otherwise, it would have grieved me much, for afterwards he was recommended to me by the Bishop of Peking in the name of the Propaganda.

The French translation of the imperial decree, together with the original copy in Tartar characters, was conveyed by the mandarins to the ambassador without the aid of the interpreter. I was however informed that he did not appear in the least surprised at the blame thus bestowed upon him, and that he again expressed his determination not to make the required prostrations, and to present the letter with his own hands.

The mandarins returned to the ambassador with an answer also written by the Emperor himself, but with more condescension, and in the name of the government. Count Ismailof again declared in the same manner, that he would not make the prostrations, and demanded permission to place the Czar's letter himself in the hands of the Emperor.

His Majesty perceiving that the ambassador firmly persisted in this resolution, no longer corresponded with him in the name of the government, but sent several mandarins, accompanied by interpreters, of whom I was one, immediately from himself. We stated that the Emperor considered the family of the Czar as his own, and that the Czar's honour was equally dear to his Majesty, with many other similar expressions which were made to bear upon the pending question. We added, that whenever he should send an ambassador to the Czar, he promised that his representative should stand uncovered before him, although in China none but condemned criminals exposed their heads bare, and should perform all the other ceremonies customary at Moscow. No sooner had we arrived at these words, than the chief mandarin instantly took off his cap before the ambassador; and the latter being thus satisfied, promised to perform the prostrations according to Chinese custom, and also to place the letter upon the table in sight of the Emperor sitting on his throne, so that one of the courtiers might afterwards convey it to his Majesty. The mandarin farther stated, that the ambassador had the imperial permission to repair to the gate of the palace in the same state as he had entered Peking, namely, with drawn swords, music, and other distinctions. After this Count Ismailof endeavoured to justify his conduct, and produced the original instructions confided to him by the Czar, in which, among other things, he was commanded not to perform the prostrations, and to insist on delivering the letter himself into the hands of the Emperor. It was finally arranged that the ceremony should take place on the 9th of the same month."

The following description of the funeral rites of the Chinese is interesting, though we could have wished it had gone more into detail :—

"I have already described what I and the other Europeans had done upon the death of Kang-hy's mother. The same ceremonies were now to be performed for the death of the deceased Emperor. We entered the palace with the other missionaries, all clothed in mourning, and went directly to

the gate Isi-niu-cung, where we found the mandarins assembled. Some of the missionaries, after speaking aside with the mandarins, followed them to the entrance of the inner palace, where the corpse lay, and the funeral rites were performed. I then observed to Father Rinaldi, who, being newly arrived, trusted entirely to my directions, that they were going towards the bier, but I did not know what ceremonies they intended to perform. Upon this Father Rinaldi asked them what they were going to do; and he received for answer, that there would be no improper or idolatrous sacrifices, no papers burnt, no libations of wine performed. On this assurance we followed the others; and through the gate already mentioned, we entered a spacious court, in which we found a vast number of mandarins upon their knees. They were all habited in mourning, and weeping; and from time to time, upon a signal from the master of the ceremonies, they all at once raised such a howl of lamentation as filled the sky; after which they performed their prostrations.

We were then ordered to kneel also, but in a place apart from the mandarins. In this position we wept with them, and made the same prostrations, not perceiving anything unlawful or unchristian in such marks of grief. During several days we repaired to the same spot, and repeated the same ceremonies.

When the funeral rites were over, I asked a mandarin who had assisted at the ceremony, in what manner it had been performed; and he replied, that during the whole time the body was lying in the palace no paper money had been burnt; but that, after the removal of the body to Kiah-Shian, the mountain of gold, a place immediately without the gate of the palace, such a quantity of paper money had been burnt that the air around was for a time clouded with smoke. He also told me that the Tien-tsien, or libation of wine, had been made, and had taken place in this manner:—The president of the Board of Rites presented a vessel of wine to the Emperor, who poured it into a large golden bowl; and at the same moment the master of the ceremonies gave a signal, at which the mandarins, and we missionaries with them, performed their prostrations. On hearing that we had, even unconsciously, taken part in this work of superstition, I was grieved and alarmed to a degree which it would be impossible for me to express; and in order to preclude the recurrence of such a misfortune, I resolved to quit that Babylon at any risk, and as soon as possible."

With these extracts we must take leave of Father Ripa, recommending our readers to make his acquaintance.

Sanders and Cowns, Typs., No. 1, Tank-Square.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Annual Report of the Medical College of Bengal; Session, 1844-45.

As it is our purpose in due time to furnish a full account of the origin, rise, progress, and objects of the Medical College, we shall, for the present, limit ourselves to a simple notice of the last Annual Report. The institution is one which all those interested in the cause of Native improvement must view with special satisfaction and delight—whether we consider the nature and amount of inveterate hereditary prejudice which must have given way before its establishment could be projected, and the complete and final demolition of which its continued success cannot fail to ensure—or whether we contemplate the philanthropic ends which it is so peculiarly fitted to accomplish in a land, which, for ages, has been scourged with the worst of human diseases in their most virulent types, aggravated as these have been by the worst adapted of human remedies, under the imposing forms of witching spells and senseless quackeries.

The Report is drawn up by the Secretary, Dr. Mouat, with his usual clearness and ability. It abounds with matter in a highly compressed form. In this respect, it cannot be said to err, either in the way of deficiency or excess. It omits nothing of importance which one could reasonably wish for, or expect to find, in such a document. It contains nothing which one could desire to see expunged, or the rejection of which would not leave a gap that would mar the symmetry of the whole. The only improvement which we would venture to suggest is, *the introduction of distinct headings*, briefly indicative of the nature of the different topics treated of, as these successively arise. At present, there is nothing to point out to the eye, where one distinct subject ends, and another begins. And the want of some such unmistakable notation as that which the ordinary expedient of distinct "headings," supplies, will be felt, as more or less embarrassing, by all, and more especially by those who are little conversant with the subject-matter of such a publication.

The College is under the immediate control and superintendence of the Council of Education; at the head of which are the Honourable Messrs. Cameron and Millett, members of the Supreme Council of India. The Educational routine and Collegiate discipline are entrusted, under the foresaid paramount superintendence, to the body of regular Professors, under the designation of the "College Council." The completeness of the Professorial Staff, and the Educational Course with its needful accessories, may best be seen by reference to the following enumeration of particulars:—

INSTRUCTIVE ESTABLISHMENT.

Professor of Botany, ...	Dr. Wallich.
„ *Medicine and Clinical Medicine,*	Dr. Jackson.
„ *Anatomy and Physiology,*	J. T. Pearson, Esq.
„ *Midwifery,*	Dr. Stewart.
„ *Surgery and Clinical Surgery,.*	R. O'Shaughnessy, Esq.
Professor of Materia Medica and Medical Jurisprudence, ...	Dr. Mouat.
Demonstrator of Anatomy and Curator of the Museum, ...	A. Webb, Esq.
Lecturer on Chemistry and Practical Pharmacy, ...	A. Robertson, Esq.
Native Demonstrator of Anatomy,.....	Pundit Modusuden Gupto.

MILITARY CLASS.

Professor of Military Surgery, ...	Allen Webb, Esq.
Superintendent and Teacher of Anatomy and Surgery	Pundit Modusuden Gupto.
Teacher of Medicine and Materia Medica,	Sub-Assist. Surgeon Sib Chunder Karmocar.
Staff Sergeant, ...	Mr. J. Wood.

MALE HOSPITAL.

Physician,.....	Professor J. Jackson.
Surgeon,.....	Prof. R. O'Shaughnessy.
House Surgeon and Apothecary,.....	Mr. Geo. Daly.

FEMALE AND LYING-IN HOSPITAL.

Physician,.....	Professor Stewart.
Resident Surgeon, ...	Sub-Assist. Surgeon Prosunno Coomar Mittre.
*Ditto Pupil,**	Baboo Doyal Chund Bysack.

OUT-DOOR DISPENSARY.

Superintendent, ...	Dr. Mouat.
In charge, ...	S. A. S. Prosunno Coomar Mittre.

The number of regular students in the primary class is *ninety-one*. Of these, *fifty-seven* are Hindus of different castes, including *nineteen* of the *Brahmanical*. Of Muhammadans, the proportion is very small—the number being only *three*. The remainder consist chiefly of Chris-

* The Midwifery Scholarship Holder.

tians—East Indians, Ceylonese, &c. In the military class, consisting almost exclusively of the sons of Native officers and soldiers in the Bengal Army, the total number is *ninety*. These are intended to become assistants to Military Surgeons in cantonments or elsewhere. Of these again 75 are Mussalmans and 15 Hindus. Of the former, 61 are natives of the North Western Provinces, and 14 of Bengal. Of the Hindus, 10 are natives of the Upper Provinces, and 5 of Bengal.

The Report, in passing, pays a merited compliment to Dr. Goodeve, who, on account of ill-health, has been compelled to proceed to Europe, on leave of absence. He is the oldest surviving officer connected with the Institution; and one to whom the largest share of its present success is due. The Report, also, after deploring the loss which botanical science in this country has sustained, by the premature and lamented death of Mr. W. Griffith, who officiated as Professor of Botany, during the absence of Dr. Wallich, records the following testimony in his favour:—

"The eminence and high scientific reputation of Mr. Griffith; the untiring zeal, energy, and ability with which his duties in the Medical College were conducted; and the creditable proficiency of the Students of his class; together with the extremely valuable and beautiful collection of diagrams and drawings, which he prepared for the instruction of his pupils and presented to the College, were such as to entitle him to the best thanks of the Council, and to render his decease a subject of deep regret, to every one interested in the successful cultivation and dissemination of science in India. It was his intention had his life been spared, to have prepared a Manual of Botany for the pupils of this College, specially adapted to their wants and illustrated throughout from his drawings of Indian plants, so as to form not only a complete guide to structural and physiological botany, but to serve in some measure, so far as our present knowledge extends, as a Flora Medica of India. Few were better qualified to do justice to such a subject, and none could have brought a greater degree of energy and ability, or a larger amount of knowledge to the task."

One great object, stedfastly kept in view by the Managers of the College, has been its onward progressive improvement and efficiency. Accordingly, upon the occurrence of the vacancies occasioned by the recent departure of Professors Goodeve and Raleigh, in the chairs of Anatomy, Physiology, Midwifery and Surgery, a communication was addressed to Government, pointing out the eligible opportunity which had occurred of remodelling the whole course of instruction pursued in the Medical College, so as to bring it up to the standard of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and procure the recognition of the institution by that body. From this communication, the following extract will best explain the arrangements which have been proposed, and which have already been duly sanctioned by the Council of Education and by Government:—

"The approaching departure of Professors Goodeve and Raleigh, has been deemed an eligible opportunity for remodelling the system of instruction pursued at the Medical College, so as to bring it within the regulations of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, that the Institution may be duly registered and recognized, and those of its pupils who may hereafter

visit Europe for the purpose of graduating or obtaining the Diploma of Surgeons may be enabled to derive the benefit of the time passed here, being allowed to count in England, instead of their being compelled to spend four years in other schools and hospitals, as they are at present.

The means of instruction, dissecting rooms, museums, library, laboratory, &c. are such as fairly to entitle it to rank with any of the provincial schools of Great Britain, or the second class schools of medicine, in the Capitals of England, Scotland or Ireland. The chief and insuperable drawbacks to its present recognition, are the divisions of the courses of Lectures, and the time occupied by some of them : it being a rule of most European Colleges, that no single Professor shall teach two distinct branches of medical science, except in the cases of Anatomy and Physiology, and Materia Medica, with Medical Jurisprudence, and that none of the systematic courses of lectures shall consist of less than 70 lectures or demonstrations upon each subject.

Under these circumstances the College Council beg strongly to recommend that the chairs of Anatomy and Midwifery may be separated : that the teaching of the elementary chemistry required, be united with the course of practical pharmacy given by Mr. Robertson, and that gentleman's services be separated from the present courses of Chemistry and Materia Medica, in which no assistant would then be required ; and that for his present salary under the style of " Lecturer on chemistry and practical pharmacy," Mr. Robertson should give the courses required by the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

That every student should, in addition, compound in the dispensary of the Medical College, under the superintendence of Mr. Daly, the House Surgeon and Apothecary : that the present anomalous and useless appointment of Lecturer on Minor Surgery should be abolished, and the whole course given, as it is in most European Schools, by the Professor of that branch of medical study: and that Mr. Webb's valuable services should in this department be transferred entirely to the military class, to the pupils of which he is willing and able to lecture in Hindustani upon military and operative Surgery, a course of instruction which would be as valuable to them as it would be creditable to the talent and industry of Mr. Webb, who is willing to perform this extra duty without any other remuneration, than being styled Professor of Military Surgery to the Secondary Class.

In addition to the above, the College Council beg to recommend, that the present Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica, be directed to give annually a course of lectures upon those parts of Medical Jurisprudence, not treated of in the toxicological department of the Materia Medica lectures, and that his designation be changed to that of " Professor of Materia Medica and Medical Jurisprudence."

It is deemed of great importance that every course of lectures should be of the nature and duration, adopted as the standard of the Royal College of Surgeons.

The above changes would be attended with no additional expense to Government ; would secure to the pupils a larger amount of instruction than they can receive under the existing system ; and would aid in placing the Medical College of Bengal upon a proper footing, as compared with similar Institutions in Europe."

The arrangements thus proposed and sanctioned are directed to be carried into effect from the commencement of the next session. The following will accordingly be the extent and divisions of the courses of Lectures, to be hereafter, during each session, given in the College :—

" *Anatomy and Physiology*—120 lectures, viz. three lectures a week

during the hot, and four during the cold weather, from the 1st of November to the 15th of March inclusive.

Demonstrations and Dissections.—The latter from the 15th of October to the 15th of March inclusive: the former by three demonstrations a week, during the entire Session, viz. from the 15th of June in one year to the 15th of March of the succeeding year.

Surgery.—The course to commence on the 15th June, and consist of not less than 70 lectures.

Theory and Practice of Medicine.....*Same as above.*
Chemistry and Practical Pharmacy,..... *Ditto.*
Materia Medica and Therapeutics, ... *Ditto.*
Midwifery with practical illustration,..... *Ditto.*
Botany,..... *Ditto.*

Medical Jurisprudence.—The toxicological portion to be given with the regular course of Materia Medica; upon the remainder, one lecture a week from the 15th of October to the 15th of March inclusive.

In addition to the above every pupil will be required to compound medicines in the College Dispensary for at least six months, under the charge and direction of the House Surgeon and Apothecary, who has been authorized to grant certificates of proficiency for the same.

By the rules of the College, the students are already obliged to attend the practice of the various Hospitals and out-door Dispensary during three full years; to be present as often as their other engagements will permit, at the European General and Native Hospitals, as well as the Eye Infirmary. For the purpose of instructing them in the process of vaccination, a teekadar has been specially attached to the College, and the establishment of the Fever Hospital, will complete the amount of practical and clinical instruction furnished, so as to render the Institution in all these respects fully equal to the best provincial schools in Great Britain and Ireland."

The annual sum expended on the salaries of the whole body of Principal and Professors now amounts to Rs. 34,200. The cost of the Establishment amounts to Rs. 21,045. For contingent allowances, with the view of providing the necessary means and instruments of instruction, as well as establishing and maintaining a museum and laboratory, a variable sum of 5 or 6 thousand rupees is granted. The Ceylon Government pay for the students sent by them for education in the Calcutta Institution. The aggregate sums expended from its original establishment in 1835, are as follows:—Principal and Professors, Rs. 312,956; cost of Establishment, 136,478; Contingent allowances, 64,567—making, in connection with some other sums, a grand total of Rs. 5,54,002, or about £55,000 sterling.

The following particulars, tending still farther to exhibit the economic arrangements of the College and its means of professional equipment, cannot fail to be interesting to many:—

"For the instruction of the pupils, the College possesses at present two Hospitals, that for males capable of containing 112 beds; the lying-in and female wards having accommodation for 60 patients; together with an out-door Dispensary in which the daily average number of sick is seldom less than 150. The approaching establishment of a Fever Hospital capable of containing at least 150, and probably a much larger number of patients will considerably increase the clinical advantages of the School.

The Institution, in addition, contains pathological and comparative ana-

tomy museum, in which there are 874 preparations—a Library of 3,612 volumes, and among them all the most recent and esteemed text-books—a museum recently formed by the late Mr. Griffith and Dr. Mouat, of Botany and Materia Medica, which already contains a splendid collection of botanical and chemical drawings and diagrams; a complete set of all the medicinal remedies officinal in European Pharmacopœias, with a gradually increasing collection of indigenous specimens. In addition to the above, a cabinet of minerals is now on its way from Europe for the same department, purchased and presented to the Institution, by Dr. Mouat. The chemical Laboratory consists of a complete range of new furnaces, constructed with much care and attention, in which every chemical and pharmaceutical operation can be carried on and exhibited to the pupils. Attached to the Laboratory is an apparatus room, containing almost every instrument likely to be useful in the lectures delivered in the College.

Within the inner quadrangle is a small botanic garden in which are contained specimens of most of the medicinal plants growing in the Honorable Company's Gardens, all of which were furnished by the late Mr. Griffith.

The dissecting rooms are admirably adapted for their special object, have recently been constructed with an iron roof and asphalte floor, and are equal to those of any school in London.

The supply of subjects is ample, and would be nearly unlimited if dissection were not confined to the cold season, from the 15th of October to the 15th of March.

The following is a statement of the number of bodies dissected, since registers of them were kept:—

In 1837	60
„ 1838	120
„ 1839	120
„ 1840	174
„ 1841	521
„ 1842	304
„ 1843	344
„ 1844	508
And during the first two months of the present year,...	165
In all.....	2,316

Another subject, into which the Report largely enters, has reference to the means of affording a more complete and efficient education to the European Subordinate Medical Department. For this end, a plan containing various suggestions, was some time since drawn up by Doctor Goodeve. The following is an abstract of his proposed scheme:—

"The present obvious deficiency of any regular professional education for the subordinate medical department, and a conviction that great improvements may be wrought in that body by help of the instruction available at the Medical College, has induced us to submit to the Government the accompanying scheme for instructing the department in question.

The apprentices of the subordinate medical service, are for the most part young men of meagre general acquirements, who upon admission to the service are employed for a period varying from 5 to 10 years, as underlings in a Military Hospital, under the name of hospital apprentices. At the expiration of that time they are allowed to proceed to more active service as assistant Apothecaries—this constitutes the whole of their medical edu-

cation. During the above mentioned period they have no opportunities for pursuing any systematic mode of professional study, they are left almost entirely to their own resources to pick up such information as they best can procure. In this way the more attentive and industrious may, it is true, succeed in obtaining a very imperfect share of medical knowledge; whilst the idle learn merely to perform the ordinary routine duties of dressers and compounders.

Nevertheless circumstances some times render it necessary to employ these individuals in situations where the lives and health of a considerable number of people are dependent upon their skill and information; and doubtless they might be more frequently engaged with advantage in performing the higher class of professional duties, if their medical acquirements were generally of a better description.

Since the establishment of the Medical College, in consequence of an order passed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, a few of the apprentices from time to time attended the lectures there delivered, but amongst these two or three individuals only paid sufficient attention to their duties, to derive any permanent advantage from the opportunity of improvement thus offered to them. This arose partly from laziness and indisposition to learn on the side of the pupils; partly because no great inducement for labor existed, (their subsequent employment and advancement depending in no wise upon a successful examination or on a certificate of proficiency from the Professors) and partly because their attendance has necessarily been irregular, from the nature of the other duties they were called on to fulfil at the hospitals and elsewhere.

But this opportunity for learning, limited as it is, was confined to a very few of the Hospital apprentices. It was enjoyed only by those who were placed at the Presidency Hospitals. A large portion of the young men in question, entering the service in the Upper Provinces had no means of obtaining even this advantage, and for some years it has been discontinued entirely as useless.

To improve the constitution of this body of Government Servants, we propose to effect a complete change in their education. In the first instance all who enter the service from whatever quarter, should be attached for a certain period to the Medical College, and compelled to engage in the opportunities for practical instruction on professional subjects, which are there afforded to them. They should finally be subjected to an examination before passing to the active duties of their department."

Into the merits of the various arrangements proposed to be forthwith adopted, in order to carry these views into effect, our limits will not allow us to enter. They are doubtless the result of matured experience; and as they are designed to be merely experimental, time will soon bring their practicability and adaptedness to the test; or lead to such modifications and amendments as may ensure final success.

An entirely novel feature in this year's Report is the announcement of the fact, that four of the Native Alumni of the College have, in defiance of the laws and restrictions of caste, and the binding obligations of immemorial usage, actually proceeded to England with a view to complete their Medical Education there. This most interesting subject is thus fully and distinctly detailed by the Secretary:—

"One of the most important and gratifying occurrences of the past year, has been the munificent offer of Dwarkanath Tagore, to take to England and educate at his own expense, two pupils of the Medical College.

This proposal was first communicated to Dr. Mouat, who announced it to the assembled school, and pointed out the great advantages that would result to any one bold enough to break through the trammels of caste, and profit by the opportunity offered of visiting Europe. Upon this, and almost immediately after the address referred to, three students volunteered unconditionally to go, viz. *Bholanath Bose*, *Surjee Coomar Chuckerbutty*, and *Dwarkanath Bose*—a fact so highly creditable to their spirit and anxiety to profit by the liberality of their distinguished countrymen, as to deserve special record.

Subsequently to this, Professor Goodeve offered to proceed to Europe in charge of the pupils who might be selected, to superintend their education and to pay from his own funds the expense of an additional student, on condition of certain benefits being extended to him by Government, for making so great a sacrifice as the proceeding, if agreed to, would entail upon him.

Upon this a letter was addressed to Government by the Council of Education respecting the offer of Dwarkanath Tagore—of which the following extract will serve to shew the nature and purport:

"The offer is an extremely liberal and munificent one, as it has been calculated that each pupil will cost at least Co.'s Rs. 7,000, including the passage to and from England.

Independently of this, it has long been deemed an object of very great interest and importance, to induce some of the lads educated in the Medical College to visit Europe; since two former efforts to persuade them to throw aside the prejudices of caste, as they had already done in the pursuit of practical anatomy, had failed. An eligible opportunity of effecting as great and desirable a triumph, was unfortunately lost during the late China campaign, when three Sub-assistant Surgeons volunteered to take charge of transports filled with camp followers.

The offer was not accepted, although strongly recommended by Inspector General Playfair, who applied for the services of the lads in question.

The advantages of the scheme will be great, both as exhibiting the nature and extent of the medical education which can be given to the pupils in Calcutta, and also of elevating them in the estimation of the Native community, should any of them return with European diplomas, which they are fully qualified and able to obtain.

As it will be necessary to send them home in charge of some competent person, who will likewise have to take care of them in England, and superintend their studies, the Council of Education beg most strongly to recommend that Dr. Goodeve may be ordered upon this duty, upon the terms mentioned in this letter, viz. the retention of half his staff allowance —his time of service to count while in Europe—and to be entitled to his appointment in the Medical College upon his return.

From Dr. Goodeve's long connection with the Medical College—his popularity among the students—his having been the first person in British India to introduce the important practice of human dissection, and also the first to found a Female Hospital—his munificent offer of taking one pupil at his own expense—and his endowment of a midwifery scholarship, the Council are induced to hope, that his application will meet with favorable consideration from Government. His also having lost his health from a dissection wound in the service of Government, will be an additional recommendation.

The best thanks of the Council have been returned to Dwarkanath Tagore for his munificence, in addition to the large sums already bestowed by him for the purposes of education, and the benefit of his fellow-countrymen."

The acceptance of the proposal by Government with some slight modifications has already been made known, by the publication *in extenso* of the Government letters in the *Calcutta Gazette*. Since that time Dr. Goodeve succeeded in raising an additional sum of 7,500 rupees for a fourth student, 4000 of which were munificently presented by his Highness the Nuwab Nazim of Bengal.

The four pupils who accompanied the Professor and started in the Steamer *Bentinck* on the 8th of March, were *Bholanath Bose*, a pupil of Lord Auckland's School at Barrackpore, who was supported at the Medical College by his Lordship for five years, and was considered by the late Mr. Griffith the most promising botanical pupil in the school—*Gopaul Chunder Seal*, *Dwarkanath Bose*, a Native Christian, educated in the General Assembly's Institution, and employed for some time as assistant in the museum,—together with *Surjee Coomar Chuckerbutty*, a Brahman, native of Commillah, a junior pupil and a lad of much spirit and promise."

Another subject to which much attention has been directed during the past year, is the want of class books in their own vernacular language for the pupils of the military school. And "with a view in some degree to remedy a deficiency which considerably impairs the effciency of the department, Dr. Mouat submitted to the Council a detailed scheme upon the subject, together with a version of Spilsbury's translation of the London Pharmacopæia prepared by himself in the Persian character, with the addition of an appendix, specifying the uses, actions and doses of the official substances contained in the work of the Royal College of Physicians of London. This was adopted by Council, ordered by Government to be printed, and has recently been published.

The only vernacular works upon European medicine extant, besides the translation of the London Pharmacopæia and an Arabic version of Hooper's Anatomist's Vade Mecum, together with a Bengali translation of a Manual of Anatomy by Mr. F. Cary, are the imperfect and meagre monographs of Tytler and Breton, which are out of print, and not worth the expense of republishing, as they are limited in the amount of information contained in them, are chiefly in the Nagri character, which is only understood by Hindu native doctors, (who form scarcely a third of the number of pupils in the schools,) and do not embrace more than a small fraction of the information required by native doctors, in the due and efficient discharge of their duties."

The following is an extract of Dr. Mouat's report above referred to:—

"It is not deemed necessary or advisable to compile new works for the purpose, but translations of approved manuals would tend much to advance the instruction of the pupils, and spread among the class of native doctors generally, a more accurate and scientific knowledge of European medicine and surgery.

For this purpose the most concise, intelligible, and at the same time approved authorities should be selected: all scientific names and terms rendered at once into Hindustani, and no Arabic or Sanskrit synonymes employed, which are equally unintelligible at first to the pupils, quite as difficult to recollect, and much more limited in their application; whereas the terms used in European works are universally intelligible, and expressive of differences and particularities, not specified in any oriental language.

The works should comprise a manual of anatomy and physiology, one of surgery, and of practice of medicine, including midwifery, and one of materia medica, with such an outline of Chemistry as may be deemed necessary for explaining all pharmaceutical processes.

As the exact information required for each of these subjects is not contained in any single European work, it would be necessary for the editor to borrow the deficiency from some other treatise of authority upon the subject: as for instance the translation of such works as the Dublin Dissector, or Wilson's Anatomist's Vade Mecum, both good authorities, would afford only the anatomy, whereas the physiology might be condensed from any of the approved treatises now used as class books, omitting all theories, speculations, and voluminous details, and introducing in a simple and concise form, as much as may be required to understand the functions and uses of every organ and structure of the body.

The translations should be effected under the superintendence of one or more medical officers, sufficiently acquainted with the vernacular language to determine that they had been correctly rendered, and assist the translators in every passage or phrase, that was difficult or impossible to translate literally.

The work would be more cheaply and efficiently performed, if the different translations were entrusted to different Munshis or other equally competent natives, specially paid for the purpose, and set to the task somewhat in the manner adopted by Mr. Boutros, the Principal of the Delhi College, under the superintendence of an European as mentioned above.

The translations would then only cost Government the monthly salary of the Munshi and the price of transcription: and if 1000 copies of each were to be printed consisting of 500 pages 8vo., the expense would be Rs. 2-4 per copy, got up and bound in the style of the version of the London Pharmacopœia in the Persian character, published recently at the Bishop's College Press.

Each work upon its completion or upon the termination of any department of it, should be submitted to any Hindustani Scholar appointed by Government to report upon the correctness and general intelligibility of the translation, the medical superintendent being responsible for the correctness of the professional information contained in it."

The plan here recommended, has been formally approved of by Government, and will be carried into effect as soon as suitable text books have been selected, and efficient translators found.

To Government has been represented the great importance of establishing " a central museum in Calcutta, similar to that at Fort Pitt, by directing—through the Medical Boards of the three Presidencies—all Medical Officers in charge of civil and military hospitals to furnish to the Calcutta Museum, morbid preparations of interest, with cases attached.

The suggestions of the Council were adopted by Government and liberally seconded by the Medical Boards of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, so that although few preparations have yet been furnished, much ultimate advantage is anticipated from the measure.

The museum itself is in a highly satisfactory and creditable state, containing an aggregate of 875 preparations, of which number 56 were added since January 1844.

The library of the College continues to be much frequented by the

pupils, and is gradually becoming an extremely valuable collection of professional works. The whole number of books and pamphlets contained in it is 3612, of which 1317 were added since the publication of the last annual report, viz.: purchased by Government 697—presented by Dr. J. V. Leese 532, by Dr. Goodeve 79, by Mr. Ondaatje 1, and by Government 62.

For the health and recreation of the many pupils residing within the College compound, the establishment of a gymnasium has been sanctioned by the Council, which will be carried into effect without delay.

The title of graduate in Medicine and Surgery of the Bengal Medical College has been granted by Government to all passed students of the Institution, both to give them a status and consideration among the native community, and as a just reward for the strict and searching examination to which each is subjected, prior to receiving his diploma."

The next subject, treated of at considerable length, is that of the annual general examinations. These are evidently of an increasingly searching character. The period originally fixed for them, "having been found to interfere seriously with the practical duties of the dissecting room, and to curtail a season already scarcely sufficiently extended to enable any pupil to become an expert and proficient anatomist and operative surgeon, was recommended to be changed from the 1st of November to the 15th of March,—which was adopted by Government, and has now come into operation for the first time. The regular session of the College in future will commence on the 15th June of each year, and continue uninterruptedly to the 15th of April of the ensuing year, Sundays and Native Holidays excepted—thus affording nine months for lectures and one for examination in all departments.

The system of examination has likewise been somewhat modified, and more nearly assimilated to that which obtains in most European Universities. Each Professor now examines in his own department, the subject being dictated and determined only by the superintending examiner and assessors, with whom alone rests the decision as to the passing or rejection of the candidate. Besides a written and a practical examination in the dissecting room, every final student is subjected to special trial for twenty minutes at least, in each and every department of study pursued within the walls of the College. The ordeal is much more difficult and extended than that to which candidates for the diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons of England are subjected, and with the exception of Latin, Natural History, and Medical Jurisprudence, embraces every thing required from a Graduate of the University of Edinburgh."

The oral or *viva voce* examinations, we are assured, embrace all manner of subjects the most difficult and extended. Of the nature of the written examinations, the following Table will convey a distinct conception:—

WRITTEN EXAMINATION FOR FINAL STUDENTS.

1. Enumerate the symptoms and post mortem appearances generally found in acute dysentery. Mention the various modes of treatment adopted in the

different stages of the disease,—the cases in which mercurial preparations are contra-indicated—when and under what circumstances you would employ general blood-letting and your reasons for preferring one system of treatment to another.

2. Detail the symptoms of a strangulated Inguinal Hernia—the methods you would employ for its reduction, and if they were unsuccessful, at what period and under what circumstances you would proceed to the operation. Describe the mode of operating, and give the subsequent management of the patient, according to the various conditions of the contents of the Hernial Sac.

WRITTEN EXAMINATION OF THE GENERAL STUDENTS.

1. Describe generally the anatomy of the eye, and explain in detail the uses of each of its structures, in the production of vision.

2. Describe the process for the production of Sulphuric Ether, and explain the changes which take place during its production.

3. Name the natural orders which contain the greatest number of noxious plants, and those which are most free from them; also mention some Linnean Classes which consist principally of natural families.

4. Enumerate the officinal substances ordinarily used as Emetics, specify the peculiarities attending the operation of each, and the maladies for which each is specially adapted.

5. What are the changes which take place in the Fœtus, immediately after the first act of respiration?

6. What are the different modes of dying. Detail the opinions of Haller, Goodwin, Bichat, and Kay relative to the cause of death in Asphyxia or Apnœa.

7. In what forms of Dysentery are mercurial preparations contra-indicated.

8. Detail the symptoms of a strangulated Inguinal Hernia—the methods you would employ for its reduction, and if they were unsuccessful, at what period and under what circumstances you would proceed to the operation: describe the mode of operating, and give the subsequent management of the patient, according to the various conditions of the contents of the Hernial Sac.

In addition to the above every student was examined *vivâ voce*, in each department of study, of which he had attended the lectures.

EXAMINATION FOR THE BIRD MEDAL.

First Day—Materia Medica.—1. What are the botanical characters and prevailing medicinal properties of Ranunculaceœ, Umbelliferœ, and Solaneœ?

2. Describe the effects of medicinal and poisonous doses of opium: the peculiarities attending its narcotic operation, and the treatment of a case of poisoning from it.

3. State for what particular cases the most frequently employed cathartics are respectively adapted or unsuited, and why? Mention the appropriate purgatives for febrile complaints, alvine obstruction with great irritability of stomach, inflammation of the urinary organs, and sluggishness of the colon.

4. What are the indigenous substitutes for Sarsaparilla, Balsam of Copaiva, Jalap and Ipecacuanha? Describe the source, mode of preparation, uses, and doses of each.

5. What are the best processes for disinfecting sick rooms, uninhabited buildings and drains?

6. Describe the preparation—action—uses, and doses of Tartar Emetic.

Second Day.—Forty-three medicinal and chemical snbstances were placed in open glasses, numbered, which the candidates were required to identify by their chemical and physical characters."

Respecting the manner in which the students have conducted themselves, the Report speaks in the following terms. "During the past session," says the Secretary, "the general conduct, attention and regularity of attendance of the native pupils have been unexceptionable, no references of any kind for breaches of discipline having come before the Council of Education, and the Registers exhibiting, with a very few exceptions, a creditable degree of zeal and assiduity on the part of the students. The conduct and attention of some of the pupils from Ceylon, particularly among the seniors, have not been quite so satisfactory as heretofore, and it was deemed requisite by the Council of Education to frame special regulations for their guidance within the walls of the College, before and after the regular hours of study. These, together with the strict registers of the character of each student of the College submitted to the Council at the termination of every session, and communicated by them to the Government of Ceylon, will, it is hoped, be productive of the desired effect, and render it unnecessary to place any such observations on record for the future."

Nothing can be more fair, candid or ingenuous, than the whole of this statement; and, so far as it goes, nothing could well be more satisfactory. There is one subject, however, to which we would earnestly solicit the best attention of the Secretary and his learned colleagues. It is one, which, while it may not admit of authoritative interference, may well invite friendly and paternal counsel. On all hands, it is allowed that the diligence and attainments of the pupils in their professional studies are such as to reflect the highest credit on themselves and their teachers. But, it is currently reported, and, we are grieved to add, very generally believed, that many of them sadly degenerate in their private morals, and become the unblushing advocates of materialistic, atheistic, and other such like dogmas, which are not less revolting in the eye of enlightened reason than they are injurious to the best interests of man. We say not that the private conduct and sentiments of the Calcutta Medical Students are even alleged to be worse than the reputed conduct and sentiments of medical students in more highly favoured lands; where every aberration from the paths of truth and virtue must be regarded as more inexcusable, in very proportion to the superior counterbalancing advantages enjoyed. Neither have we any certain means of ascertaining to what extent the current reports may be distorted or exaggerated. For it is as true now, as in the days of Virgil; as true, on the banks of the "yellow Ganges," as on the banks of the "yellow Tiber," that Rumour, with her hundred mouths, suffers no diminution as she marches or flies through the multitudinous throng;—

Viresque acquirit eundo.

But what occurs to us, as having not merely the professional success, but the credit and honour, and social usefulness of the Medical College

deeply at heart, is, that the *bare fact* of the prevalency of such rumours or reports as those alluded to, might well be viewed by the learned Professors as a warrant for instituting friendly inquiries into the subject. To deliver formal didactic Lectures on morals and religion, does not fall within their province; neither could we advise, or even suggest any measures of this sort. But if, as the result of investigation, they found that the reports in question, however possibly magnified beyond the proper dimensions of the reality, were not wholly without a colourable pretext or plausible foundation, the discovery might stimulate them, so to leaven their private intercourse with the pupils, and so to season or intersperse their public prelections with applicable remarks and incidental reflections, as greatly to rectify or counteract any way-ward tendencies. Such occasional remarks and reflections, when associated with gravity and consistency of character, would go far to supply the requisite antidote. They might prove an effectual remedy of disease already developed; they might act as a *prophylactic*, in warding off its actual manifestation, in circumstances otherwise favourable to its developement. Already hath the Medical College won for itself imperishable renown; and our earnest wish is, that that renown may be unsullied by a single spot—untarnished by a single stain.

Recent publications on the subject of Vedantism:—

Several tracts on Hindu Theism, &c. Calcutta, 1845.

The Bhagavat Gita, or Dialogues of Krishna and Arjun, with Notes, thoroughly revised and improved by G. P. C. an ardent well-wisher of India, 1845.

Detached thoughts on Vedantism, or a few pages of advice to a member of the Tattwabodhini Sabha, by a Native Friend, 1845.

It is with the sincerest grief and sorrow that we feel ourselves called upon to notice some of these productions. In any country but India the first two would damage irretrievably the character of any man, or of any society that had any respectability to lose. Drivelling and worthless both, and utterly beneath contempt in a literary point of view, the first in particular is a work in which reason is parodied and common sense caricatured—a work, in which it would be difficult to determine, whether ignorance of the glorious truth assailed, or spiteful malignity against it, contend most for the mastery. To it we now advert, merely because it professes to be "reprinted, by the direction of the Committee of the Tattwabodhini Sabha"—a society, which has been instituted for the upholding of vedantism, and which is said to enroll among its members the *elite* of the rising generation of *intellectually educated* Hindus.

The tracts, of a *reprint* of which the pamphlets exclusively consist, are ushered in by a Preface. But, whether the Preface itself be original

or merely a reprint, is not intimated. In either case, its intrinsic worth, or rather worthlessness, is the same. Sense and non-sense are not variable qualities dependent on the flux of time; they are inherent and unchanging properties which, like the rocks of ocean, can buffet and outlast the dashing waves of ten thousand mutabilities in the course and progress of individual, social, and national transition. It sets out with the statement of an historical fact, couched in language, which, on the part of a Hindu vedantist, is utterly incongruous. Of the British in India it is said, that "their possessions in Hindustan and their political strength have, *through the grace of God*, gradually increased." Coming from such a quarter, this can scarcely be the utterance of sincerity. No stretch of charity can well admit of a supposition so repugnant to palpable truth. If it does not exhibit the reckless audacity of the blasphemer, it at least may seem to betray the unthinking levity of the scoffer.

As to the never-ending cant and slang about *non-interference* with the established religion of the Natives, it is a sickening and nauseous task to be called on, for the thousandth time, to arise and "slay the slain." If, by "interference," be meant, *forcible or physical* interference, neither the Christian Government of this land nor the Christian Missionaries will ever sanction or tolerate any attempts so contrary to reason, so subversive of the rights of conscience, and so absolutely contradictory to the entire spirit of the holy religion which they profess. No! They are the enlightened followers of Vedantism—the flaming assertors of civil and religious liberty—the demi-worshippers of human reason—the boisterous advocates of argument and free discussion—or their friends and adherents—that can, as on a recent memorable occasion in this very city, resort to the unhallowed weapons of brute force, to coerce a convinced understanding and a reclaiming conscience into slavish submission. If, on the other hand, by "interference," be meant nothing more than attempts, by the friendly impartation of knowledge and the employment of moral suasion, to gain the intelligent conviction of emancipated minds, it is the glory of humanity to be engaged in so noble and honourable a vocation. It is the distinguishing badge of true Christians—those only true freemen whom the truth makes free—to treat their fellowmen, however humble, rude, or ignorant, as beings endowed with the capability of reason and high intelligence, and, consequently, as beings who are the subjects of a solemn responsibility to the omniscient God. To be thus treated by their fellowmen, must surely be one of the chiefest prerogatives of fallen humanity.

But the notions of the author of the preface on this subject are marked by still farther peculiarities. According to him, "were the Missionaries to preach the Gospel and distribute books in countries not conquered by the English, such as Turkey and Russia, &c., which are much nearer England, they would be esteemed a body of men truly zealous in propagating religion, and in following the example of the founders of Christianity." But, mark what follows, "in Bengal, where the English are the sole rulers," such preaching of the Gospel, far from being praiseworthy, is denounced as "an encroachment upon the

rights of her poor timid and humble inhabitants." This sentiment, strange as it may sound, has not the merit of originality. Some infidel Europeans, nearly forty years ago, befooled themselves by asserting sentiments of kindred character. What can be more preposterous! With these would-be sages, truth and duty to God, are mere questions of time, place, and circumstance—to be determined in a great measure, by the accidents and tenures of earthly empire, and the latitudes and longitudes of geography! And then, as to the *rights*, which are said to be encroached upon by the highest and noblest efforts of Christian philanthropy, what are they? What, but the rights of slaves—slaves, we mean, not in a physical, but in what is worse, a mental and moral sense. True, by the plenary force of inveterate habit, and long familiarity, the man, who is physically a slave, may become strangely enamoured of his chains; to these he may claim a right; and the generous act of the liberator who would set him free, he may, however perversely, regard as an encroachment on such hitherto undisturbed and undisputed right! But right is a correlative term, which implies a corresponding obligation. Where, then, is the counterpart obligation here? The simple answer is, that it does not, that it cannot, exist at all. Were the slave madly to claim the permanence of his condition of bondage as his right, is there any man, who, in consequence of such unnatural claim, could be said to be brought under positive obligation to perpetuate that state or condition, in the case of the unhappy claimant? Surely not. The real obligation lies all the other way. It is an obligation, springing from the participation of a common nature and a common destiny, to emancipate the victim of slavery, or do all that lies in one's power to consummate so desirable an end. So, in a still higher degree, must it be with reference to the more fearful case of mental and moral servitude. The victim thereof, in the sheer stupor of long established habit and unreflective ignorance, may claim it as his special right to continue ignorant, superstitious, morally degraded and socially miserable. But, who is thereby laid under any imperative obligation to be helpful in perpetuating the galling yoke? A right to the enjoyment of a state of ignorance and superstition! A right to the perpetuation of moral degradation and social misery! Surely these are sorry rights after all! Who could envy them? Who could voluntarily be a party to their being upheld inviolable? On the contrary, are we not urged by every dictate of reason, every solicitation of benevolence, every impulse of justice, to do what in us lies, by the diffusion of sound knowledge of every kind and degree, to set the infatuated bondsmen free?—leaving it to an emancipated and enlightened posterity to rise up, and, in deploring the debasedness and ingratitude of their fathers, pronounce their liberators blessed?

But the Missionaries, it is alleged, in their illumining attempts, are given to little else than "abusing and ridiculing the gods and saints" of Hinduism—"reviling and mocking at the religion of the natives." This is pure and unmixed calumny. These gentlemen, no doubt, are often led to speak of the gods and the religion of the Hindus. And

as lovers of truth, they must feel themselves constrained, however painfully, to speak of things by their proper names. But, to say, when one is compelled to speak of things that are evil in terms truly descriptive of the evil, that this is "abuse or ridicule or reviling or mockery" in the ordinary sense of these terms, is to say what is very incoherent and absurd. If a man is detected in the very act of lying, or thieving, is it an act of reviling or mockery to call the one, by his proper name, "a liar," and the other, by his proper name, "a thief?" If the Hindu Shastras themselves, in a thousand forms, set forth the unseemly character and actions of their leading divinities:—if some of them be depicted there, as murderers and lyars, thieves and drunkards—as malicious, quarrelsome, cruel, and revengeful,—whose fault is this? Must the European be charged, as a reviler and mocker, merely for faithfully rehearsing the delineations furnished by the Shastras themselves of the gods and religion of Hinduism? The charge is pre-eminently ridiculous. There is but one way of effectually silencing it. If a buffoon, clad in party-colored habiliments, does not relish the familiar designation of "merry-andrew," he has the cure in his own hands. He has only to cast aside his buffoonish raiment, and clothe himself like his neighbours; and his ears will no more be offended by the sound of the obnoxious appellation. So, with the adherents of the Hindu pantheon. If the gods whom they profess to worship, are, in their own sacred books, described as personages whose society, if courted and cherished as merely human, would blast the reputation of any respectable inhabitant in this city of palaces, they have the remedy in their own hands. They have only to give heed to the suggestions of reason and the monitions of conscience—to relinquish their Polytheism and Pantheism, with all their idolatries and superstitions—to yield to the invitations of a gracious God and close with the offers of a free salvation;—and then, would they no more be sensitively disposed to take umbrage when they heard what is evil, called evil—what is noxious, noxious—or what is vile, vile. Fully delivered from the tyranny of a thousand oppressions, they would be the first to unite with their European brethren in every lawful effort to sweep away every surviving shred of an unsightly superstition from the polluted surface of this gorgeous land.

The preface contains several other fancies and fallacies of a grotesque and ludicrous description. But enough has been said to indicate its general tone and spirit. Interwoven, however, with its closely compacted texture of the erroneous and the incongruous, it does contrive to hook in two or three tolerable verities. Patched these are, no doubt, not unlike the "purpureus pannus" of the Roman Satirist; but still, some how or other, they are there. "Division of caste," for example, is declared to be "*the* source of want of unity among us" (the Hindus). If it were "*a* source," it would be ungainsayably correct. But, as it is, the position is only made stronger, and the wonder enhanced. For if "division of caste" be deplored as "*the* source of want of unity," and want of unity be regarded as a national calamity, is it not the more strange, that they who make the significant

acknowledgement, should be animated by the most fiery zealotism in upholding and perpetuating "the source" of one of the chiefest causes of national misery and woe? Again, it is said that "to introduce a religion by means of abuse and insult or by affording the hope of worldly gain is inconsistent with reason and justice." Who will dispute a truth, or rather truism, like this? And yet, how singular the commentary thereupon, which is furnished by the very pamphlet before us!—a pamphlet, consisting of tracts, designed to introduce "Vedantism" to the notice and favour of educated Hindus, by heaping all manner of "abuse and insult" on the inspired verities of the Christian faith! Once more, "truth and true religion" it is remarked, "do not always belong to wealth, and power, high names and lofty palaces." And yet, what is a more unceasing and favourite theme, with the very inditers and approvers of this just sentiment, than the fact—that the natives who have hitherto embraced Christianity belong chiefly to those classes—who have no pretensions to "wealth and power, high names or lofty places?"—as if it were something of a physical impossibility for such humble persons to discover "truth and the true religion!"—But enough, the whole preface is a tissue of inconsistency and error. Even the few truths that have found their way into it, appear like so many grains of salt thrown into a putrid tank, or a few stray pebbles stuck in the mud and mire of its slimy banks.

And what shall we say as to the "tracts" themselves, which are introduced by such a "preface?" What can we say less, than that they are as worthy of the preface, as the preface is of them? From the form and gesture—the port and bearing—the grimaces and the antics of the porter at the gate, some shrewd inferences may be drawn relative to the character of the denizens within. In truth, these tracts are wretched stuff—wretched in every respect,—wretched in sense and sentiment, in spirit and manner, object and end. None of them are original. The first two are reprints from a periodical which breathed and gasped its short-lived existence, under the name of the Brahmanical Magazine, upwards of fifteen years ago. The third consists of a series of worse than worthless controversial letters which were published in a Calcutta journal, as far back as the year 1823. Of the whole three, we may say in a single word, that, instead of being, as the title deceptively indicates, "Tracts on Hindu Theism," they are strictly and truly "*Tracts designed to misrepresent, caricature, and vilify Christianity.*" To offer any serious comments on such impious misstatements of fact—such gross and horrible perversions of the purest and holiest and most glorious truths,—would be somewhat like encountering "the fishy fume," which drove the Legendary Spirit

"From Medea post to Egypt, there fast bound."

As to the fourth and concluding tract, by Babu Prasuna Kumar Thakur, we can only express our unfeigned regret that any production from the pen of so respectable a Native gentleman, should be found associated with such disreputable attempts to degrade what is most sublime—revile what is most venerable—and rail, with insulting profanity, at what is most

sacred. The tract itself is very brief—occupying little more than two pages. Though containing some grievous misapprehensions and mistakes, it has about it altogether a more gentlemanly air, a more candid bearing, a more tolerant and kindly aspect and demeanour than any of its predecessors. Its quotations from Hindu authorities cannot do much to commend Vedantism to the wise and good. What enlightened Theist is in danger of being proselytized to Hindu Theism, by Sanskrit slokes like these? "*The divine hymns Rik, Gatha, Panika, and Dukshubihita should be sung; because by their constant use man attains supreme beatitude.*" Again, "He who is skilled in playing on the lute (vina), who is intimately acquainted with the various tones and harmonies, and who is able to beat time in music, *will enter without difficulty upon the road of salvation.*" What enlightened Christian can be discomposed by finding that they who are most virulent in abusing his faith, are those who are most ignorant of its real nature, or most opposed in their own lives to its practical unspotted holiness? The worthy Babu's concluding remark is most sound. "It is," says he, "almost impossible, as every day's experience teaches us, for men, when possessed of wealth and power, to perceive their own defects." Is any proof wanted? Let the wealthy and powerful leaders of the Brahma and Dharma and Tattwabodhini Sabhas furnish the reply.

But, here, we must pause. Nearly the entire pamphlet is composed of mis-shapen and unsightly materials. The brief concluding tract, though in some vital respects, essentially erroneous, is by far its seemliest portion. It is like a trim little apex,—framed, in the composite style, out of somewhat better and worse ingredients,—surmounting a pile of the vilest rubbish ever raked together from the purlieus of the Temple of Error.

The next work, the Bhagavat Gita, one of the principal standards of the Vedantists, is also a reprint,—a reprint of Wilkins' celebrated translation. But, it is not a Reprint merely. It professes to be "*thoroughly revised and improved!*" The original author Mr. Wilkins was really a great and accomplished scholar—profoundly conversant alike with the Sanskrit and the English languages. And he who engaged "thoroughly to *revise* and *improve*" the finished work of such a scholar, would require to possess accomplishments somewhat similar, or at least not glaringly deficient. How far the present Reviser and Improver possesses the requisite qualifications for so arduous a task, may soon be made to appear. We have not to go far in quest of a criterion, from which to form some approximate judgment. The Reviser has favoured us with an explanatory preface. We shall now quote it entire:—

"The delay which is observed palpable, in submitting this work to the Public, is ascribable to the dearth of Time, in consequence of the irrepressible discharge of onerous avocations of the earth; and to the quaint advertance, which the duty bound me to pay, to render the subject-matter

of this work as nearly alienable to the exactness of the original, and to the refined taste of language of the modern age, as possible.

To state the merit of this work, I need not say any thing in eulogium; but rely silently upon the decision of the learned Public.—Some information however of the objects, that led me to revise this work, being considered necessary to offer to the Public, I humbly state without prejudice, that, having found the present generation of Hindostan, fast losing sight of the true path of Religion and morality, and imperceptably throwing themselves into more and more inextricable mazes of mystery, guided by a glimmering light of the customs and usages of the world; and observing the culpable ignorance of a majority of Europeans, of the existence of any such religious work among the Natives of this extensive tract of the Globe; I determined to supply all of them with the desideratum, by reviving from ashes the one, that had once appeared in the world, from the able pen of Dr. Wilkins; supplying, in the interim, the defects observed therein; and plying such fit instruments as to dress the whole in accordance with the taste of the present age.—The existence of an English translation of this valuable work, was hitherto almost unknown to a majority of the Natives of this Country, owing either to the limited circulation of this work among them, as they were not then inclined to peruse it, being prohibited by Religion; or to the want of a sum of Rs. 10 to buy, *each of them*, one for study.—Strange it is to observe, that people are rather found ready to squander away any sum of money to foster Luxury than forward to spend a few rupees for self-improvement.—

I am perfectly aware, as far as I could clearly and patiently keep sight of the true path of the Hindoo religion, that of all the religious works among the Natives the present is the most ancient and important one, that I can ever confidently offer to the Public.—Notwithstanding this work may seem to be replete with sentiments of by-gone—Ages, admixtured with the then current modes of speech; yet if it be stripped of its antic garb, and its natural frame be exposed to the world, I doubt not all of them would unhesitatingly applaud its design and trace it to the *voice* of that *aeful Creator*. It is as solid in structure as an old Castle over-run by Ivy and Moss.

I should not expatiate further on the subject, as a deliberate perusal of the whole, would afford a better view of it to the Readers, than they can prudently expect any sketch of it from me in the Preface.

Although the present age is more prolific and it may therefore produce as many eminent geniuses as the world can afford space, yet a very few of them will cope, in the prosecution of design with zeal and faith, with the humble

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Such is the Preface!—and such a specimen of the style of the self-appointed Reviser and Improver of Wilkins! But, perhaps, the execution of the self-imposed task of revision and improvement may exhibit superior traits of artistic skill. Well, we shall see. For this end, let us first quote the opening passage from the original translation by Mr. Wilkins:—

DHREETARASHTRA *said*,

"Tell me, O *Sanjay*, what the people of my own party, and those of the *Pandoos*, who are assembled at *Kooroo-kshetra* resolved for war, have been, doing.

SANJAY *replied,*

"*Dooryodhan* having seen the army of the *Pandoos* drawn up for battle, went to his Preceptor, and addressed him in the following words:"

"Behold! O master, said he, the mighty army of the sons of *Pandoo* drawn forth by thy pupil, the experienced son of *Droopad.* In it are heroes, such as *Bheem* or *Arjoon;* there is *Yooyoodhana,* and *Veerat,* and *Droopad* and *Dhreeshtaketoo,* and *Chekeetana,* and the valiant prince of *Kasee,* and *Pooroojeet,* and *Koontcebhoja,* and *Sivya* a mighty chief, and *Yoodhamanyoo-Veekranta,* and the daring *Ootamowja;* so the son of *Soobhadra,* and the sons of *Kreeshna* the daughter of *Droopad,* all of them great in arms. Be acquainted also with the names of those of our party who are the most distinguished. I will mention a few of those who are amongst my generals, by way of example. There is thyself, my Preceptor, and *Bheeshma,* and *Kreepa* the conqueror in battle, and *Aswatthama,* and *Veekarna,* and the son of *Sama-datta,* with others in vast numbers who for my service have forsaken the love of life. They are all of them practised in the use of arms, and experienced in every mode of fight. Our innumerable forces are commanded by *Bheeshma,* and the inconsiderable army of our foes is led by *Bheem.* Let all the generals, according to their respective divisions, stand in their posts, and one and all resolve *Bheeshma* to support."

The ancient chief, and brother of the grandsire of the *Kooroos,* then, shouting with a voice like a roaring lion, blew his shell to raise the spirit of the *Kooroo* chief; and instantly innumerable shells, and other warlike instruments, were struck up on all sides, so that the clangour was excessive. At this time *Kreeshna* and *Arjoon* were standing in a splendid chariot drawn by white horses. They also sounded their shells, which were of celestial form: the name of the one which was blown by *Kreeshna,* was *Panchajanya,* and that of *Arjoon* was called *Deva-datta. Bheem,* of dreadful deeds, blew his capacious shell *Powndra,* and *Yoodheeshteer,* the royal son of *Koontee,* sounded *Ananta-Veejay. Nakool* and *Sahadeva* blew their shells also; the one called *Soogosha,* the other *Maneepooshpaka.* The prince of *Kasee* of the mighty bow, *Seekhandee, Dhreeshtadhoomna, Veerata, Satyakee* of invincible arm, *Droopad* and the sons of his royal daughter *Kreeshna,* which the son of *Soobhadra,* and all the other chiefs and nobles, blew also their respective shells; so that their shrill sounding voices pierced the hearts of the *Kooroos,* and re-echoed with a dreadful noise from heaven to earth.

In the mean time *Arjoon,* perceiving that the sons of *Dhreetarashtra* stood ready to begin the fight, and that the weapons began to fly abroad, having taken up his bow, addressed *Kreeshna* in the following words:

ARJOON.

"I pray thee, *Kreeshna,* cause my chariot to be driven and placed between the two armies, that I may behold who are the men that stand ready, anxious to commence the bloody fight; and with whom it is that I am to fight in this ready field; and who they are that are here assembled to support the vindictive son of *Dhreetarashtra* in the battle."

Kreeshna being thus addressed by *Arjoon,* drove the chariot; and, having caused it to halt in the midst of the space in front of the two armies, bade *Arjoon* cast his eyes towards the ranks of the *Kooroos,* and behold where stood the aged *Bheeshma,* and *Dron,* with all the chief nobles of their party. He looked at both the armies, and beheld, on either side, none but grandsires, uncles, cousins, tutors, sons, and brothers, near relations, or bosom friends; and when he had gazed for a while, and beheld such friends as these prepared

for the fight, he was seized with extreme pity and compunction, and uttered his sorrow in the following words."—

In immediate juxta-position with this elegant translation of Mr. Wilkins, let us now place the "*revised and improved*" version of the modern Editor of his work. It is, *verbatim et literatim*, punctuation, spelling and all, as follows:—

DHRREETARASHTRA *said*,

"TELL me, O *Sanjay*, what are the people of my own party, and that of the *Pandoos*, assembled at *Koorookshetra* for war, doing at present.—

SANJAY *replied*,—"*Doorjodhan* having seen the army of the *Pandoos* drawn up for battle, went to his Preceptor, and thus addressed him:"—

"Behold! O master, the mighty army of the sons of *Pandoo* drawn forth by thy pupil, the experienced son of *Droopad*. In it are the heroes. *Bheem*, *Arjoon*, *Joojoodhana*, *Verat*, *Droopad*, *Dhreeshtaketoo*, *Chekeetana*, the valient prince of *Kasee*, *Pooroojeet*, *Koonteebhoja Saiva* a mighty chief, *Joodhamanyoo Veekranta*, the daring *Ootamowja*, the son of *Soobbadar*, and *Drowpadyo*; all armipotent.—Know also the names of those of our party who are the most distinguished, I will name some of them, for instance; Thyself, my Preceptor, *Bheeshma*, *Kreepa* the powerful *Aswattahma*, *Veekarna* the son of *Sama-datta*, and others innumerable, who for my service have forsaken the love of life: all of them are veteran warriors. —Our innumerable forces are commanded by *Bheeshma*, and the inconsiderable army of the antagonists is headed by *Bheem*. Let all the Generals, stand on their respective posts according to divisions, and resolve to support *Bheeshma*.

The ancient chief, the brother of grandsire of the *Kooroos*, then, shouting with a voice like a roaring lion, blew his shell to raise the spirit of the *Kooroo* chief instantly numerous shells, and other warlike instruments, struck up on all sides, so that the clangour was excessive. At this time *Kreeshna*, and *Arjoon* were standing on a splendid chariot drawn by white horses; they also sounded their shells which were of celestial form: the name of the one blown by *Khreeshna*, was *Phanchajanya*, and that by *Arjoon*, *Deva-datta*. *Bheem*, the champion blew his dreadful shell *Pondra*, *Joodheeshteer*, the royal son of *Koontee*, sounded *Ananta-Veejay*, *Nakool Shooghosh* and *Sabadeva*, *Maneepooshpaka*. The prince of *Kasee Seekhandee*, *Dhreeshtadhoomna*, *Veerata*, and *Satyakee* are all of invincible arms. *Drowpad* the sons of his royal *Soobadra* with all other chiefs and nobles, blew their respective shells also; so that the shrill sound pierced the hearts of the *Kooroos*, and re-echoed with a dreadful noise from heaven to the earth.

In the mean time *Arjoon*, perceiving that the sons of *Dhreetarashtra* stood ready to shed the blood, and that their arms and weapons assumed the destructive operation, he grasped up his bow, and thus addressed *Kreeshna*:

ARJOON.—"I pray thee, *Kreeshna*, cause my chariot to be driven and placed between the two armies, that I may behold, those that are in complete array, anxious to decide the fate of the day, with whom I am doomed to contend in this ready field, and who are those heroes assembled here to vindicate the son of *Dhreetarashtra* by effusion of blood.

Kreeshna being thus solicited by *Arjoon*, drove the charriot, and caused it to halt in the midst of the space left vacant between the two armies, and afforded him an ample opportunity to survey the ranks and files of the

Kooroos, and to discover where stood the aged *Bheeshma* and *Dorn*, with all chief nobles of their party. *Arjoon* having avoiled of the opportunity looked at both the armies, and observed that none was discoverable on either side but grandsires, uncles, cousins, tutors, sons, brothers, and affinities and such friends as appeared in the field. He being seized with extreme pity and compunction, disclosed the afflictions in the following strain."—

Such is a specimen of the original from the practised hand of Wilkins, and such a specimen of the "revision and improvement" of it by G. P. C.! Having been at some pains to look over the whole, we can honestly say, that this is a fair specimen of the mode and manner in which the original is *revised* and *improved* throughout. And is it not sufficiently woeful? Was there ever self-deception comparable to this? Surely, for a time, the author must have been under the real influence of *Maya*, the famous and the favourite Illusory energy of the Vedantists. If, instead of the misapplied terms "thoroughly revised and improved," the title page bore "thoroughly mutilated and deformed," it would have been far more truthful, because far more accurately descriptive of the reality. Was there no learned member of the Tattwabodhini Sabha, at hand, who, for the credit of the Society, could whisper in his ear that it was necessary for him to learn to creep before he could walk, far less attempt to soar, as on a winged Pegasus, into the aerial regions? Or, if a whisper did not suffice, was there no kind friend who, by a gentle twitch of the ear, could suggest the propriety of his returning to school and re-joining the Grammar class, there to perfect his acquaintance at least with the rudimental departments of Orthography, Etymology and Syntax? Perhaps not. Or, if there had been, probably monition would have been thrown away. He who, from excess of vanity, self-conceit, or ignorance, could allow himself to be so seized and hurried away by the "cacoethes scribendi," or so fearlessly adventure to make himself ridiculous, might possibly be found to have joined the forlorn ranks of the incorrigibles. Be that as it may, if a man *will* befool himself, he must needs be permitted to do so. But it is sad to think, how, in so doing, he may be inflicting irreparable injury on a good cause. Such, in our view, is the cause of native English education. Now, were one, smitten with the *Anglo-phobia* which boiled and fumed in some of our great Orientalists, a few years ago, once more to appear amongst us, what an exhaustless theme for ridicule would he find in this "revision and improvement" of Wilkin's Bhagavat Gita?—not deserved ridicule of the folly and foolhardiness of the Reviser and Improver, but undeserved ridicule of the entire scheme of initiating Native youth into a knowledge of the English language! And even now, were any one, hostilely or indifferently disposed, unreflectingly and unwarrantably to assume that the present work presents a *fair specimen* of the average attainments gained by the senior students in any of our higher English Institutions, how, in his estimation, would the cause of English Education be compromised and degraded! Our only consolation is, in the perfect assurance that such a work is *no* fair specimen of the capabilities and acquirements of our better Educated Native youth. Very far the reverse. We have seen, both in manuscript and in print, essays, dissertations, and exercises, on all manner

of subjects, which, both as to matter and style, would have reflected credit on any individuals of similar standing among those who claim the English as their mother tongue, and one or other of England's Academic bowers, as their *Alma Mater*. But, why travel beyond our own pages, for a complete corroboration of our statement? When we point to the fact, that the two articles on the "Kulin Brahmans" and the "Transition states of the Native mind," are the genuine unaided compositions of an educated Native of this land, whose vernacular is the Bengali, we need appeal to no farther evidence in proof of the capacity of Native youth for a thorough mastery of the English language. And it is this very capacity, on the part of the many, which ought to keep back the few from making a *public ostentatious parade* of their own deplorable incapacity. Such incapacity, when coupled with becoming modesty and diffidence, would only excite our pity; but when it struts before us with presumptnous air and unblushing effrontery, as it does in the person of the "Reviser and Improver" of Wilkins' Bhagavat Gita, it loudly calls for the severest reprobation. For one, so thoroughly and hopelessly disqualified to undertake to "revise and improve" the finished work of such an author as Wilkins, is much the same thing as it would be for a common bricklayer to undertake to enhance the symmetry of a statute of Phidias; or for a dauber of children's toys to undertake to mellow the tints of a painting of Raphael; or for a constructor of Indian wigwams to undertake to improve the classic architecture of Sir Christopher Wren.

Philosophically, morally, and religiously the cause of the Vedantists is a bad one. And being so, its defenders must ever and anon be driven to the most disreputable shifts—of which the reprint of obsolete tracts, remarkable chiefly for their disingenuousness and insolent scurrility, and the republication of mutilated and mangled editions of other men's works, form only a few favourable specimens. If they were wise, and listen to the voice of friendly monition which we have more than once tendered to them, they might yet emerge from the swamps and jungles of tangling abstractions and deadly error, and come forth to the open fields and fair heavens, that ever glow with radiations of light and truth. But it is too much to expect such a display of moral courage. They have unhappily committed themselves on the side of error; and they have repeatedly attempted, however vainly and impotently, to defend their untenable position. To them, therefore, we fear that the grave remark of the sagacious Hooker must be strictly applicable. "So easy," says he, "is it for every man to err, and so hard to wrest from any man's mouth the plain acknowledgement of error, that what hath been once so inconsiderately defended, the same is commonly persisted in, as long as wit, by whetting itself, is able to find out any shift, be it never so slight, whereby to escape out of the hands of present contradiction."

The third work at the head of this article need not detain us long. It is characterized by sobriety and good sense. The thoughts, how-

ever, are accurately described as "detached." It lacks many ingredients, both as regards its matter and its style, to render it decidedly effective for the end in view. We refer to it, chiefly as a proof that the movements of the Vedantic party are not unnoticed by sensible observers belonging to their own community. And certainly, in point of thought and style, the *native* author of the "Detached Thoughts," however deficient, immeasurably excels the *native* editor of the "revised and improved" edition of Wilkins' Bhagavat Gita. As a specimen, we select the following extract:—

"Again, the Vedantists have no true notion of the future world, as the highest bliss, of which they have any notion, is *annihilation* or an absorption in Deity's self. I would rather believe in the doctrines of the *Boistubs*, which inculcate much hearty love and devotedness towards *Krishna*, than like the frog in the fable, think of swelling myself into the ox. I would now ask you a fair question, Which of the two creeds *in a comparative point of view*, is likely to refine our feelings, harmonise our passions, and render us better adapted to discharge the duties of social life? Your Veds do not consider it of paramount importance, to have a proper regard for the social feelings of man, and would persuade us to stifle them altogether, reverse the order of nature, break through her inviolable laws, and pass our days in continual *passive contemplation*; and while they terrify us with an enumeration of dire punishments for the transgression of these commands, as a reward for their obedience, hold out—total annihilation of our feelings and existence! I am weak enough to confess that I shudder at this idea. These gloomy doctrines are more suited to the retired life of an ascetic hermit, than a society of rational beings.

The authors and followers of these doctrines, aware of this deplorable defect, have been constrained to contradict themselves, and allow a greater latitude to some whom they distinguish under the name of the 'worldly' or householders. In such persons they do not even hesitate to countenance rites more superstitious, and upon whom they impose more mischievous tasks. They do not thus entirely teach the falsehood of Hinduism, and directly inculcate the doctrine of transmigration of souls, as well as the existence of an order of heavenly beings, far inferior in every respect to the Angels of the Jews and Christians, and no wise superior to the demi-human or demi-brutal Gods and Goddesses of the ancient heathens. These ingenious struggles at subterfuges, which they make to cloak inconsistencies, are childish and inefficient. All this does not speak to the credit of your sacred volumes. The ceremonies and penitences which they prescribe to their followers such as জ্ঞ Jagya, &c. are in themselves evident proofs of their absurdity and impurity.

As I have alluded to the doctrine of transmigration, I may passingly remark, that I consider this tenet to be entirely subversive of the moral government of God, inconsistent and self-contradictory, inculcating a notion of rewards and punishments which necessarily presupposes the human Soul to have a freedom of action and choice, and admitting in the same breath, the system of Predestination—thus exposing the just and impartial Providence in the light of a whimsical and unjust persecutor. In short, the doctrine is insulting to the Divine attributes—degrading to Human nature, vicious in its effects, and the wildest chimera of *sublimest* madness that was ever conceived by any phrenzied brain.

What do you mean by the question of 'For whom and for what? which you have often put to me, when talking of these superstitious rites? Yes

Sir! for the worship of *the* Creator: but what of that? Does this remove the odium?—The above admission, may, in the opinion of some, palliate the guilt, but in mine, the *defence* criminates more, than the charge and the proof had done. We may tolerate a fool to worship his Demons and Demi-gods, in unmeaning rites, and on absurd principles, but it is the highest piece of unpardonable inconsistency, nay, sin, in a philosopher, who has discovered the high attributes of the Deity, to offer his devotions due, like an ignorant barbarian immersed neck-deep in a quagmire of superstition. The mind of the latter has to struggle through a chaos of darkness, but should he who has got in his hands a lamp brilliant like the god of day, to guide his steps, through a clear and well-paved road, shut his eyes and stumble, I apprehend I shall be inclined to withhold my pity for his misfortunes.

Are you not ashamed at the change which you have made *for the worse*? From an idolator of imaginary beings, animate and inanimate matter, and figurative personifications of abstract words, you have descended to *deify* some letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. I cannot refrain from expressing my unqualified indignation at the repetition of Gayatri. What is the use of it, and that again with so much formality? If it be superstition to count the beads, or to number a *mantra* on the joints of the fingers, it is equally so to repeat aloud the names of the Almighty or any passage of the Veds. You may, whenever you like or feel inwardly within your heart a necessity for the same, seriously and calmly think of him; sometimes when you are intensely moved, his Name, as a call or appeal to his judgement or elemency, may almost instinctively slip out of your lips; but I do not like the idea of another man repeating within my hearing, for his own sanctification, or my edification, names of the Almighty, like a Muhammandan crier. I admit without any degree of modification, that the repetition of the Gayatri and the Vedaic text is better adapted to enable the audience to hear them better, and oftener, and thus to learn them. But what necessity does there exist of their being taught with so much concern, when your own quotations from the Veds, declare them to be unnecesary? If you believe that the repetition of the *Gayatri* a certain number of times, is likely to expiate all our worldly sins, and to secure us final beatitude, what objection can you have, to the হরিনাম *Harinam* of a Bhoistub, or any other kind of Jop, or to the *Tusbeeh* of a Muhammadan, or the *beads* of a Roman Catholic? If you say that the impression of the sublime truths contained in the Gayatri and other texts, is the object of their repeated inculcation, I would take the liberty to ask simply 'Do all the members or rather the audience understand the Sanskrit,—the old enigmatical and out-of-use style of the Veds?' If only *explanation* is the object, the ceremony of *repetition* should unhesitatingly and without delay be dispensed with, as an unnecessary waste of time. You should put a stop to the *service*, and employ the moments thus saved in the delivery of *sermons*. I admit that our piety demands as much cultivation for developement, as benevolence does require, or is requisite to prevent the out-growth of self-interest, but a patient hearing of the Veds alone, will not answer the object in view.

You must attach the same importance to the reading of the text, as the benighted portion of the Hindus do to a *path* পাঠ and the Muhammadan to *Talawut*. You must pre-suppose the efficacy of *magic*, before you can hope to drive out superstition from the minds of your ignorant countrymen, by the virtue of reading *over*, that is, *to* them, the Vedaic text. Attraction may be the end of the musical performance, but I do not find the utility of vociferating the hard and unintelligible passages from your sacred volumes.

These, however, I find are the holds that superstition still has upon your minds. You have broken the chains that were shackled on your legs, but the scars imprinted by them are still visible and uncured. Time will heal them, so as to leave no sign of the ignominy under which you had laboured so long."

For the present, we are done. While we must ever wage war with the principles of the Vedantists, because we believe them to be not merely speculatively erroneous, but practically injurious to the best interests of man, we cherish no feelings but those of kindliness and good will personally towards themselves. We deplore their devious wanderings from the paths of truth, and their continued entanglement amid the mazes of error. We deplore also the fatal necessity under which they appear to have brought themselves of exhibiting a *practical conduct in life, at open war with their own avowed principles.* In *theory*, they profess to repudiate *idolatry;* in *practice*, they, *directly or indirectly*, unceasingly *uphold* it. He who joins in the hymns addressed to *the one Supreme God without a second*, in the hall of the Brahma Sabha, may, and often does, proceed therefrom to honour with his presence the senseless and revolting ceremonies at the shrine of *Kali or Durga!* Such systematic inconsistency, amounting to practical hypocrisy, cannot fail to deaden every better feeling, and ultimately to "sear the conscience as with a red hot iron."

The Vishnu Purana, a system of Hindu Mythology and Tradition, translated from the original Sanskrit, and illustrated by Notes, derived chiefly from other Puranas, by H. H. Wilson, 1840, 4*mo. p.p.* 704.

THE career of Professor Wilson has been an illustrious one in the line of Oriental Research; originally a surgeon on the Bengal establishment, he applied the powers of his mind in India to investigations into the literature and antiquities of the Brahmans, following out the course which had been marked out and pursued with such distinguished success by Chambers, Jones and Colebrooke. We admire that untiring energy which enabled Colonel Polier, amid the harassing interruptions that disturbed India in the middle of last century, to engage with unswerving ardour in the search after the scattered copies of the Vedas. Professor Wilson displays similar perseverance, and notwithstanding that the literary atmosphere of England is darkened with the clouds of religious and political strife, he moves on in his course undisturbed and unaffected, occupied with the calm and tranquillising subject of the long faded literary glories of Hindustan. His translation of the Vishnu Purana is one of the results of his labors.

Happily for the cause of Oriental literature the period when fine spun theories and airy speculations on Hinduism were in vogue, is fast passing away,—men now call for facts and data in the genuine spirit of the Baconian philosophy. The most distinguished orientalists of the day

are giving the best energies of their minds to the laborious, though unthankful, work of translation. One of the early pioneers in the field of Eastern research in Calcutta, the late W. Chambers, remarked sixty years ago, "a broad foundation of genuine information ought to be laid, before we proceed to raise conspicuous superstructures; for, otherwise, in vain will the philosopher indulge his speculations, or the historian polish his periods." It is in consequence of their deficiency in a wide and carefully selected collection of facts, that the works of Bryant, Maurice, Faber, Wilford,—tho' of high repute in their time,—now almost cease to be regarded as authorities on questions appertaining to the nature and origin of Hinduism. Vans Kennedy's work on "the Mythology of the Hindus" surpasses in value almost all that has been written during the last century on the question of the antiquity of the Brahmanical system, inasmuch as he gives copious translations from original Sanskrit writings; a writer in the *Quarterly Review* remarks, "It is important that the Sanskrit books which have been held up as so sacred and so ancient, should be given to Europe in the languages familiar to every one, that we might not be blinded by the erroneous admiration of credulous and misjudging enthusiasts, but be enabled to criticize freely and judge impartially for ourselves." Orientalism, like science and philology, is in a state of progressive advancement; new light is being poured on the subject with the revolution of every year.

The publication of such works as the Vishnu Purana is to be hailed with joy by every Christian mind; they show the Hindu system in its naked deformity,—they remove that veil of mystery which had so long served to shroud in the arcana of a difficult language all the frivolities and obscenities so inseparably interwoven with Hinduism both in theory and practice. But above all they refute in the clearest and most convincing manner the proud and lofty assumptions adopted by the votaries of Brahmanism: Bentley was one of the first who broke the spell of credulity with reference to the antiquity of Hinduism, as he showed by astronomical calculations the modern origin of the Puranas. Heeren and Wilson have followed in his wake; the latter has completely destroyed, by arguments adduced from internal evidence, the prestige of a venerable antiquity hitherto assigned to the Puranas. On this point we give the following quotation from Professor Wilson's most able and valuable preface to the Vishnu Purana, "The Puranas offer characteristic peculiarities of a modern description, in the paramount importance which they assign to individual divinities, in the variety and purport of the rites and observances addressed to them, and in the invention of new legends illustrative of the power and graciousness of these deities, and of the efficacy of implicit devotion to them. Siva and Vishnu, under one or other form, are almost the sole objects that claim the homage of the Hindus in the Puranas, departing from the domestic and elemental ritual of the Vedas, and exhibiting a sectarial fervour and exclusiveness not traceable in the Ramayana, and only to a qualified extent in the Mahabharata; the Puranas, although they belong especially to that stage of the Hindu religion, in which faith

in some one divinity was the prevailing principle, are also a valuable record of the form of Hindu belief, which came next in order to that of the Vedas, which grafted hero worship upon the simpler ritual of the latter; and which had been adopted, and was extensively, perhaps universally, established in India at the time of the Greek invasion. The Hercules of the Greek writers was indubitably the Balarama of the Hindus; and their notices of Mathura on the Jumna, and of the kingdom of the Suraseni and the Pandoan country, evidence the prior currency of the traditions which constitute the argument of the Mahabharata, and which are constantly repeated in the Paranas, relating to the Pandava and Yadava races, to Krishna and his contemporary heroes, and to the dynasties of the solar and lunar kings."

The perusal of the Vishnu Purana throws considerable light on various points connected with the Hindu faith—it describes the popular religion—it makes no mention of the worship of Brahm, of rites or of any temples or holy places being dedicated to him—it inculcates the doctrines of the infinite and perpetual revolutions of the universe and the coeternity of spirit and matter—it blends the Vedantic tenet of the Maya or illusory system with the principles of Pantheism—the doctrine of Maya is not recognised in the majority of the Puranas, but was first introduced probably in the Bhagavat Gita; the Puranas seem however to identify Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, as only three names of the one true God, tho' they fully sanction polytheism; this inconsistency may be accounted for on the ground that the Puranas are compilations from different sources, their want of system and method shews that they existed formerly in the state of legends or myths like the poems of Homer, before they were strung together in one epopeia; they occupy an intermediate position between epic and didactic poetry.

Notwithstanding the assertion of Vans Kennedy that "the attempting to extract chronology or history from the data of the Puranas must be an operation attended with equal success as the extraction of sunbeams from cucumbers by the sages of Laputa." Professor Wilson maintains that "much of the list of dynasties and individuals in the Vishnu Purana is a genuine chronicle of persons if not of occurrences; there is an inartificial simplicity and consistency in the succession of persons, and a possibility and probability in some of the transactions which give to these traditions the semblance of authenticity and render it likely that they are not altogether without foundation; in the dynasties of kings detailed in the Puranas we have a record, which although it cannot fail to have suffered detriment from age, and may have been injured by careless or injudicious compilation, preserves an account not wholly undeserving of confidence, of the establishment and succession of regular monarchies amongst the Hindus, from as early an era, and for as continuous a duration, as any in the credible annals of mankind." Colonel Wilford fell into the grossest errors respecting the chronology and geography of India, in consequence of his credulous reliance on the false assertions of his pandit, who forged certain Sanskrit writings, in order to substantiate his arguments. The following geographical

information we derive from the Vishnu Purana—that the Nishedas or aboriginal tribes of the Vindhya range of mountains were probably among the first inhabitants of India—that the Yavans were the Greeks of Bactria and the Panjab—that Kamrup was the North East part of Bengal—that Pundra was the name of SouthBehar and the Jangal Mehals —that the Tamaleptas were a people at the western mouth of the Ganges near Tamluk ; Tamralepte or Tamluk was a celebrated sea-port in the 4th century, and retained its character in the 9th and 12th. The notes of Professor Wilson on the Geography of Hindustan are very valuable. In its philosophical account the Vishnu Purana describes the sun as 100,000 leagues distant from the earth—that it performs its revolutions in a chariot—that the Ganges has its source in the great toe of Vishnu's left foot—that the moon gives the dews to the clouds through tubes of air—that the rain which falls while the sun is shining and without a cloud in the sky, is the water of the celestial Ganges shed by the solar rays.

The Vishnu Purana is divided into six books ; the 1st gives an account of the creation, the primary *sarga*, i. e., the universe proceeding from *prakriti* or eternal crude matter, and the secondary *prati sarga*, or the developement of the forms of things from the elementary substances previously evolved ; the tenets of the Sankhya philosophy are closely interwoven with this description. The 2nd book details the geographical system of the Puranas with a history of the life of Bharata, from whom India derived its name Bharata Varsha. The 3rd book describes the duties of caste and the performance of funeral obsequies. The 4th book contains all that the Hindus possess of their ancient history. The 5th book is entirely occupied with the life of Krishna. The 6th book gives an account of the dissolution of the world by fire and water, and the perpetual renovation of things. Professor W. thinks that from internal evidence it is probable the Vishnu Purana was composed about the middle of the eleventh century, nearly two centuries subsequent to the period when Sankara Acharya, the great Saiva reformer, flourished : it was evidently written in order to advocate the cause of Hindu sectarianism.

The following quotation from this Purana shews the minute observances imposed on a Hindu householder :—

" Let him (when rising from bed,) rince his mouth with water that is pure, neither fetid nor frothy, nor full of bubbles ; and again use earth to cleanse his feet, washing them well with water. He is to drink water then three times and twice wash his face with it ; and next touch with it his head, the cavities of the eyes, ears, and nostrils, the forehead, the navel and the heart. Having finally washed his mouth, a man is to clean and dress his hair, and to decorate his person, before a glass, with unguents, garlands, and perfumes. He is then, according to the custom of his caste, to acquire wealth, for the sake of subsistence ; and with a lively faith worship the Gods. Sacrifices with the acid juice, those with charified butter and those with offerings of food, are comprehended in wealth : wherefore let men exert themselves to acquire wealth for these purposes. As preparatory to all established rites of devotion the house-holder should bathe in the water of a river, a pond, a natural channel, or a mountain torrent ; or he

may bathe upon dry ground, with water drawn from a well, or taken from a river, or other source, where there is any objection to bathing on the spot. When bathed, and clad in clean clothes, let him devoutly offer libations to the Gods, sages, and progenitors, with the parts of the hand severally sacred to each. He must scatter water there to gratify the Gods; as many times, to please the Rishis; and once, to propitiate Prajapati. He must also make three libations, to satisfy the progenitors. He must then present with the part of the hand sacred to the manes, water to his paternal grand-father and great-grand-father, to his maternal grand-father, great-grand-father and his father; and at pleasure to his mother's mother and grand-mother, to the wife of his preceptor, his maternal uncle, and other relations, to a dear friend, and to the king. Let him also, after libations have been made to the Gods and the rest, present others at pleasure for the benefit of all beings, reciting inaudibly this prayer. * * * Having then rinsed his mouth, he is to offer water to the sun, touching his forehead with his hands joined, and with this prayer; salutation to Vevaswat, the radiant, the glory of Vishnu; to the pure illuminator of the world; to Savitri, the granter of the fruit of acts. He is then to perform the worship of the house, presenting to his tutelary deity water, flowers, and incense.

He is next to offer oblations with fire, not preceded by any other rite to Brahma. Having invoked Prajapati, let him pour oblations reverently to his household Gods, to Kasypa and to Anumati, in succession. The residue of the oblation let him offer to the earth, to water, and to rain, in a pitcher at hand; and to Dhatri and Vidhatri, at the doors of his house, and in the middle of it to Brahma.**** The householder is to remain at eventide in his court-yard as long as it takes to milk a cow, or longer if he pleases, to await the arrival of a guest. Should such a one arrive, he is to be received with an hospitable welcome; a seat is to be offered to him, and his feet are to be washed, and food is to be given him with liberality, and he is to be civilly and kindly spoken to; and, when he departs, to be sent away by his host with friendly wishes. A householder should ever pay attention to a guest who is not an inhabitant of the same village, but who comes from another place, and whose name and lineage are unknown. He who feeds himself, and neglects the poor and friendless stranger in want of hospitality, goes to hell. Let a householder, who has a knowledge of Brahma, reverence a guest, without enquiring his studies, his school, his practices, or his race."

The following passage points out the strictness attached to making selections of offerings for the Shradda to ancestors:—

"Aurva continued.—Ancestors are satisfied for a month with offerings of rice or other grain, with clarified butter, with fish, or the flesh of the hare, of birds, of the hog, the goat, the antelope, the deer, the gayal, or the sheep, or with the milk of the cow, and its products. They are for ever satisfied with flesh (in general) and with that of the long-eared white goat in particular. The flesh of the rhinoceros, the kálásaka potherb, and honey, are also special sources of satisfaction to those worshipped at ancestral ceremonies. The birth of that man is the occasion of satisfaction to his progenitors who performs at the due time their obsequial rites at Gaya. Grain that spring up spontaneously, rice growing wild, Panic of both species (white or black) vegetables that grow in forests are fit for ancestral oblations, as are barley, wheat, rice, sesamum, various kinds of pulse and mustard. On the other hand, a householder must not offer any kind of grain that is not consecrated by religious ceremonies on its first coming into season; nor the pulse called Rajamasha, nor millet, nor lintels, nor gourds, nor garlic, nor

onions, nor nightshade, nor camel's thorn, nor salt, nor the efflorescences of salt deserts, nor red vegetable extracts, nor any thing that looks like salt, nor any thing that is not commendable; nor is water fit to be offered at a Shradda, that has been brought by night, or has been abandoned, or is so little as not to satisfy a cow, or smells badly, or is covered with froth. The milk of animals with undivided hoofs, of a camel, a ewe, a deer, or a buffalo is unfit for ancestral oblations. If an obsequial rite is looked at by an eunuch, a man ejected from society, an outcast, a heretic, a drunkenman, or one diseased, by a cock, a naked ascetic, a monkey, a village hog, by a woman in her courses or pregnant, by an unclean person, or by a carrier of corpses, neither Gods nor progenitors will partake of the food. The ceremony should therefore be performed in a spot carefully enclosed. Let the performer cast sesamum on the ground and drive away malignant spirits. Let him not give food that is fetid or vitiated by hairs or insects or mixed with acid gruel or stale."

First Impressions and Studies from Nature in Hindustan, embracing an Outline of the Voyage to Calcutta, and five years' residence in Bengal and the Doab, from 1831 *to* 1836, *by Lieut. Bacon.* 2 *Vols.* 10 *Rs.*, 1839.

Our increasing communications with England in consequence of the speed and cheapness of the overland route, are likely to bring shoals of travellers to this country ere long, and will therefore ensure a demand for all books that give an accurate and faithful description of Indian scenery and customs.—The journal of the learned and liberal-minded Bishop Heber occupies a distinguished place among the books of reference for an Indian traveller, as do also the "Sketches" of Miss Roberts. The days have entirely passed away when India was regarded as a land paved with ingots, and as a spot where every blast of wind wafted pestilence on its breath. The old system of travelling consisted chiefly in hurrying though a country as quickly as post horses could be supplied, forming an opinion of the various places passed through from the conversations held with coachmen and hotel-keepers, and publishing a journal detailing most minutely the dinners eaten every day with the exact cost of them—the good taste of the public would now loathe such works. The writings of Baron Humboldt have exercised a very beneficial influence in teaching travellers "how and what to observe." As respects India however the works of old travellers are much more interesting than those of modern—what a treasure for the person who wishes to gain an acquaintance with India are the writings of Purchas, Tavernier, Roe, and Hamilton. We hail every addition made to our stock of works descriptive of India as a boon to this country; they denote a deeper sympathy to be felt for it at home, and are calculated to throw additional cheerfulness on the "exiles" land of sojourn.

Lieut. Bacon professes in this work "to give as close an imitation as possible of the process whereby local scenery is depicted to the eye." He describes the time on his passage from England as spent monoto-

nously enough, "our principal amusements consisted in shooting albatross, reading novels to the ladies, a little quarrelling, backgammon, a little moonlight, eating, drinking, flirting, sleeping, and so on"—the steam communication with England will speedily alter this state of things and afford a much more rational and agreeable mode of spending the time. He gives the following as a specimen of a subaltern's life in India, "Parade at daylight, idling, perhaps a nap, till eleven o'clock; breakfast at twelve; idling till three; after which, tiffin and beer drinking; and from four till sun-set a game at rackets, accompanied with segars and brandy pani; another parade perhaps, or a ride until dark; then returns the mess and wine-bibbing until midnight," he makes various observations about *Calcutta*—the fashionable dress of the ladies—the difficulty of a bachelor paying the common attentions of civility to a young girl without its being attributed to matrimonial views—about *Dum Dum* "before Lord W. Bentinck arrived in India at the head of the government, this station was proverbially known for its gaiety and jovial hospitality, the brilliant assemblies once so frequent at our mess house have dwindled down to the scanty meeting of a few spirit-broken half-starved subalterns: a meagre lustreless dinner party or ball, upon some extraordinary occasion, may perhaps flicker up with a sickly attempt to display what Dum-Dum once was; the theatre, once a handsomely appointed house, is now degraded into a Five's Court for the soldiers, the barracks are built in a quadrangle of about a hundred and fifty yards square; the cantonment consists of about thirty well-built bunglows as the residences of the officers; in the evening the several carriages and equestrians assemble round the band, to barter the occurences of the day, and sell without price, the characters of their dearest friends;" he alludes to the haughty demeanour assumed by the senior officers towards the junior as "subversive of all confidence and unity, which are the very bonds of order and efficiency in the army."—Lieut. B. mentions some cases where death was counterfeited by natives; in one instance the supposed corpse was restored to life by a kettle of hot water being poured upon him: he gives an account of a captain who usually drank eighteen quart bottles of beer daily, and not unfrequently two and twenty, and yet remained sober without having "a hot liver and empty purse." In October 1831 Lieut. B. left Dum Dum for Kahnpur, the journey took as much time as a voyage to England! He notices Jungypur with its silk factories—Bhagulpur with its two round towers erected by the Jains in the 13th century—the rock of Jahangira with its fraternity of fakirs, who were plundered of 50 lacs in the time of Aurungzebe—Mangir with its counterfeit Joe Manton's and Sita Kand—Patna with its rich mahajans and ridiculous corn gola—the Sone with its agates brought from the Gundwana mountains by its current—Ghazipore with its mausoleum to the memory of Lord Cornwallis, which cost 15 lacs,—Chunar with its fort, which "has stood the battle and the breeze" for eight centuries. An account is given of Mirat with the Begum Sumru's palace, the ice pits, spacious churches, fine theatres and magnificent racket-court—of Sirdhana, the residence

of the Begum Sumru, her palace and the Roman Catholic Chapel built by her, with a native Christian population amounting to 1,200. The Begum Sumru attained political power by marrying Sumru, a German adventurer, who had been the chief instrument in the Patna massacre; she gave the Bishop of Calcutta a lac and a half of rupis for the promotion of religious and charitable objects; her father confessor was Padri Julius Cæsar "the outward semblance of whose person is an union of coarse cloth and bringing forth the fruits of good living, whose conversation is a mixture of superstition with *double entendre*; where good wine, good stories, and good songs are to be had, there Bishop Julius Cæsar will undoubtedly be a ready and a welcome visitor," the Begum died in 1836, aged 89, leaving the sum of 80 lacs of rupees to Dyce Sombre, of well known notoriety.

Lieut. B. left Mirut and proceeded by dâk to the Himmalayas, on his way he passed through Saharanpur, famous for its gosains, monkeys and botanical garden; he met a paharri or mountain woman, with her broad cheek bones and small twinkling eye denoting her to be of the Tartar race she was married to seven husbands; he gives a notice of Landour with its sanatarium and its pure and brilliant atmosphere which enables persons frequently to see houses at the distance of 82 miles, and refers to the dissensions which prevail among the ladies there as is generally the case at Mufussil stations. On his return he visited the fair of Hurdwar, where the Ganges bursts from the Sivaile hills, 1,600 miles from the ocean, in 1819, two millions of pilgrims bathed there; the fair of Hurdwar is as much subservient to the objects of commerce as of superstition, Kandahar, Kashmir, Jeypur, Silhet, Ludiana, send their merchants there; it is notorious for horse dealers who understand all the arts of drugging, dyeing, searing teeth or putting on a tail as well as the Newmarket or London jockies. He visited Delhi, the great mart of the Western provinces, in the once magnificent gardens of the palace, "the tanks are stagnant, the fountains are silent, the beautiful marble baths are filled with dried leaves and rubbish, and the grottos are for the most part half buried." The Kutab Minar and Feroze's Laht however still stand out braving the billows of time. Lieut. B. after leaving Delhi set sail down the Jumna in a "native boat preoccupied by a vast population of musk rats, mice, cockroaches, fleas, centipedes, and countless other loathsome vermin." After enduring sundry misfortunes on the river he arrived in Calcutta, from whence he took his departure for England.

Lectures on Education, delivered at the Mechanic's Institute; by Charles J. S. Montague. Calcutta, 1844-45.

THERE are few subjects on which the mean between mere empiricism on the one hand and mere theory and speculation on the other, is more frequently missed than the subject of education; and yet there are few subjects on which an aberration from this golden mean, is likely to be fraught with more dangerous consequences. In the present state of Indian society, where we have not only just arrived at the conviction that the teeming

millions of the native population *must* be educated, but where we have also a distinct community of Anglo-Indians just rising into a most important social position, it is of special moment that men should have their attention called to the practical philosophy of education. This philosophy is, like all true science, based upon observation, and proceeds upon a careful induction of facts in regard to the physical, intellectual and moral powers of man. It can scarcely be studied aright, except by the practical educationist; nor by him unless he possess well cultivated powers of observation, and a thoroughly Baconian habit of patient and severe examination. But while in this as in all other branches of science, it must be the man, who, with a large measure of intelligence, devotes his life to the subject, that alone can be able to originate or evolve philosophical principles, it is of immense importance that these principles, when thus evolved, be disseminated throughout the community. For while in these days of the divison of labor, a great deal of the work of education is devolved upon professional men, there is also a great part, and the most important part of the whole work, that cannot be delegated. It is not necessary that a man should be able to mend his own watch, or make his own shoes, or drive his own carriage, or pull his own punkah, because for all these separate departments of work he can and does employ the services of professional men. But while he may also, and generally does, employ a teacher or teachers for the instruction of his children, there is yet a great part of their education that he alone can accomplish. Hence a knowledge of the principles of education is "knowledge for the million," and the directors of the late Mechanic's Institute of Calcutta did wisely in engaging the services of an intelligent and active professional man to diffuse a knowledge of these principles among the community generally.

Mr. Montague's lectures are six in number, the first being introductory, and containing some historical notices of the attention paid to education in different ages and countries; the second and third are on infant education; the fourth on religious education; the fifth on scholastic education, and the sixth on scholastic discipline. It will thus be seen that the volume is intended both for parents and professional teachers, and either class will derive many useful hints from its careful and intelligent perusal. We shall present an extract or two from the lectures, recommending at the same time the perusal of them to all those of our readers who are charged with the care of children.

The following is the author's brief sketch of Athenian Education:—

"The other states of Greece pursued a far different course of education from that of the Spartans. Their object was to humanize the people, and to awaken the tender sensibilities of our nature. Every effort was made to secure the moral and intellectual instruction of the people. It is true that the gymnastic exercises were practised, but the cultivation of the intellect was not neglected. The first was not permitted to exercise an undue influence over the people. The object of Lycurgus was not sought after by the other states of Greece. They did not seem desirous of making their people excellent and hardy soldiers. They did not wish to "train up a number of slaves, or to create a horde of military ascetics, but, by the most consummate

discipline, to produce a body of citizens capable of exercising by vicarious succession the various acts of power and sovereignty, which, in such a government necessarily devolved upon them." But the state did not interfere in the education of children. It left it to be regulated by parents; and it is well that it did so. From the very constitution of its government, there appeared to be no need of state machinery for securing the benefits of education. The government was a democracy. Every situation of trust and responsibility was left open to the competition of all men. Certain qualifications were required, and these the people very quickly attained by their own unaided exertions. In truth, in a republic, the minds of the people are awakened into activity. There is something soul-stirring in a democracy. Every citizen thinks himself indissolubly connected with the welfare of the state. He feels his arm *puissant* either in retarding or accelerating the progress of the state; and his voice, as potent in sealing the destiny of his country.

The education of the Athenian youth commenced at the age of seven years, and it was continued, if no interruptions were occasioned by war, to the age of thirty. They were obliged in their tender years to learn to read and to swim, and then to commit to memory the best portions of select authors. The first lesson inculcated on the youth, under the better auspices of their country, was the right government of their tongue. They were obliged to go in a band to the dwellings of their teachers, and, when brought before his presence, were made to sing a patriotic hymn. Their demeanour was strictly watched, and nothing ludicrous was permitted. Their food was extremely simple. Their principal lessons were derived from the poets and philosophers of their day. Their minds were raised by poetry, and the tender sensibilities of their nature were awakened by music. Poetry and music, and the lessons of philosophers, informed their minds, softened and strengthened their hearts; awakened the powers of the soul; attuned them to a proper sense of good and right conduct; aroused lofty aspirations; fed noble hopes; cherished softer feelings; kindled pleasant associations; and did all that unaided reason could suggest; but still the Athenian character, to be perfect, required to be cast into the mould of Christianity. The want of this power, this spiritual revelation, made the Athenians wander from the path of truth. It undermined the stability of their own confidence, and destroyed them in their own conceit."

We have long been persuaded that great errors of opposite kinds obtain in the education that is generally imparted to mere infants. Some parents act as if the work of education ought not to begin till the child has reached the age of six or seven years, while others begin to teach their children to read when they have scarcely passed their second birth-day. Now in our estimation the business of education should be entered upon even at an earlier period than the age of two years, while we see no occasion for beginning to teach the art of reading till the child has reached the age at least of six; not only so, but we believe that multitudes of early deaths are occasioned by the silly ambition of mothers to be able to exhibit their children as little wonders, able to read and spell while they are barely able to walk alone. It is true they always tell us that they make it a mere play, that they do not force their children in the slightest degree. True, but they shew the children that it gives them pleasure to see them employed in attempting to read, and this forms a stimulus to a child quite as powerful

as external constraint. We do not think that reading ought to be at all the first thing taught to children—and yet in too many cases they are taught nothing else. There is a good deal of sound sense in the following extract, although we do not quite agree with some of its sentiments :—

"We have already seen that there are *three* powerful affections developed during the infancy of children, with which the character can be moulded into any form the parent wishes. These are, as we have seen, love, fear, and desire to please. These are instruments which the parent may wield at will. It should be the great aim of parents, first to *secure* the *affections* of the child, and afterwards to attain *influence* over it. When a parent will not only look about her, and round her, but also before her, when she will regard the future destiny of her children, she will not indulge them in all the wants of their capricious nature, but by checking and controlling their wants and importunities, and by making, whenever required, personal sacrifices to promote their innocent and rational pleasures, she will cause the fibres of affection to take deep root in the heart, until the plant will not only luxuriate but grow "hardy and healthy." So soon as the *affections* are secured and a child manifests a *desire to please*, the parent should take every opportunity of securing her influence over her little charge. This influence can never be secured at too early an age. If neglected, it will only impart strength and vigour to those propensities which will nourish self-indulgence and render the temper obstinate. But if secured early, when the mind and all its inclinations are tender, it will serve to promote the lasting welfare of the child. Parents will then be able to fashion the characters of their children; make them bend to their will and pleasure; and direct them to do those things, which are not only right in the sight of men, but pleasing in the sight of God. A check so wholesome will subserve the best ends, it will bridle vice and foster virtue, check the evil propensities of man's nature, and encourage those which are good and virtuous.

All parents are fond of attaching to themselves the affection of their children; and at the same time they should use every endeavour to exercise a moral influence over them, during their pilgrimage in this world. It is true that parents do not generally expect to give birth to children, and to lay them in the dust also; it is therefore incumbent upon them so to direct their infant minds, and the train of association, that when they sleep with their fathers, their children will tread in the footsteps and humbly walk before God. During the period of infancy, the natural cries of children should on no account be disregarded. These require immediate attention: but children should not, at any time, be indulged in their little whims and caprices. "The true point," says a writer, "to be aimed at, is so to temper the conduct towards the child, that while he possesses all those enjoyments which are consistent with health and comfort, it shall not be at the expense of the future." The moment a parent gives way to a child's impertinent cries, from that moment he becomes a captive, and in coming years he will reap the bitter fruits of such indulgence. There must be, as is usually the case with parents who are anxious of quieting a fretful child, a little coaxing once—and when a loud scream—a gentle request to be quiet, and then again a passionate command—a submission to the child's caprice by offering it *now* what it wanted before, and then an angry look or gesture because the child refuses to take that, in a fit of passion, which it wanted in its cooler moments. Such inconsistencies will only work upon the temper of the child, and render it more obstinate. It

will learn the secret of teasing its mother, and trying her patience, until, to use a common expression, *she is out of all patience*. A mother must be always gentle in her tone, and should even a command be given, the command should appear *more in the look and less in the tone*. She should be careful that no outbreaks of temper occur in the presence of the little infant. Her conduct and manners must be uniform. The simple pleasures of infancy should be promoted, and its wants instantly supplied. When this is done, and the child finds that all its little desires are anticipated and its little comforts are attended to, it will never give way to peevishness of temper, but will at all times regard the mother with fond affection, and know her with one of its most winning smiles. Even during hours and days of sickness, the same consistent regard is required. There must be no concessions on the part of the parent. This season of a child's life is the most trying, but an enlightened parent will, for a while, bear a pang, that may sometimes shoot through her heart, when her child is most anxious to attain its own wishes, and by its feeble cries to inform its mother of its desire—she will suffer a little anguish of mind for the present, by looking into the future, and considering what evils self-indulgence will entail upon the child, and what annoyances it will occasion her, in time to come. At all times and seasons a parent must let the child understand that she knows what is best for it, and that she will gratify all its wishes and desires when she thinks they will do it no harm, and when their indulgence will promote its health, and hasten its recovery from illness.

A mother is sometimes so much annoyed with the importunities or the cries of her infant, that she will bid the servant take the child away from her presence. Now this is indeed a prejudicial method of correction; The child will soon learn a means of going out of its mother's presence, and it will in a very short time take advantage of it. The other harm is, that the child will soon forget the reason of her anger towards it. It will, when away from her presence, be occupied with the sight of other objects, which will make an impression on its mind, and erase *that* which had caused its expulsion from its mother's presence. A mother, when displeased with her child, should keep it within the range of her observation. It must be made to suffer a privation, until it submit to the direction and wishes of its mother. So long as the little thing continues obstinate, just so long should its punishment be prolonged. The moment it surrenders, that moment the restraint should be withdrawn. It may perhaps be urged, that the little *peccadilloes* of which I have taken notice, are matters of very little concern. To such parents however, I will reply in the words of Solon, who, on being told by a mother, who excused herself from correcting a perverse trick of her child's by saying that "it was a small matter"—judiciously replied, "Aye, but custom is a great one." Let these perverse tricks engender habits, and parents will soon find, in their bitter experience, that it is impossible to remove them,—to make them bend in another direction."

There is truth in what follows:—

"It is a custom with mamas to expect a great deal of affection from children. They are not satisfied with the fact, that their children love them. They are anxious to witness a manifestation of that love. They are desirous of its appearance in their children's conduct. They wish that it should be conveyed to their minds on the tongues of their infants. This ostentation can never be obtained from them. There are some children who are more susceptible than others, but who perhaps do not give expres-

sion to their tender sensibilities. There are other children, whose infant tongues are wreathed with the sweetest and tenderest expressions of love to their parents, and who are consequently more beloved than their diffident brothers and sisters. The parents declare that these vivacious children, whose heart is in their tongues, love them more than those who feel, but who never unlock their hearts, so that the casket of filial affections is never displayed. Now this is a very erroneous method of judging. The silent child feels as much as the loquacious one, and it should be the careful duty of parents to draw the first more closely to themselves, to watch over them with tender and fond affection, and thus attach to themselves their good-will and their affections. The garrulous infant should be checked. Its tender and bland expressions should be overlooked, else the greatest harm will result from the indulgence of such a habit.

So soon as the forward child is aware that its loving expressions are delightful to the hearts of its parents, and that the greatest portion of its desires is obtained by them, they never cease to employ all the soft and sweet expressions of love, when they are desirous of gaining an object. We know a child of this temper, who comes boldly up to its mama, and with a few set phrases, such as my sweet and darling mama, prefers its request. Should mama give a denial, the pouting lip soon displays the fretful temper; another volley, after a time, of still sweeter and kinder epithets is discharged at mama, who perhaps may hold on the seige a little longer. The disappointed child immediately retires sullen and fretful, and the servant or its playmates suffer the vengeance of its choler.

Now this evil is the result of mistaken encouragement. The little prattler has discovered the secret of sweet and fond expressions. He is furnished with a key to open all his desires for his own gratification. He rings his changes on soft expressions. They are nothing. They have a charm, but not a charm which binds him to relish them. They are mere words with him—without meaning—so much air. The silent child, on the other hand, though more reserved, is more obedient. It never prefers a request, which it knows will not be complied with. It does nothing to merit punishment or call down reproaches upon itself. Yet the mother will say,—" this child is indeed, very obedient and quiet, but it does not love me. The other is noisy and self-willed, but it loves me truly. Only hear how sweetly and kindly he addresses me." We have however seen the picture in its true light."

Our limits will not permit our extending our extracts further; we shall therefore take leave of this little volume with the feeling that its perusal may be profitable to educators, and through them to those to be educated.

Review of the Work entitled " The Conquest of Scinde, &c. By Major-General W. P. F. Napier, &c." Republished from " The Bombay Monthly Times" of the 1st March, 1845.

It is altogether out of date now to notice this pamphlet at any length, or to follow its author through his various arguments and details. Its origin and object are thus succinctly yet clearly set forth in the Preface :—

" The first portion of the work of General William Napier, entitled " *The Conquest of Scinde, &c.*" reached Bombay by the steamer of the 14th of February,

1845. It appeared so full of errors and mis-statements,—calculated, from the eminence of the parties by whom they were set forth, to be productive of delusion and mischief,—that it was considered expedient to have it reviewed in the newspapers with considerable care and minuteness. A criticism of unusual length appeared in the *Bombay Times* of the 19th, 22nd, and 26th February: and very copious extracts from the work itself, with notes appended—chiefly derived from the Parliamentary papers—accompanied the review. From the notices of General NAPIER'S work which had appeared in the *London Spectator*, the *Naval and Military Gazette*, and *Morning Herald* newspapers, &c., it was clear that by certain parties a weight was attached to it at home of which it was undeserving. A separate review of it was accordingiy written for the *Bombay Monthly Times*—in the main considerably abridged from the articles previously published,—in which numerous explanations required by the home reader, though superfluous in India, were given. Several applications to have this republished in a separate form, having been made, it was resolved to print it in its present shape, as being in this more permanent and accessible than in that of a newspaper article."

The pamphlet throughout is written in a style of uncommon clearness and vigor. As regards its *main* positions respecting the policy and conduct of "the Conquest of Scinde," our opinions are coincident with those of the writer. In some of the minor details, we think, with the *Friend of India*, that there are occasional slips and inadvertencies. These, however, are not of such consequence as materially to damage or neutralize the general effect. In substance, too, we cannot but accord in the exposure given of the inaccuracies and misstatements which mar the publication of the gallant and distinguished author of "The Peninsular War," and the not less gallant and distinguished "victor of Meeanee and Hydrabad." If the Brothers have erred, they have certainly been made to smart for it. A more severe or hearty castigation has not been inflicted for many a day. Cool and dispassionate as we are on the subject, we cannot help feeling, some how or other, as if the chastisement, however well deserved in the main, had been carried a little too far, or had been dealt out in a style which seemed to savour, though it might not partake, of vindictive severity. There are *particular expressions* in the pamphlet which we would rather had never been penned, and which even now we could well wish, were it not too late, to see erased. The country at large owes a debt of gratitude to the Napiers—as unto men who have repeatedly "braved the battle and the breeze,"—as unto men, who, on many a bloody field, have amply proved their entire devotedness to their Sovereign's cause, and their consummate fitness for the conduct of the most daring and heroic enterprize. And, in spite of any follies or infirmities which may cleave to them, the country will not, cannot, and ought not to forget their patriotism, their heroism, and their sacrifices. No one, we are sure, will be more ready to admit all this than the talented Editor of the *Bombay Times*. At present, the victory and the triumph have been fairly his. He can now afford to be not only just but generous. Let us, therefore, fondly hope that his future remarks on the Napiers, divested of even the very semblance of acrimony, may be enstamped with all the marks and signatures of that magnanimity which is ever an inseparable concomitant of noble minds.

SANDERS AND CONES, TYPS., NO. 4, TANK-SQUARE, CALCUTTA.